BONA DEA

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

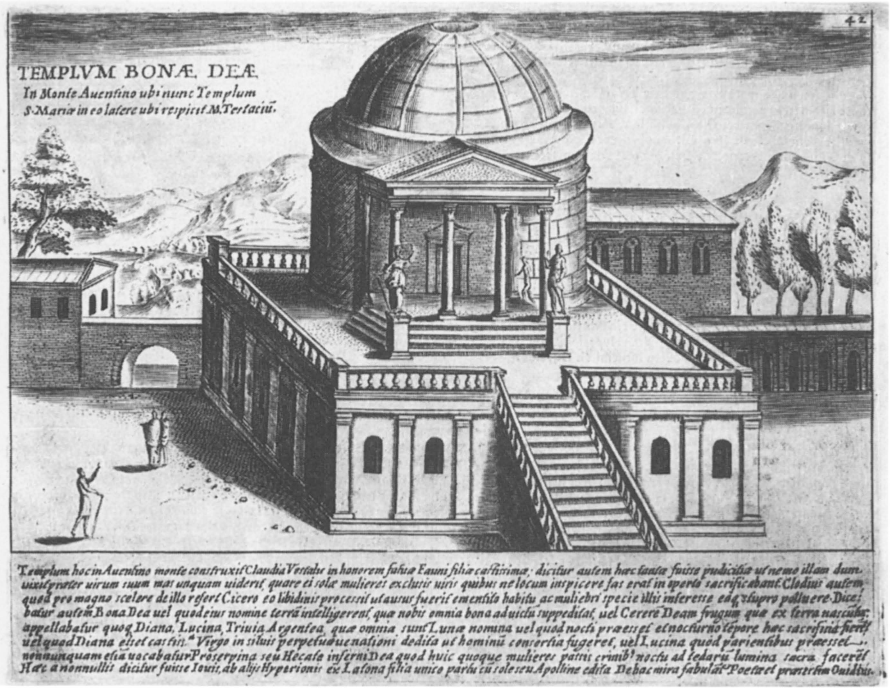
M. J. VERMASEREN†
M. E. C. VERMASEREN-VAN HAAREN ET MARGREET B. DE BOER

TOME CENT-DIXIÈME

H. H. J. BROUWER

BONA DEA

THE SOURCES AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE CULT



TEMPLVM BONÆ DEÆ

In Monte Auentino ubi nunc Templum
S. Mariæ in eo latere ubi respicit M. Tertaciũ.

Templum hoc in Auentino monte construxit Claudia Vestalis in honorem fatuæ Fauni filiæ castissimæ; dicitur autem hac tanta fuisse pudicitia ut nemo illam dum
uixit præter uirum suum mas unquam uiderit, quare ei solæ mulieres exclusis uiris quibus ne locum inspicere fas erat in aperto sacrificabant. Clodius autem,
quod pro magno scelere de illo refert Cicero eo libidinis processit ut ausus fuerit ementito habitu ac muliebri specie illis interesse eaq; stupro polluere. Dice;
batur autem Bona Dea uel quod eius nomine terrã intelligerent, quæ nobis omnia bona ad uictũ suppeditat, uel Cererẽ Deam frugum quæ ex terra nascũtur;
appellabatur quoq; Diana, Lucina, Triuia Argentea, quæ omnia sunt Lunæ nomina uel quod nocti præesset et nocturno tẽpore hæc sacrificia fierẽt;
uel quod Diana esset castiss.ª Virgo in siluis perpetuo uenationi dedita ut hominũ consortia fugeret, uel Lucina quod parientibus præesset —.
nonnunquam etiã uocabatur Proserpina seu Hecate inferni Dea quod huic quoque mulieres passis crinib' noctu ad tedarũ lumina sacra facerẽt
Hæc a nonnullis dicitur fuisse Iouis, ab aliis Hyperionis ex Latona filia unico partu cũ sole seu Apolline edita De hac mira fabulãtr Poetæ et præsertim Ouidius.

H. H. J. BROUWER

BONA DEA

THE SOURCES AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE CULT

WITH A FRONTISPIECE, 5 FIGURES, 52 PLATES AND 5 MAPS

E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVN • KÖLN
1989

Published with financial assistance of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (N.W.O.)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Brouwer, H. H. J. (Hendrik H. J.)
Bona Dea: the sources and a description of the cult / H.H.J. Brouwer.
p. cm.—(Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, ISSN 0531-1950; t. 110)
Revised translation of author's thesis (doctoral)—University of Utrecht, 1982.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
ISBN 90-04-08606-4
1. Bona Dea (Roman deity)—Cult. 2. Rome—Religious life and customs. I. Title. II. Series.
BL820.B64B76 1989
292'.211—dc19 88-22314
CIP

ISSN 0531-1950
ISBN 90 04 08606 4

© Copyright 1989 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY E. J. BRILL

In memoriam
magistri amici
Maarten J. Vermaseren

viri disparis vulgo

CONTENTS

Preface IX

Abbreviations XI

Introduction XXI

PART ONE

THE SOURCES

Summary of the sources 3
I. The archaeological and epigraphic sources 15
II. The literary sources 144

PART TWO

THE GODDESS AND HER CULT

III. The Goddess 231
  A) The "name" of the goddess 231
  B) The adjective bonus/bona 245
  C) The epithets 250
IV. The worshippers 254
  A) The worshippers of the Senatorial Order, and those who are members of local governments 268
  B) The worshippers of the Equestrian Order 273
  C) The worshippers belonging to the *plebs ingenua* 275
  D) Freedmen 279
    1. Imperial freedmen 282
    2. Public freedmen, freedmen of a public body 282
    3. Freedmen of private people 282
  E) Slaves 290
    1. Imperial slaves 291
    2. Public slaves, slaves of a public body 292
    3. Slaves of private people 292
  F) Under-slaves 293
  G) Anonymous worshippers 294
V. The propagation of the cult 297
  A) Cult centres 302
  B) Individual worship 314

VI. The goddess and her cult 323
  A) Peculiar aspects of the Bona Dea worship 324
    1. Bona Dea in mythology 324
    2. Wine, milk, and honey 327
    3. Myrtle 336
    4. Serpent 340
    5. The (pregnant) sow 349
    6. Macrobius' speculations concerning Bona Dea as Terra . 350
  B) A description of the cult of Bona Dea 358
    1. The State cult of Bona Dea 358
      a) The celebration in December 359
      The celebration at Cicero's house in December 63 B.C. . 361
      The celebration at Caesar's house in December 62 B.C.; the Clodius affair 363
      b) The celebration on 1 May 370
    2. The cult of Bona Dea as celebrated by *collegia* 372
    3. The cult of Bona Dea as celebrated by private people ... 385
  C) Conclusion 396
VII. Findings for the cult based on the archaeological remains compared with other data 400
  A) The sanctuaries outside Rome belonging to the State cult... 402
    1. The cult centre of Bona Dea at Laverna 402
    2. The cult centre of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina at Ostia 407
    3. The temple of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria at Aquileia ... 412
    4. The temple of Bona Dea at Tergeste 422
  B) The sanctuaries which do not belong to the State cult 425
    1. The sanctuary of Bona Dea within the walls of Ostia.... 425
    2. The sanctuary near S.Stefano at Aquileia.................... 427
    3. The so-called temple of Bona Dea at Glanum 428
    Summary 429
General index 431
Epigraphical index 453
Literary index 468

Acknowledgements of the plates 505

Plates I-LII and 5 maps

PREFACE

I am pleased that the present study, an enlarged and revised version of my dissertation (*Bona Dea, de bronnen en een beschrijving van de cultus,* Utrecht, 1982), now appears in *EPRO,* as it was the wish of the late Prof. Dr. M. J. Vermaseren.

It is for more than one reason that this book is dedicated to the memory of my mentor and—afterwards—friend. He not only called my attention to Bona Dea as a subject for my studies but—like the teacher of the old school he was—he also knew how to impart his own enthusiasm to his pupil. And it was his name that opened to me the doors of many musea and institutes of learning all over Europe. And then I wish to remember him as the great scholar who had made his house in Amsterdam a centre of worldwide studies of the Oriental religions in the Roman Empire and, as a most amiable host, at the same time a home for those who devoted themselves to those studies.

The many hours that were spent there on our discussions of Bona Dea—as well as of many another subject—were not only made pleasant ones by the presence of Mrs. M. E. C. Vermaseren née Van Haaren and Dr. Margreet B. de Boer but their readiness to assist where practical aspects were concerned equalled their hospitality.

I feel indebted to Prof. Dr. H. L. W. Nelson, in particular, and to Prof. Dr. C. Isings, both of the University of Utrecht, for the many times they helped me with their advice.

Among those who in the past years were a great help, shortening the distance between town and country, must be mentioned Prof. Dr. J. A. K. E. de Waele, and Drs. J. J. V. M. Derksen and Drs. P. G. P. Meijboom, who, from the Universities of Nijmegen, Utrecht, and Leiden, sent me their information and so spared me the trouble of many a journey.

The Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) and the Dutch Institute in Rome made it possible to collect and study the archaeological and epigraphic material. Thanks are due to Dr. C. M. Stibbe for his kind help in Rome.

And I wish to express my thankfulness to the Directors of the various musea and excavations, and in particular, without derogating the readiness to help of many others, to those in Rome, Trieste, and Aquileia.

The maps, plans, and figures in the text were drawn by Mrs. F. Derksen née Janssens. The English translation was verified by Mr. J. G. Deahl M.A. of Brill's.

This publication was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancements of Pure Research (Z.W.O.).

Hommert (Amstenrade),
28 April 1987

HENDRIK BROUWER

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
AbhMainz	*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftl. Klasse.*
AE	*L'Année Epigraphique.*
Agahd	*M. Terenti Varronis Antiquitatum Rerum Divinarum Libri I. XIV. XV. XVI. Praemissae sunt Quaestiones Varronianae,* auctore Reinholdo Agahd, Lipsiae, MDCCCXCVIII (New York 1975).
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*	Th. Ashby, *The Roman Compagna in Classical Times*, new ed. with introduction by J. B. Ward-Perkins, Westport, 1970 (1st ed. 1927).
Atlante 1-2-3	*Atlante Automobilistico* 1-2-3 (Touring Club Italiano), Milano, 1972.
Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*	J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Fabula Clodiana* in *Historia* xv (1966), pp. 65-73.
Balsdon, *Rom. Women*	J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women. Their History and Habits*, London, 1962.
Bang	M. Bang, *Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven* in *RM* XXV (1910), pp. 223-251.
Bastet-Brunsting	F. L. Bastet-H. Brunsting, *Corpus Signorum Classicorum Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi, Catalogus van het Klassieke Beeldhouwwerk in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (= *Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*—C.N.M.A.L.—volume V), Zutphen, 1982 (2 vols.).
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
Becher, *Heilgötter*	Ilse Becher, *Antike Heilgötter und die römische Staatsreligion* in *Philologus* 114 (1970), pp. 211-255.
BJÖI	*Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien. Beiblatt.*
Bömer I. II	F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, die Fasten* I. II, Heidelberg, 1957. 1958.
Bömer, *Untersuch.*	F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom,* 1. Teil: *Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im lateinischen Westen* in *AbhMainz*, Jahrg. 1957, No 7.
Borgo, *Iscr. sacre*	Francesca Borgo, *Per la storia dei culti a Roma. Le iscrizioni sacre scoperte tra il 1915 ed il 1967*, Roma, 1966/1967 (unpublished diss.).
Bouché-Leclerq IV	A. Bouché-Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* IV, Paris, 1882.
Boulvert, *Esclaves*	G. Boulvert, *Les esclaves et les affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Aix-en-Provence, 1964.
Brants	Joh.ª P. J. Brants, *Beschrijving van de klassieke verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* I, *Grieksch-Romeinsche Beeldhouwkunst,* 's-Gravenhage, 1927,
Broughton I. II	*The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, by T. R. S. Broughton, I (with the collaboration of Marcia L. Patterson) (509 B.C.-100

	B.C.). II (99 B.C.-31 B.C.), New York, 1951. 1952 (=*Philological Monographe publ. by the American Philological Association* XV, vols. I & II).
Brouwer	H. H. J. Brouwer, *The Great Mother and the Good Goddess. The History of an Identification* in *Hommages* I, pp. 142-159.
BullCom	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.*
Bultmann	R. Bultmann, *Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum* in *Philologus* 97 (1948), pp. 1-36.
Caetani-Lovatelli	Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, *L'antico culto di Bona Dea in Roma* in *Scritti vari,* Roma, 1898, pp. 27-48.
Cagnat^4	R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine,* Paris, 1914^4.
Cagnat-Chapot	R. Cagnat-V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archélogie romaine* I, Paris, 1916.
Calderini	A. Calderini, *Aquileia romana, ricerche di storia e di epigrafia,* Milano, 1930 (=*Pubbl. della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore,* serie quinta, *scienze storiche*, vol.X).
Callari, *Ville*	C. Callari, *Le ville di Roma*, Roma, 1934.
Calza, *Bona Dea*	G. Calza, *Il Tempio della Bona Dea (Ostia)*, Roma, 1943 (=*NS,* estratto dal fasc. 20, serie VII, vol. III, 1942).
Calza-Becatti	G. Calza-G. Becatti, *Ostia* (=*Itinerari* 1), Roma, 1970^{10}.
Campania	*Campania* (non compresa Napoli), *Guida d'Italia* (18) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1963^3
Camps	W.A. Camps, *Ptrospertius, Elegies Book IV*, Cambridge, 1965.
Caprino, *Porte Capena*	Cathia Caprino, *Regio I: Porta Capena*=*Fontes* VIII, Romae, 1955.
Carcopino, *Ostiensia*	J. Carcopino, *Ostiensia I: Glanures Epigraphiques* in *MEFR* XXIX (1909), pp. 341-364.
Carter, *Epitheta*	J. B. Carter, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur*, Lipsiae, 1902 (=*ML* VII Suppl.)
CCCA III.IV	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* III. *Italia—Latium*; IV. *Italia—Aliae Provinciae,* Leiden, 1977. 1978 (=*EPRO* 50).
Cébeillac	Mireille Cébeillac, *Octavia, épouse de Gamala, et la Bona Dea* in *MEFRA*, tome 85—1973—2, pp. 517-553.
Chantraine	H. Chantraine, *Freigelassenen und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser. Studien zur ihrer Nomenklatur,* Wiesbaden, 1967 (=*Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei* I).
Chastagnol, *Fast.*	A. Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire,* Paris, 1962 (=*Etudes Prosopographiques* II).
Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1. 2	Wilhelm von Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* 6. Aufl., unter Mitwirkung von Otto Stählin bearb. von Wilhelm Schmid, II 1, München, 1959 (1920); Wilhelm von Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,* 6. Aufl., umgearb. von Wilhelm Schmid und Otto Stählin, II 2, München, 1961 (1924) (=*HAW* VII. 2.1 and 2).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
Clarac	F. de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne,* continué sur les mss de l'auteur par A. Maury, Paris, 1827-1853.
Clerc	M. Clerc, *Aquae Sextiae. Histoire d'Aix en Provence dans l'Antiquité,* Marseilles, 1973.
Coarelli, *Cult. or*	F. Coarelli, *Monumenti dei culti orientali in Roma. Questioni topografiche e cronologiche* in *La Soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano,* Leiden, 1982 (=*EPRO* 92), pp. 33-67.
Colini, *Celio*	A. Colini, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'Antichità,* Città del Vaticano, 1944 (=*MemPontAcc*, vol. VII).
Cumont, *Bona Dea*	F. Cumont, *La Bona Dea et ses serpents* in *MEFR* XLIX (1932), pp. 1-5.

DA	Ch. Daremberg-E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.*
Davies	*Macrobius, The Saturnalia*, translated with an introduction and notes by P. V. Davies, New York and London, 1969 (=Number LXXIX of the *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies*)
DE	*Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane di* E. di Ruggiero.
De-Marchi, *Cult, priv.* I. II	A. De-Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica,* I: *La religione nella vita domestica, iscrizioni e offerte votive;* II: *La religione gentilizia e collegiale*, Milano, 1896; 1903 (New York 1975).
Deubner, *Att. Feste*	L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Darmstadt, 1966 (Berlin 1932; 2. durchgesehene und erweiterte Aufl. von B. Doer).
Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*	A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde, ein Versuch über Volksreligion*, Darmstadt, 1967 (Leipzig und Berlin 1925^{3}).
DKP	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike.*
Von Domaszewski, *Rel.*	A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895 (New York 1975).
Drumann-Groebe IV-1	W. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Uebergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung, oder Pompeius, Caesar, Cicero und ihre Zeitgenossen nach Geschlechtern und mit genealogischen Tabellen*, 4. Band: *Iunii-Pompeii*, 1. Hälfte, Leipzig, 1908^{2}.
Dubois	Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique (Histoire et topographie)*, Paris, 1907 (=*Bibl. des Ecoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 98),
Duff, *Freedmen*	A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire,* Oxford, 1928.
Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*	G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque* (suivi d'un appendice sur *la religion des Etrusques*), Paris, 1966 (*Bibl. Hist.*)
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale.*
Edelstein	Emma & L. Edelstein, *Asclepius, a Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols., New York, 1975 (Baltimore 1945).
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica.*
Eisler	R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt, religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes*, 1. Band, München, 1910.
Eitrem	S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Kristiania, 1915 (= *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter* II. *Hist.-Filos. Klasse.* 1914 No 1).
Emilia-Romagna	*Emilia-Romagna, Guida d'Italia* (10) del Touring Club Italiano, $1971.^{5}$
Enc. Ital.	*Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Letter ed Arte.*
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* publ. par M. J. Vermaseren.
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1959^{4}).
Erman, *Serv. vic.*	H. Erman, *Servus vicarius, l'esclave de l'esclave romain* in *Recueil publ. par la Faculté de Droit (Université de Lausanne) à l'occasion de l'Exposition Nationale Suisse-Genève 1896*, Lausanne (n.d.), pp. 389-535.
Ernout-Meillet I	A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, histoire des mots* I, Paris, $1959.^{4}$
Farnell	L. R. Farnell, *Sociological Hypotheses Concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion* in *ARW* VII (1904), pp. 70-94.
Fehrle	E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum,* Giessen, 1910 (=*RGVV*, VI. Band).
Flamant, *Macrobe*	J. Flamant, *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du IVe siècle*, Leiden, 1977 (=*EPRO* 58).

Floriani Squarciapino	Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Un nuovo santuario della Bona Dea a Ostia* in *RendPontAcc* XXXII (1959-1960), pp. 93-95.
Fontes	*Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes.*
Frazer, *Golden Bough*	J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, a Study in Magic and Religion,* London, 1911-1920^{3} (12 vols. + *Aftermath, a Supplement to the Golden Bough,* London, 1936).
Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* III	L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms, in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* III, Leipzig, 1923 (10. Aufl., bes. von G. Wissowa).
Friúli-Venezia Giulia	*Friúli-Venezia Giulia, Guida d'Italia* (8) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1963^{4}.
Gagé, *Matronalia*	J. Gagé, *Matronalia, essai sur les dévotions et les organisations cultuelles des femmes dans l'ancienne Rome,* Bruxelles, 1963 (*Coll. Latomus* LX).
Gagé, *Romulus*	J. Gagé, *Romulus-Augustus* in *MEER* XLVII (1930), fasc. I-V, pp. 138-181.
Gagé, *Tanaquil*	J. Gagé, *Tanaquil et les rites étrusques de la "Fortune Oiseleuse", de l'ἴυγξ magique au fuseau de Caia Caecilia* in *Studi Etruschi,* vol. XXII—serie II (MCMLII-LIII), pp. 79-102.
Gallini	Clara Gallini, *Politica religiosa di Clodio* in *SteMat* 33 (1962), pp. 257-272.
Gelzer, *Caesar*	M. Gelzer, *Caesar, der Politiker und Staatsmann,* Wiesbaden, 1960^{6}.
Gelzer, *Cicero*	M. Gelzer, *Cicero, ein biographischer Versuch,* Wiesbaden, 1969.
Gelzer, *Rom. Nob.*	M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility,* Oxford, 1975^{2} (= *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik; Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit,* transl. with an introduction by R. Seager).
Ghislanzoni	E. Ghislanzoni, *Scavi nelle Terme Antoniniane* in *NS* 1912, pp. 305-325.
Gilbert	O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum,* 3 vols., Leipzig, 1883-1890.
Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*	A. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* in *RM* LII (1937), pp. 227-244.
Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* II	A. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* in *RAC* II (1954), coll. 508-510.
Greifenhagen. *Vesta*	A. Greifenhagen, *Das Vestarelief aus Wilton House,* Berlin, 1967 (121./122. *Winckelmannsprogramm der archäol. Gesellsch. zu Berlin*).
Gruppe	O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte,* I. II, München, 1906 (New York 1975).
Guarducci	Margherita Guarducci, *Nuovi documenti del culto di Caelestis a Roma* in *BullCom* LXXII (1946-1948), pp. 11-25.
Gummerus	H. Gummerus, *Der Aerztebestand im römischen Reiche nach den Inschriften = Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* III. 6 (1932).
HAW	*Handbuch der (klassischen) Altertumwissenschaft,* gegründet von I. von Müller, erweitert von W. Otto, fortgeführt von H. Bengtson.
Helbig^{4}	H. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichten Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I—IV, Tübingen, 1963-1972 (4., völlig neu bearb. Aufl. herausg. von Hermine Speier).
Hermann, *Röm. Götteralt.*	W. Hermann, *Römische Götteraltäre,* Kallmünz Opf., 1961.
Hey, *Bona Dea*	O. Hey, *Bona Dea* in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* II, Lipsiae, 1900-1906, pp. 2070-2071.
Hilgers	W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefässnamen, Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischer Gefässe nach den antiken Schriftquellen,* Düsseldorf, 1969 (= *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 31).
Hoevels	F. A. Hoevels, *Wer ist die Regina Caeli des Apuleius?* in *Hermes* 102. Band (1974), pp. 346-352.

Hofmann-Szantyr	J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München, 1965^2 (=*HAW* II 2. 2).
Hommages I. II. III	*Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, ed. par Margreet B. de Boer et T. A. Edridge, I. II. III, Leiden, 1978 (=*EPRO* 68).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGRRP I	R. Cagnat-J. Toutain-P. Jouguet, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* I, Paris, 1911.
II	*Inscriptiones Italiae.*
ILA II 2	*Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie* (II 2: ed. Gsell-Pflaum).
ILLRP I	A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* I, Firenze, 1965^2.
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berolini, 1962^3.
Imhof, *Invictus*	M. Imhof, *Beiträge aus der Thesaurus-Arbeit* X, *invictus* in *Museum Helveticum* 14 (1957), pp. 197-215.
Inscriptions de Glanum	H. Rolland, *Inscriptions de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence), Révision et complément du Corpus Inscriptionum Latrinarum* in *Gallia* II (1944), pp. 167-223.
Itinerari	*Itinerari dei Musei (Gallerie) e Monumenti d'Italia.*
Jordan-Hülsen	H. Jordan-Ch. Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* I 3, Berlin, 1907.
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies.*
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berolini, 1878.
Kajanto, *Cognomina*	I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina,* Helsinki-Helsingfors, 1965 (=*Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum.* XXXVI. 2).
Von Kaschnitz-Weinberg	G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano, 1937 (I: Testo), 1936 (II: Tavole).
Kircher	K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum*, Giessen, 1910 (=*RGVV* IX 2).
Kneissl	P. Kneissl. *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser*, Göttingen, 1969 (=*Hypomnemata, Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben* 23).
Koch. *Religio*	C. Koch, *Religio, Studien zu Kult und Glauben der Römer*, Nürnberg, 1960 (=*Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft* VII).
Latte, *RR*	K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1967^2 (=*HAW* V 4).
Lazio	*Lazio* (non compresa Roma e dintorni), *Guida d'Italia* (15) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1964^3.
Lenaghan	J. O. Lenaghan, *A Commentary on Cicero's Oration De Haruspicum Responso*, The Hague-Paris, 1969 (=*Studies in Classical Literature* 5).
Leumann	M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München, 1977 (1926-1928) (=*HAW* II 2.1).
Lewis and Short	*A Latin Dictionary,* founded on Andrews' ed. of Freund's Latin Dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by Ch. T. Lewis and Ch. Short, Oxford (1958; 1st ed. 1879).
Liddell and Scott	*A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott—*A New Edition*,revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. Stuart Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie, and with the cooperation of many scholars, Oxford, 1958 (1st ed. 1843).
Liebeschuetz	J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979.
Lugli, *Alta Semita*	G. Lugli, *Regio VI: Alta Semita*=*Fontes* XIII, Romae, 1957.

Lugli-Grosso, *Circus Max.*	G. Lugli-F. Grosso, *Regio XI: Circus Maximus*=*Fontes* XX, Romae, 1962.
Macrea, *Sabazius*	M. Macrea, *Le culte de Sabazius en Dacie* in *Dacia*, nouvelle série, III (1959), pp. 325-339.
Malaise, *Conditions*	M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Leiden, 1972 (=*EPRO* 23).
Malaise, *Inventaire*	M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie*, Leiden, 1972 (=*EPRO* 22).
Mannhardt I. II	W. Mannhardt, *Wald-und Feldkulte*, I: *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme, Mythologische Untersuchungen*; II: *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäischer Ueberlieferung erläutert*, Darmstadt, 1963 (= Berlin, 1905^{2}).
Marche	*Marche, Guida d'Italia* (13) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1979^{4}.
Marouzeau	J. Marouzeau, *"Iuppiter Optimus" et "Bona Dea"* in *Eranos, Acta Philologica Suecana*, vol. LIV (1956), pp. 227-231.
Marquardt *Privatleben* I. II	J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer* I. II, Darmstadt, 1964 (=Leipzig, 1886^{2}) (*Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* VII).
Marquardt, *RSt* I. III	J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. III, Leipzig, 1881^{2}. 1885^{2})New York 1975 (*Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* IV. VI).
Marucchi, *Bona Dea*	O. Marucchi, *Di una rara statuetta rappresentante la BONA DEA* in *BullCom* 1879, pp. 227-236, tav. XXIII.
Marucchi, *Éléments*	H. (=O) Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne III, Basiliques et églises de Rome*, Paris-Rome, 1909^{2}.
Mastandrea	P. Mastandrea, *Un neoplatonico latino, Cornelio Labeone*, Leiden, 1979 (=*EPRO* 77).
Matz-von Duhn	F. Matz-F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom (mit Ausschluss der grösseren Samlungen)* I-III, Leipzig, 1881-1882.
McCrum-Woodhead	M. McCrum-A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, Including the Year of the Revolution, A.D. 68-96*, Cambridge, 1966.
MEFR	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Ecole Française de Rome.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité.*
Meiggs, *Ostia*	R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia,* Oxford, 1960; 1973^{2}.
MemPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Memorie.*
Merlin, *L'Aventin*	A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité,* Paris, 1906 (*Bibl. des Ecoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 97).
ML	*Ausfürliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (in Verein mit...) herausg. von W. H. Roscher, Leipzig, 1884-1937 (Hildesheim 1965).
Mommsen, *RS*	Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1871-1875 (=*Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* I. II 1.2).
Morcelli-Fea-Visconti	S. A. Morcelli-C. Fea-P. E. Visconti, *Description de la Villa Albani, aujourd'hui Torlonia*, Rome, 1869.
Münzer, *Adelsparteien*	F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Darmstadt, 1963 (Stuttgart 1920).
Napoli e dintorni,	*Napoli e dintorni, Guida d'Italia* (19) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1960^{4}.
Nardi	Giuliana Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte, esame del territorio e dei materiali archeologici*, 2 vols.: I: *Testo*, II: *Tavole*, Roma, 1980 (Consiglio Nazionale delle Richerche. Centro di Studio per l'Archeologia Etrusco-Italica. *Ricognizioni archeologiche in Etruria* 4).
Nibby	A. Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de'dintorni di Roma* I. II, Roma, 1848^{2}.

Nilsson, *GGR*	M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I. II, München, 1967^3. 1961^2 (=*HAW* V 2. 1 and 2).
NS	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford (1949/1957).
OrRR	*Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, herausg. von M. J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1981 (=*EPRO* 93).
Otto, *Manen*	W. F. Otto, *Die Manen oder von den Urformen des Totenglaubens, eine Untersuchung zur Religion der Griechen, Römer und Semiten und zum Volksglauben überhaupt*, Darmstadt, 1962^3.
Panciera, *Aquileia*	S. Panciera, Vita economica di Aquileia in età romana, Aquileia, 1957 (=*Associazione per Aquileia*, Quaderno 6).
Panciera, *Documenti*	S. Panciera, *Nuovi documenti epigrafici per la topografia di Roma antica* in *RendPontAcc* XLIII (1970-1971), pp. 109-134.
Panvini-Rosati	F. Panvini-Rosati, *Regio II: Caelemontium=Fontes* IX, Romae, 1955.
Paratore	E. Paratore, *Motivi soteriologici nella letteratura latina della tarda età repubblicana e della prima età imperiale* in *La Soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, Leiden, 1982 (=*EPRO* 92), pp. 333-350.
Peter, *Bona Dea*	R. Peter, *Bona Dea* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 789-795.
La Piana	G. La Piana, *Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire* in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XX (1927), number 4, pp. 183-403.
Picard, *Glanum*	Ch. Picard, *Les religions étrangères à Glanum: le quartier cultuel hellénistique* in *RACentre* II. 1 (1963), pp. 179-202.
Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*	Giulia Piccaluga, *Bona Dea, due contributi all'interpretazione del suo culto* in *SteMat* XXXV (1964), pp. 195-237.
Pietrangeli	C. Pietrangeli, *I monumenti dei culti orientali*, Roma, 1951 (=*Catal. dei Musei Comunali di Roma, I Musei Capitolini).*
PIR^1 I. II. III	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I. II. III,* I (E. Klebs), Berolini, 1897; II (H. Dessau), 1897; III (P. von Rohden-H. Dessau), 1898 (1978).
PIR^2 I. II. III. IV 1. 2. 3. V 1	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I. II. III,* I (E. Groag-A. Stein), Berolini et Lipsiae, 1933; II (E. Groag-A. Stein), 1936; III, 1943; IV 1 (A. Stein-Leiva Petersen), Berolini, 1952-1966; IV 2 (*e schedis* Edmundi Groag et Arturi Stein), 1958; IV 3 (Leiva Petersen). 1966; V 1 (Leiva Petersen), 1970.
Platner-Ashby	S. B. Platner-T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* Roma, 1965 (1929).
Poland	F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesen*, Leipzig, 1967 (1909) (=*Preisschriften gekrönt und herausg. von der fürstlich Jablonowkischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig,* Nr. XXIII der historisch-national-ökonomischen Sektion, XXXVIII).
Provence-Côte d'Azur	Les Guides Bleus: *Provence-Côte d'Azur*, Paris, 1971.
Puglia	*Puglia, Guida d'Italia* (20) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1978^4.
RA	*Revue Archéologique,*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.*
RACentre	*Revue Archéologique du Centre*
Radke, *Beobachtungen*	G. Radke, *Beobachtungen zum römischen Kalender* in *RhM.* Neue Folge 106 (1963), pp. 313-335.
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Neue Bearbeitung.
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes.*
Reinach, *RS*	S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et latine* II-I, Paris, 1897.

RendLinc	*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti.*
RendPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti.*
RGVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
RIB	R. G. Collingwood-R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I *Inscriptions on Stone*, Oxford, 1965.
Richter	F. Richter, *Lateinische Sacralinschriften*, Bonn, 1911 (=*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen,* herausg. von H. Lietzmann, 68).
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
Rolland, *Fouilles* I	H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence), Fouilles et Monuments archéologiques en France Métropolitaine* (Suppl. à *Gallia*), Paris, 1946.
Rolland, *Fouilles* II	H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum 1947-1956,* Paris, 1958 (=XIe Suppl. à *Gallia*).
Rolland, *Valetudo*	H. Rolland, *Un temple de Valetudo à Glanum* in *RA* XLVI (Juillet-Décembre 1955), pp. 27-53.
Roma e dintorni	*Roma e dintorni, Guida d'Italia* (16) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1965^{6}.
Saglio, *Bona Dea*	E. Saglio, *Bona Dea* in *DA* I-I (1877), pp. 725-726.
Sanders	G. Sanders, *Bijdrage tot de studie der Latijnse metrische grafschriften van het heidense Rome: de begrippen "Licht" en "Duisternis" en verwante themata,* Brussel, 1960 (= *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België,* Klasse der Letteren, Verhandelingen nr 370).
Šašel	Anna and J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*—Accedunt corrigenda ad volumen I operis V. Hoffiller et B. Saria, *Inschriften aus Jugoslavien*, Zagreb, 1938, indices, tabulae geographicae duae, Ljubljana, 1963 (=*SITULA, Rasprave Narodnega Muzeja V Ljubljani, Disertationes Musei Nationalis Labacensis* 5).
Savage, *Trastevere*	S. M. Savage, *The Cults of Ancient Trastevere* in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XVII (1940), pp. 26-56.
Schanz-Hosius I. II. III. IV 1. 2	*Geschichte der römischen Literatur, bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian,* von M. Schanz, I: *Die römische Literatur in der Zeit der Republik,* 4. neubearb. Aufl. von C. Hosius, München, ($1966 = 1927^{4}$); II: *Die römische Literatur in der Zeit der Monarchie bis auf Hadrian,* 4. neuarb. Aufl. von C. Hosius ($1967 = 1935^{4}$); III: *Die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324,* 3. neuarb. Aufl. von C. Hosius und G. Krüger ($1969 = 1922^{3}$); IV: *Die römische Literatur von Constantin bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk Justinians,* 1. *Die Literatur des 4. Jahrhunderts* ($1970 = 1914^{2}$); 2: *Die Literatur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts,* von M. Schanz, C. Hosius und G. Krüger (1971 = 1920) (=*HAW* VIII 1. 2. 3. 4 1-2).
Schilling, *Vénus*	R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus, depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste,* Paris, 1954 (Bibl. des Ecoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 178).
Schmidt, *Kultübertr.*	E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen*, Giessen, 1910 (=*RGVV* VIII 2).
Scrinari, *Staranzaro*	Valnea Scrinari, *Scavo archeologico a Staranzaro* in *Aquileia Nostra* XXVI (1955), coll. 29-40.
Scrinari, *Trieste*	Valnea Scrinari, *Tergeste (Trieste), Regio X-Venetia et Histria* (=*Italia Romana: municipi e colonie*, ser. I, vol. X, 1951).

Sirago	V. A. Sirago, *L'Italia agraria sotto Traiano*, Louvain, 1958 (= *Université de Louvain, recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie,* 4e série, fasc. 16).
Sommer	F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, Heidelberg, 1914.
SteMat	*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.*
Sticotti, *Bona Dea*	P. Sticotti, *Bona Dea* in *Aquileia Nostra* X (1939), coll. 27-34.
Sticotti, *Epigrafi*	P. Sticotti, *Epigrafi romane d'Istria* in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia patria* XXIV (1908), pp. 219-339.
Stuart Jones	H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori,* Oxford, 1926 (2 vols., text and plates).
Von Sydow	W. von Sydow, *Funde und Grabungen in Latium und Ostia* 1957-1975 in *AA* 1976, pp. 394-395.
Taylor, *Etruria*	Lily Ross Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria* = *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome* II (1923).
Taylor, *Ostia*	Lily Ross Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia*, Bryn Mawr, 1912 (= *Bryn Mawr Monographs*, Monograph Series XI).
Thilo-Hagen I. II. III 1. 2	*Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii,* recens. G. Thilo et H. Hagen, I: *Aen.* I-V, recens. G. Thilo; II: *Aen.* VI-XII, recens. G. Thilo; III 1: *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii,* recens. G. Thilo; III 2: *Appendix Serviana, ceteros praeter Servium et Scholia Bernensia Vergilii Commentarores Continens,* recens. H. Hagen, Lipsiae, 1881-1902,
Thylander	H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie,* Lund,1951 (Planches), 1952 (Texte) (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom,* 8⁰ IV: 1 and 2; *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, series in 8⁰ IV: 1 and 2).
Toscana	*Toscana* (non compresa Firenze), *Guida d'Italia* (11) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1974^4
Tunisie	Les Guides Bleus: *Tunisie*, Paris, 1974.
Turcan	R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône*, Leiden, 1972 (= *EPRO* 31).
Umbria	*Umbria, Guida d'Italia* (14) del Touring Club Italiano, Milano, 1956^4.
Usener, *Götternamen*	H. Usener, *Götternamen. Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung,* Frankfurt a/M., 1948^3.
Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*	D. Vaglieri, *Bona Dea* in *DE* I (1895), pp. 1012-1015.
Veneto	*Veneto* (non compresa Venezia), *Guida d'Italia* (5) del Touring Club Italiano, 1969^5.
Veyne	P. Veyne, *Epigraphica* in *Latomus* XXIII (1964), pp. 30-41.
Via Ostiense	Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Il Museo della Via Ostiense*, Roma, 1955 (= *Itinerari* 91).
Wagenvoort, *Ceres*	H. Wagenvoort, *The Goddess Ceres and her Roman Mysteries* in *Pietas, Selected Studies In Roman Religion,* Leiden, 1980 (= *Studies in Greek and Roman Religion* I), pp. 114-146.
Wagenvoort, *Imperium*	H. Wagenvoort, *Imperium, Studiën over het "Mana-begrip in zede en taal der Romeinen,* Amsterdam, 1941.
Waltzing I. II. III. IV	J.-P. Waltzing, *Etude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains, depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occident* I—IV, Bruxelles-Louvain, 1895-1900 (Hildesheim-New York 1970) (= *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publ. par l'Ac. Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,* Coll. in 8⁰-Tome L, vol. I).
Warde Fowler	W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the*

	Republic, an Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans, London, 1925.
Weaver	P. R. C. Weaver, *Vicarius and Vicarianus in the Familia Caesaris* in *JRS* LIV (1964), pp. 117-128.
Weinreich	O. Weinreich, Θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι in *AM* XXXVII (1912), pp. 1-68.
Weinstock, *Divus Julius,*	St. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford, 1971.
Wilkes, *Dalmatia*	J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969 (*History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire*).
Wissowa, *Bona Dea*	G. Wissowa, *Bona Dea* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 686-694.
Wissowa, *RKR*	G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* München, 1912^2 (=*HAW* V 4).
Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*	F. Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi* in *Epigraphica* XXX (1968), pp. 83-95.

INTRODUCTION

Bona Dea, The Sources and a Description of the Cult is divided into two parts.

Part I is a catalogue of the data from Antiquity concerning Bona Dea and her cult. This catalogue is subdivided into two sections: I *Archaeological and Epigraphic Sources* and II *Literary Sources.* The archaeological and epigraphic information has been organized geographically starting in Rome because the concentration of the Bona Dea cult is greatest there and moreover because it is there that the provenance of the goddess is to be sought in her original, Roman-Latin form. This, however, does not imply that in Rome and Latium the cult of the goddess is only found in that form that is the original one according to the literary sources. Indeed it is in cosmopolitan Rome that the ideas about the goddess reveal influences of many kinds, so that from the epigraphic material a Bona Dea emerges who in many respects does not correspond to the type of a native Latin goddess.

The monuments listed in I-I are of two kinds. On the one hand there are representations of the goddess—anepigraphic for the greater part—that can be recognized as such because they correspond to the prototype that may be established because of the inscription (mentioning the goddess's name) on a Bona Dea statuette from Albano (I-I, No. 73). Bona Dea is represented as a matronal deity seated on a throne and wearing a long tunic and a flowing cloak; a serpent is coiled round her right arm and drinks from a cup which the goddess holds in her right hand; in her left arm Bona Dea bears the horn of plenty. The combination of the two attributes, serpent and cornucopia, supplies the means to identify a given goddess as Bona Dea and to distinguish her from other goddesses who can claim only one of these attributes, for example Fortuna the cornucopia or Hygieia the serpent. (But cf. G. Ch. Picard, *L'Iconographie de Bona Dea* in *BCH,* Supplément XIV (1986), pp. 111-116). If the identity of the goddess represented is doubtful, due, say, to damage to the statue in question, so that the characteristic attributes are not clearly recognizable, the relevant No. is set in brackets. This system is also applied to the other Nos of I-I and I-II when a reference to Bona Dea or her cult is not altogether recognizable.

On the other hand, we have inscriptions in honour of the goddess or referring to Bona Dea and her cult; and these form the greater part of the monuments in I-I. The contents of the inscriptions range widely. In the catalogue are to be found temple consecrations, expressions of gratitude for cures or manumission, gifts of cult objects, and more. A not insignificant part of the inscriptions is sepulchral in character and mentions incumbents of offices having to do with the Bona Dea cult.

Dubious references are not listed in the catalogue, however valuable they may be as evidence of a (later) interest in the goddess and the cult. In *CIL* VI for instance (Pars Quinta: *Inscriptiones Falsas Urbi Romae Attributas Comprehendens,* Berolini, MDCCCXXXV), some six falsifications by Pyrrhus Ligorius, Pirro Ligorio, †1593 (probably).

> cf. *CIL* VI-I, pp. LI-LIII, No. XLIII; Erna Mandowsky-Ch. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities. The Drawings in Ms XIII. B. 7 in the National Library in Napels*, London, 1963 (*Studies of the Warburg Institute* 28), esp. pp. 1-6, 35-51). By Ligorio "Fraudes plurimae ita comparatae sunt, ut monumenta sincera aut interpolaverit aut imitatus sit. Non minus multae prorsus fictae sunt, in qua re modo utitur nominibus hominum locorumve vere antiquis, modo excogitat nomina plane monstruosa, quibus saepe tribuat relliquias sepulcrorum villarumque, ut quae in agro Romano vel supererant vel ibi superesse ipse fingit. Itaque in iis quoque, quae de aedificiis antiquis rebusque topographicis tradit, fide minime dignus est (*CIL* VI-I, p. LIII)".

Though not belonging to the catalogue some of these inscriptions are interesting enough to be mentioned in this introduction, not least on account of the relations between Bona Dea and other deities or the places of worship that are suggested by them.

They are the following (*CIL* VI-V, p. 21*, under the heading *Falsae Ligorianae*):

140* *in Aventino, nel horto tra S. Alessio e la ch. di S. Maria*
bona deae / sacrum / cloelia rufina / virgo vest / ex. v.s.l.m.
Taur. 15 f. 110

141* s. l.
q. hortensius q. f. palatina terentianus / sacell. et sign. bonae deae pecunia sua / restit. idemque ar. dedicavit kalen / mart. c. acerronio proculo et c. pontio negrino cos
Cod. Parisinus

142* s. l.
bonae deae / sacrum / q. vannutius q. f. popin / felix veteran / et tesserarius castr. alb. / v.s.l.m.
Taur. 18 s.v. Vannutia

143* *tr. nell'Aventino*
bonae deae / sacrum / m. venuleus antistius / sacerdos m.d.m.i. / et attis populi ro/manI mInoturani / kal. april / imp. flavio domitiano $\overline{\mathrm{VII}}$ / et tito caes. $\overline{\mathrm{VII}}$ cos.
Taur. 15 f, 109' (inde Gudius ms. 1686, 3, ed. 54, 1)

144* propre viam sacram, ubi olim fuit forum Caesaris in basi marmorea VAT., s. l. *base di marmo* PARIS.
bonae deae et veneri genetr. sacrum / merito libens / c. iulius c.l. eucherius
Vatic. 3439 f. 28; cod. Parisinus.

And p. 43*:

534* *tr. nella via sacra*
dIs magnis / matri deum et attidis / q. flasius praetextatus / omallinus u. c / augur p.u.b.p.r.q.p. / et hieroceryx d.s.i.m. / hierofanta hecatae sa/cerdos Isidis bonae deae / et archibucolus deI / liberi / percepto taurobolio et / criobolio aram sacra/vit dedicavitq. idibus / augustis $\overline{\mathrm{dd}}$. $\overline{\mathrm{nn}}$. valente / aug. ū et valentiniano / iun. caes. conss
Taur. 15 f. 109'.

In one of the *Falsae Gutenstenianae* (cf. *CIL* VI-V, pp. 222*-227*) Augustus appears as a Bona Dea priest. P. 226*:

3273* basis ad D. Petri basilicam.
imp. caes. divi fil / augusto / terra mariq / victorI / sacerdot. bonae deae / et colleq. viI vir. epulon / commun. pop. voto / ravenat / d.d.
Grut. 227, 1 'ex Ursini schedis'.

Section II, *The Literary Sources*, is given in chronological order for the following reason: the interest of classical authors in Bona Dea and her cult concerns mainly the official worship of the goddess in Rome; references to other towns are few and far between and of minor importance to our knowledge of the cult, so that a geographical division as in I-I would not be appropriate here. Unlike the monuments listed in I-I, moreover, which largely reflect a personal relationship between goddess and worshipper, the passages quoted in I-II are mostly of a more theoretical nature. The literary information, from 61 B.C. to circa A.D. 800, usually consists of reflections about the nature of the goddess and the purport of her cult so that a chronological survey offers a description of the development of these ideas and of the several influences affecting them.

The idiosyncrasies of the Bona Dea cult have induced many a classical author to pay attention to the goddess in his works. This is done for a variety of reasons: the State goddess is used by Cicero as a political weapon in that he represents Bona Dea as personifying the Roman tradition which ought to be safe-guarded against reformation. Incorporated in Latium's pseudo-history Bona Dea's appearance is supposed to account for the rules and regulations of her cult, whereas in fact it was the other way round: the myths originated in the rites. The student and the divine find material in the Bona Dea cult for their speculations about the nature of the deity. Moreover the mysterious sphere and entourage of the cult give ample scope for exciting the reader's curiosity, and the Christian authors regard the goddess and her cult as typical of what—as they see it—is ridiculous and revolting in paganism.

Part I only gives concise notes on the external particulars of the monuments and no more than a short introduction and cross-references to the literary passages.

The elaboration of the data given in the two sections of the catalogue is offered in Part II: *The Goddess and her Cult.* Part II aims not only to establish the ancient sources as the foundation of the study as a whole but also to take them as starting-points for the separate investigations concerning Bona Dea and her cult. Starting from the archaeological, epigraphic, and literary sources Part II endeavours to give a description of the appearance of the goddess and the implications of her cult.

In the past, both in Antiquity and in more recent times, Bona Dea has attracted much scholarly attention. But the greater part of these studies, ancient as well as modern, tends to throw light on one single aspect of the goddess and her cult. On the basis of one inscription or one quotation from literature one single aspect is postulated and with this in mind it is not difficult to select only the data supporting the preconceived idea. The amount of the material in which reference is made to the goddess or which goes into her manifestations is not inconsiderable. And the variety of the manifestations of Bona Dea offers ample opportunity to compare her with many other deities. The prolonged existence which her cult seems to have enjoyed gave rise to adaptations to the ever-changing circumstances, to outside influences, and to the changing ideas of the notion of religion in general. A further difficulty in the way of a straightforward interpretation is the complication that Bona Dea was not worshipped by one social class only—whatever some literary sources may assert to the contrary—nor according to the same rules and regulations in every town; the goddess worshipped in aristocratic circles in Rome in the first century B.C. differs from the goddess of the same name venerated by Aquileian freedwomen of the third century A.D.

One is struck by the fact that modern studies without exception follow one of two trains of thought; the research either presupposes that the goddess is of indigenous Roman origin or assumes that the concept was imported from Greece. Generation after generation of students have painstakingly proceeded along either of these lines and have invariably come to a conclusion in accordance with one or other train of thought. Frequently, his process involved a disregard of sources failing to support the given option. All this has served as an actuating motive to judge modern studies on their own merits, that is, to regard them as secondary information and use them merely to verify personal findings arrived at by studying the primary sources.

Let us compare in this context the disproportionate value given the name of Damia for Bona Dea, which is only found in the lexica. (I-II, Nos. *55, 69, 71*). All these can be traced back to one single source, Verrius Flaccus. However, the fact that this name is found in connection with Bona Dea was cause enough for some scholars to make the goddess who goes by the name Damia the centre of the Bona Dea cult (cf. D. de' Guidobaldi, *Damia o Buona Dea ad occasione d'una iscrizione osca opistografa su di una terracotta campana del Museo Nazionale,* Napoli, 1865; Wissowa, *Bona Dea*, col. 690, and *RKR*, p. 216; R. Peter, *Damia* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 943-945).

To be sure, all this does not mean that no outstanding work has been done in the field of Bona Dea research. There is, for instance, the study by M. Motty, *De Fauno et Fauna sive Bona Dea eiusque mysteriis*, Berolini, MDCCCXL. But as he had no access to the information which is at present available, Motty's conclusions could not but be limited, whereas the general plan of the study testifies to his insight into the matter. An excellent survey of the representations of the goddess was published by Greifenhagen (*Bona*

Dea I and II). For the Bona Dea cult in the North of Italy and the contiguous districts the studies by Calderini and Sticotti are valuable sources. For an illustration of certain aspects of goddess and cult Piccaluga's work cannot be neglected. These are but a few examples from the abundant material.

Repeatedly, however, one feels the lack of a really general survey of what can be traced concerning Bona Dea. This either results in a limitation of conclusions, or, conversely, in an overestimation of the importance of this goddess and her cult in the whole of Roman religious life.

Not only is the collecting of the original material most entlightening—it already leads to clearer insight into the character of the goddess and of her cult— but so too is the collating within each category of sources and the detailed comparison of the archaeological and epigraphic data on the one hand and the notions of the classical authors on the other. Getting the material together, collating it, establishing similarities and discrepancies, eliminating irrelevant data results in a picture of Bona Dea that is more complicated than that of an unchanging native deity or an imported goddess of Greek origin.

Part II consists of five chapters III *The Goddess*-IV *The Worshippers*-V *The Propagation of the Cult*-VI *The Goddess and her Cult*-VII *Findings for the Cult based on the Archaeological Remains compared with other Data.*

In Chapter III attention is paid to the goddess's name, to the adjective that is part of that name, and to the epithets revealing the goddess's nature.

Chapter IV offers a survey of the worshippers known from epigraphical and literary sources. A classification on the basis of social class has been used throughout, as social circumstances have not been without their influence on ideas concerning religion in general and Bona Dea worship in particular. People of all social strata are known to have worshipped the goddess, which contrasts with the aristocratic nature of the Bona Dea cult which classical authors so strongly stress. Not only women but men too—and not an inconsiderable number—are found to be worshippers. From this we may infer that Bona Dea was not considered as an exclusively "women's goddess", as is asserted time and again in classical literature.

Chapter V is subdivided into two parts A) *Centres of Worship* and B) *Worship by Individuals.* The distinction between the two has been based on the number of indications known from a given site, or when there is only one on the explicitness of that indication. For instance, when one is dealing with a temple or a cult statue one may assume that this is evidence of worship going beyond the personal initiative of an individual worshipper.

In Chapter VI follow more detailed particulars about the myth and cult of Bona Dea; the various forms her cult has known are treated separately. The chapter is subdivided into two parts: A) *Peculiar Aspects of the Bona Dea Worship* and B) *A Description of the Bona Dea Cult.*

In part A) those elements are discussed which classical authors considered characteristic of the goddess and her cult. As for the greater part of the particulars of the cult, the myths dealing with Bona Dea are put forward as sound foundation; but theological speculation also plays a part in the ideas concerning the nature of the goddess which is reflected in her ritual. The first sections give a description of Bona Dea as a mythological being and of such elements as are basic to the contents of the myths and are found in the cult: wine, milk, and honey; myrtle; the serpent. The theme of the next section is the sacrifice that is offered to her, a sow (in pig); it does not figure in the myths around Bona Dea, but it does form a starting-point for the speculative theories about the goddess. Then speculations about the goddess mainly found in Macrobius, but based on mostly older sources.

Part B) goes on to offer a detailed discussion of the various forms of the cult: the role of Bona Dea as a protectress of the Roman people in its entirety and consequently offered sacrifice *pro populo*; Bona Dea as the patroness of *collegia*, private associations; Bona Dea as venerated by individual worshippers. In the first form no personal relationship between worshipper and goddess is to be expected; nor is the appearance of the goddess subject to personal interpretation by the worshipper. The relationship will be more personal in the case of worship by sodalities and even more so when individuals worship privately. It is obvious that in the last case no uniform representation can be expected, as each individual worshipper calls upon the goddess for personal reasons. The appearance which the goddess takes in such a dedication corresponds to the capacities which the private worshipper believes her to have. For all that one should bear in mind that members belonging to *collegia* which take the goddess as their patroness as well as private worshippers will all have known Bona Dea as a State goddess. However personal the interpretation may have been, it can safely be assumed that Bona Dea's official status was felt to be a legalization of any private veneration.

The two kinds of sources—archaeological-epigraphic and literary—barely complement each other to produce a uniform picture. They rather seem to contradict each other in a not inconsiderable number of instances. An explanation is first of all to be sought in the circumstance that the majority of the dedications are intended expressions of personal devotion; and that, as was said before, the image of the goddess—even if within certain limits because a deity is invoked on the grounds of known qualities—is subject to personal interpretation. On the other hand, the classical writer, however personal his feelings towards the matter may be, is not addressing himself to the deity as a dedicant in a direct relation but rather to the reading public. At any rate as a starting-point for his information about the goddess the author will have to accept the general concept behind the name of Bona Dea. Whatever personal thoughts he wishes to offer his reader, the goddess must be such that the reader can follow the author's train of thought.

The different interpretations of the cult in the various social strata, the propagation of the cult throughout the empire which led to its being subject to ever-varying local influences, and the prolonged existence of Bona Dea worship which laid it open to the influences of the changing views in the course of the centuries, are also all reasons, as we noted above, for the lack of uniformity in the Bona Dea cult.

Chapter VII finally lists the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the Bona Dea cult from the archaeological remains. This chapter is based on the sanctuaries that have been excavated, as these offer a high degree of certainty concerning what one conceives to have been the practice of Bona Dea worship. What has been learned in this way is compared to what has been gathered about the temples and shrines of the goddess from literary and epigraphic sources. Chapter VII is divided into two parts in which State sanctuaries and those serving sodalities are dealt with separately.

PART ONE

THE SOURCES

SUMMARY OF THE SOURCES

I. *The Archaeological and Epigraphic Sources*

The monuments have been organized geographically starting in Rome as the most important centre of the Bona Dea cult. Those Nos. that do not definitely refer to Bona Dea are within brackets.

Italia (Nos. 1-126)

Regio I (Latium: Nos. 1-(77)) **Roma** (Nos. 1-33)[1]

1 *CIL* VI 60 (*Regio* I ?)
2 *CIL* VI 55 (*Regio* II ?)
3 Cumont, *Bona Dea*=*AE* 1933, 143 (*Regio* II)
4 *CIL* VI 64=*ILS* 3502 (*Regio* II ?)
5 *CIL* VI 56=*ILS* 5453 (*Regio* VI)
(6) *CIL* VI 30.948 (*Regio* VIII)
(7) Guarducci, pp. 18-19=Pietrangeli, p. 22, No. 35 (*Regio* VIII)
8 *NS* 1912, p. 313=*BullCom* 1916, p. 204=*AE* 1917-1918, p. 22, No. 94 (*Regio* XII)
9 *EE* IV 723a=*CIL* VI 30.855=*ILS* 1621 (*Regio* XIII)
BullCom LXVIII (1940), p. 177, No. 5=*AE* 1946, p. 25, No. 93 (*Regio* XIII)
10 *CIL* VI 65=*ILS* 3500 (*Regio* XIV)
11 *CIL* VI 66=*ILS* 3501 (*Regio* XIV)
12 *CIL* VI 67=*ILS* 3501a (*Regio* XIV)
13 *CIL* VI 75=*ILS* 3508 (*Regio* XIV)
14 *CIL* VI 36.766 (*Regio* XIV)
15 *CIL* I^2 972 (=816)=VI 59=VI 30.688=*ILS* 3491
16 *CIL* VI 54
17 *CIL* VI 57=*CIL* VI-V 3612*
18 *CIL* VI 62
19 *EE* IV 722=*CIL* VI 69=30.689=*ILS* 3511
20 *CIL* VI 71=*ILS* 3505
21 *CIL* VI 72=*ILS* 3514=Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea,* p. 227, No. 10
22 *CIL* VI 73=*ILS* 3506
23 *CIL* VI 74=*ILS* 3507
24 *CIL* VI 76=*ILS* 3515

---

[1] The Roman *regiones* are indicated when the provenance can be traced.

25 *CIL* VI 2236
26 *CIL* VI 2237
27 *CIL* VI 2238
28 *CIL* VI 30.853
29 *EE* IV 723 = *CIL* VI 30.854 = *ILS* 3504
30 *EE* IV 872 = *CIL* VI 32.461
31 *IG* XIV 1449 = Kaibel No. 588 = *IGRRP* I 212 = *CCCA* III 271
32 (A-B-C) Clarac IV, pl. 558, No. 1186 A-C = Reinach, *RS* I, p. 294 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, Nos. 6-8 (*Regio* II ?)
33 Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 9

Surroundings of **Roma**

(Nos. 34-44)

34 *CIL* VI 70 (Nomentum)
35 *CIL* VI 2239 (Outside the Porta S. Pancrazio)
36 *CIL* VI 2240 (= 4003) (Via Appia)
37 *CIL* VI 30.852 (Via Aurelia)
38 *CIL* VI 36.765 = *ILS* 9249 = *AE* 1908, p. 55, No. 225 (Via Nomentana)
39 *NS* 1957, pp. 334-336 = *AE* 1960, 253 (Via Tuscolana)
40 *CIL* VI 58 (Via Aurelia)
41 *CIL* VI 63 (S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura?)
42 *CIL* VI 53 (Tor Sapienza)
43 *CIL* VI 38.755 = *ILS* 9437 (Via Nomentana)
44 *CIL* VI 68 = *ILS* 3513 (Via Ostiense)

Provenance Unknown

(but prob. Rome and surroundings)

(Nos. 45-(46'))

45 Von Kaschnitz-Weinberg I, p. 64, No. 16; II, tav. XXIX, No. 116 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 4
46 Brants, p. 14, No. 43 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* II, col. 510
(46') *CIL* VI 825

Velitrae

(Nos. (47), 48, (49))

(47) *CIL* X 6595 = *ILS* 8069
48 *CIL* VI 61
(49) Clarac IV, p. 557, No. 1186 = Reinach, *RS* I, p. 294 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 228, No. 11

(*prope*) **Ficulea**

50 *CIL* XIV 4001

Fidenae
(Nos. 51-54)

51 *CIL* XIV 4057

52 *NS* 1929, p. 262, No. 9

53 *NS* 1929, p. 262, No. 10

54 *NS* 1929, p. 263, No. 11

Ostia[2]
(Nos. 55-(66))

55 *NS* 1942, p. 163 = *AE* 1946, No. 221 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84, p. 85 = *AE* 1968, No. 80 (*Regio* IV - *Insula* VIII-3)

56 *CIL* XIV 5411 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84, p. 85 (*Regio* IV - *Insula* VIII-3)

57 *CIL* XIV 4679 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84, p. 85 (*Regio* IV - *Insula* VIII-3)

58 Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* pp. 84-86 (*Regio* IV - *Insula* VIII-3)

59 Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi, p. 85, pp. 86-87 (Regio* IV - *Insula* VIII-3)

60 *AE* 1961, pp. 9-10, No. 45 (*Regio* V - *Insula* X-2)

61 [Meiggs, *Ostia,*p. 352; Floriani Squarciapino, p. 94; Cébeillac, p. 546][3] (*Regio* V - *Insula* X-2)

62 Floriani Squarciapino, p. 95 (*Regio* V - *Insula* X-2)

63 Cébeillac, pp. 517-553 (*Regio* V - *Insula* X-2)

64 *CIL* XIV 1857 (*Regio* I - *Insula* IV-5

(65) *NS* 1942, pp. 152-153 (*Regio* IV)

(66) [Not published as far as I know] Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 16.678

Portus
(Nos. 67-68)

67 *CIL* XIV 4328 = Carcopino, *Ostiensia,* pp. 342-350, No. I = *NS* 1925, pp. 78-79 = Thylander, (text) p. 3, No. B 306

68 Morcelli-Fea-Visconti, p. 61, No. 348 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea,* p. 228, No. 13

Signia

69 *EE* VIII 624 = *ILS 3495*

(*prope*) Tibur
(M. S. Angelo)

70 *CIL* XIV 3530 = *ILS* 3512 = *II* IV 1, 611

---

[2] The *regiones* and *insulae* are indicated when the provenance can be traced.

[3] In these sources references to the monument are found but not the text of the inscription.

(*prope*) **Tibur**
(Marcellina)

71 *II* IV 1, 13

Territorium Tusculanum
(Frascati)

72 *NS* 1891, p. 289, No. 3 = *EE* IX 698

Ager Albanus
(Albano)

73 *CIL* XIV 2251 = ILS 3503 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 1

Civitella

74 *CIL* XIV 3437

Border of Latium-Samnium-Campania

Venafrum

75 *CIL* X 4849 (= 4608) = *ILS* 3517

Border of Latium and Campania

Minturnae
(Nos. 76-(77))

76 *CIL* X 5998 (= 4053) = *ILS* 3518
(77) *NS* 1913, pp. 245-246, No. 2

Regio I (Campania: Nos. 78-(82))

Pianura

78 *CIL* X 1548

Puteoli

79 *CIL* 1549 (= 2588)

Neapolis

80 *CIL* X 4615

Provenance Unknown

81 Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 228, No. 12

Pompeii

(82) [Not published as far as I know] Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sala LXXXVII, vitrina XI, Inv. No. 110.339

Regio II (HIRPINI)

Ducenta

83 *NS* 1887, p. 161 = *EE* VIII 106

Regio II (APULIA: Nos. 84-85)

Furfane

84 *CIL* IX 684 (= 638)

Luceria

85 *CIL* IX 805

Regio IV (SAMNIUM: Nos. 86 and 88)

(*prope*) **Alba Fucens**

86 *NS* 1885, p. 484 = *EE* VIII 183 = *ILS* 3510

San Vito

88 *NS* 1897, p. 439

Regio IV (PAELIGNI)

Marruvium

87 *NS* 1887, p. 42 = *EE* VIII 159

Regio IV (MARSI)

(*prope*) **Sulmo**
(Prezza)

89 *CIL* I^2 1793 (= 1279) = *CIL* IX 3138

Regio V (PICENUM: Nos. 90-91)

Falerio

90 *CIL* IX 5421

Urbs Salvia

91 Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea,* p. 227, No. 3

Regio VI (UMBRIA: Nos. 92-97)

Tuder

92 *CIL* XI 4634

(*prope*) **Tuder**
(Ilci: (Nos. 93-94)

93 *NS* 1881, p. 22 = *CIL* XI 4635 = *ILS* 3494
94 *NS* 1881, p. 22 = *CIL* XI 4636 = *ILS* 3493

(*prope*) **Spoletium**
(Acquajura)

95 *CIL* XI 4767 = *ILS* 3492

Pisaurum

96 *CIL* I^2 2126 (= 1426) = *CIL* XI 6304 = *ILLRP* 58

Ostra

97 *CIL* XI 6185

Regio VII (ETRURIA: NOS. 98-(106))

Pisae

98 *CIL* XI 1413 = *II* VII 1,1

Sutrium

99 *CIL* XI 3243 = *ILS* 3509

Viterbo

100 *CIL* XI 2996

Forum Clodii

101 *CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154

Horta or **Hortanum**

101' Nardi No. 59

Lucus Feroniae
(Nos. 102-(106))

102 *CIL* XI 3866
103 *CIL* XI 3867
(104) *CIL* XI 3868
(105) *CIL* XI 3869
(106) *CIL* XI 3870

Regio VIII (Cispadana)

Forum Cornelii

107 *NS* 1926, p. 40

Regio X (Venetia et Histria: Nos. 108-125)

Aquileia
(Nos. 108-121)

108 *CIL* V 756 = Calderini No. 1
109 *CIL* V 757 = *ILS* 4894 = Calderini No. 9
110 *CIL* V 759 = *ILS* 3497 = Calderini No. 2
111 *CIL* V 760 = Calderini No. 3
112 *CIL* V 761 = *ILS* 3499 = Calderini No. 4
113 *CIL* V 762 = *ILS* 3498 = Calderini No. 5
114 *CIL* V 847
115 *CIL* V 8242 = *ILS* 3769 = Calderini No. 6
116 *BJÖI* I (1898), p. 137, No. 56 = Calderini No. 7
(117) *CIL* V 814 = Calderini No. 8
118 Calderini, p. 100, No. 57 (Under *Belenus*)
119 Calderini, p. 98, No. 38 (Under *Belenus*)
119' *CIL* V 743 = Calderini , p. 96, No. 11 (Under *Belenus*)
(120) [Not published as far as I know] Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, in the wall "Aquileia", without Reg. No.
121 Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 33-34, fig. 2 (col. 30)

Nesactium

122 *II* X 1, 657

Tergeste
(Nos. 123-(124))

123 *II* X 4, 1
(124) *II* X 4, 3

Staranzaro

124' Scrinari, *Staranzaro,* coll. 37-40

Campo di Mezzo
(*near* Aurisina)

125 *II* X 4, 306

(Italia)
126 Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea,* p. 227, No. 5

DALMATIA LIBURNIA

Cissa

127 Šašel No. 260 = *AE* 1964, p. 111, No. 270

PANNONIA INFERIOR (Nos. 128-129)

Aquincum
(Nos. 128-129)

128 *CIL* III 10.394 = *ILS* 3516
129 *CIL* III 10.400 (= 3507, cf. p. 1041, and *EE* II 649)

GALLIA NARBONENSIS
(Nos. 130-136)

Arelate
(Nos. 130-(131))

130 *CIL* XII 654 = *ILS* 3496
(131) *CIL* XII 656

Apta Iulia

132 *CIL* XII 5830

Glanum
(Nos. 133-135)

133 *AE* 1946, 153 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 18
134 *AE* 1946, 154 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 19
135 *AE* 1946, 155 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 20

Nemausus

136 Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 2

BRITANNIA INFERIOR

Cilurnum

136' *RIB* 1448

AFRICA (Nos. 137-141)
NUMIDIA (Nos. 137-139)

Zarai

137 *CIL* VIII 4509

Sila

138 *AE* 1906, 92 = *ILA* II 2, 6863

Lambaesis
(Nos. 138'-139)

138' *AE* 1960, 107
139 *CIL* VIII 10.765

PROVINCIA BYZACENA

Mactaris

140 *EE* VII 66 = *CIL* VIII 11.795

MAURETANIA CAESARENSIS

Auzia

141 *EE* V 1299 = *CIL* VIII 20.747

II. *The Literary Sources*

The sources have been organized chronologically. When reference to Bona Dea or her cult is probable rather than definite the No. is given in brackets.

1. CICERO (Nos. 1-(29))
1. *Ad Atticum* I xii 3
2. *Ad Atticum* I xiii 3
3. *Ad Atticum* I xiv 1-2
4. *Ad Atticum* I xvi 10
5. *Ad Atticum* II i 5
6. *Ad Atticum* II iv 2
7. *Ad Atticum* II vii 3
8. *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia,* Hildebrandt pp. 19-28
9. *De Domo Sua* XIII 35
10. *De Domo Sua* XXIX 77
11. *De Domo Sua* XXXIX 104-XL 105
12. *De Domo Sua* XLII 110
13. *De Domo Sua* LIII 136-137
14. *De Haruspicum Responsis* III 4
15. *De Haruspicum Responsis* V 8-9
16. *De Haruspicum Responsis* VI 12
17. *De Haruspicum Responsis* XVII 37-XVIII 38
18. *De Haruspicum Responsis* XXI 44
19. *De Haruspicum Responsis* XXVII 57
20. *In Pisonem* XXXVI 89
21. *In Pisonem* XXXIX 95
22. *Ad Familiares I ix 15 (Ad P. Lentulum)*
23. *Pro Milone* XXVII 72-73
24. *Pro Milone* XXXI 86
25. *De Legibus* II ix 21

(*26.*) *Ad Atticum* V xxi 14
(*27.*) *Ad Atticum* VI i 26
28. *Paradoxa Stoicorum IV ii 32*
(*29.*) *Ad Atticum* XV xxv

2. TIBULLUS
30. I vi 21-24

3. CORPUS TIBULLIANUM: LYGDAMYS
31. *Elegia* V (*Tibulli liber* III v) 7-8

4. PROPERTIUS
32. IV ix 21-70

5. OVID (NOS. *33-35*)
33. *Ars Amatoria* III 243-244
34. *Ars Amatoria* III 633-638
35. *Fasti* V 147-158

6. (LIVY) PERIOCHAE
36. *Periochae* lib. CIII

6'. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS
36'. II xlv 1

7. ASCONIUS (NOS. *37-41*)
37. *In Pisonianam* 15
38. *In Milonianam* 27
39. *In Milonianam* 39
40. *In Milonianam* 43
41. *In Milonianam* 46

8. SENECA (THE YOUNGER)
42. *Ad Lucilium* XVI 97 2

9. PLINY (THE ELDER)
43. *Naturalis Historia* X lvi (77)

10. MARTIAL
44. X xli (esp. v. 7)

11. PLUTARCH (NOS. 45-49)

45. *Quaestiones Romanae* XX
46. *Life of Cicero* XIX
47. *Life of Cicero* XX
48. *Life of Cicero* XXVIII
49. *Life of Caesar* IX-X

12. JUVENAL (NOS. *50-52*)
50. I ii 82-90
51. II vi 314-345
52. III ix 115-117

13. SUETONIUS (NOS. *53-54*)
53. *Divus Julius* VI 3
54. *Divus Julius* LXXIV 4

13'. APPIAN (NOS. *54'-54''*)
54.' *Bella Civilia* II ii 54
54.'' Σικελική frgm. 7

14. FESTUS (NOS. *55-56*)
55. s.v. *Damium* (Lindsay, p. 178)
56. s.v. *Religiosus* (Lindsay, pp. 382-383)

15. TERTULLIAN
57. *Ad Nationes* II ix 22

16. DIO CASSIUS (NOS. *58-59*)
58. XXXVII 35 3-4
59. XXXVII 45 1-2

17. SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE: AELIUS SPARTIANUS
60. *De Vita Hadriani* XIX 11

18. ARNOBIUS (NOS. *61-62*)
61. *Adversus Nationes* I 36
62. *Adversus Nationes* V 18

19. LACTANTIUS (NOS. *63-65*)
63. *Divinae Institutiones* I 22 9-11
64. *Divinae Institutiones* III 20 3-4
65. *Institutionum Epitome* 17 1

20. Servius
66. *In Aeneidos* VIII 314

21. Macrobius
67. *Saturnalia* I 12 20-29

22. Martianus Œapella
68. II 167

23. Placidus
69. s.v. *Damium* (Pirie-Lindsay pp. 59 and 60)

24. Isidore
70. *Etymologiae* X 103

25. Paulus Diaconus
71. *Epitome* s.v. *Damium* (Lindsay p. 60)

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

ITALIA

REGIO I (LATIUM)[1]

Roma-Rome

Regio I (?)[2]

1. Votive tablet. "Ubi invenerim, non subvenit, sed credo circa Romam vel Romae, et forte in S. Iohanne ante portam Latinam" (*CIL*).

CIL VI 60.

Bonae Deae / Odicus Latiaris / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).

Odicus Latiaris has fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea willingly.

Imperial age.

Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Caprino, *Porta Capena*, p. 25.

l. 2: The name seems to be corrupt; cf. *CIL* and Caprino, *ll.cc.*
l. 3: V S F has come down but in all probability V S L (M?) should be read; cf. *CIL* and Caprino, *ll.cc.*

Regio II (?)[3]

2. Altar with representation of serpent. *In villa Iustiniani* (*CIL*), where Maffei saw the monument.

CIL VI 55.

Anteros Bonae Deae / donum dedit.

---

[1] The eleven Augustan *regiones* of Italy are I Latium et Campania; II Apulia et Calabria; III Lucania et Bruttii; IV Samnium et Sabina; V Picenum; VI Umbria; VII Etruria; VIII Cispadana (Aemilia); IX Liguria; X Venetia et Histria; XI Transpadana. Cf. H. Thédenat, *Regio* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 817-821, esp. 820-821; P. Graffunder, *Regiones* in *RE* I A 1 (1914), coll 480-486; R. Thomsen, *The Italic Regions, from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion* (diss.), København, 1947 (= *Classica et Mediaevalia Diss.*, IV).

For Latium in particular, see Ch. Lécrivain, *Latini* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 971-979; M. Gelzer, *Latium* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), coll. 940-963.

[2] The fourteen Roman *regiones* are I Porta Capena; II Caelimontium; III Isis et Serapis; IV Templum Pacis; V Esquiliae; VI Alta Semita; VII Via Lata; VIII Forum Romanum; IX Circus Flaminius; X Palatium; XI Circus Maximus; XII Piscina Publica; XIII Aventinus; XIV Trans Tiberim.

For *Regio* I, see Ch. Hülsen, *Capena porta* in *RE* III 2 (1899), col. 1506; Caprino, *Porta Capena.*

[3] See Ch. Hülsen, *Caelius mons* (1) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1273-1275; Panvini-Rosati.

Anteros has presented Bona Dea with this (altar).

Imperial age.

S. Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, Veronae, 1749, p. 310, No. 6; *CIL* VI 55; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 219 and note 1; Cumont, *Bona Dea*, p. 2; Colini, *Celio*, p. 49, No. XIII: "Nella Villa Giustiniani esisteva un altare dedicato alla Bona Dea di provenienza ignota ma che poteva con maggior verosimiglianza che in altre zone dellà esser stato trovato nei dintorni: ciò appare confermato da un secondo monumento di provenienza dubbia ma che tuttavia si è detto trovato "dietro l'ospedale militare", quindi a poca distanza dalla predetta villa, recentemente pubblicato dal Cumont;"[4] Panvini-Rosati, p. 83; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1.

3. White marble slab. H. 0.29; W. 0.45; D. 0.07 m. Found on the Caelian, behind the Military Hospital;[5] in 1932 the piece was in the antique trade. Present whereabouts unknown.

Cumont, *Bona Dea*, pp. 1-5, fig. 1 = *AE* 1933, 143.

Bonae Deae s(acrum) / Sulpicia Severa / Maior aedem / cum signo d(onum) d(edit).

Dedicated to Bona Dea. Sulpicia Severa Maior has presented (the goddess) with this sanctuary and statue.

1st cent. A.D., probably Augustan.[6]

Under the inscription two serpents crawling from left and right to an altar in the middle.

Cumont, *l.c.*; Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 32-33: "Tuttavia è evidente che almeno in parte, sia nella concezione religiosa sia negli attributi divini, la romana *Bona Dea* subì l'influenza di affini culti ellenici. Ciò vale anzitutto per i serpenti, indivisibili compagni delle divinità salutari. Difatti sappiamo che nel tempio della *Bona Dea* sull'Aventino, al quale era annessa un'*apotheca* ossia una farmacia, provvista di erbe medicinali, i serpenti erano di casa. Ma ecco che l'animale medico, sacro a Esculapio, si identifica poi anche col serpente italico rappresentante della potenza generatrice, il *Genius* e la *Iuno* del padre e della madre di famiglia: così sotto la dedica a *Bona Dea* di una matrona Sulpicia si vede scolpita in una lastra marmorea, trovata recentemente sul Celio, una coppia di serpenti, maschio e femmina, che si nutrono delle offerte poste su un altare, in modo del tutto simile ai dipinti nei lararii domestici a Pompei. Dunque *Bona Dea* è divenuta il genio femminile della casa e, come abbiamo visto e come risulta dai vari predicati di cui viene insignata nelle iscrizioni, anche la protettrice, anzi il genio dei luoghi. E col *Genius* la *Bona Dea* ha comune l'attributo della cornucopia." Colini, *Celio*, p. 49, No. XIII; Panvini-Rosati, p. 83; Borgo, *Iscr. sacre*, pp. 20-30 (*Bona Dea*).

---

[4] See below, No. 3.

[5] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 376 and plan IV 23.

[6] Cf. Cumont, *l.c.*, p. 2: "La forme des caractères l'assigne au premier siècle de l'Empire, peut-être remonte-t-elle à l'époque d'Auguste."

l. 4: d(onum d(edit): Cumont, p. 2, reads: *d(edit) d(icavit)*. But cf. Cagnat^4, p. 421, who interprets the abbr. D.D.: *dedit dedicavit* or *donum (dono) dedit* or *dedicavit (dedicatus, dedicante)*. I have chosen the commonest formula.

4. Rectangular slab—slightly sloping—with cornice and plinth. Grey stone. H. 0.85; W. 0.395; cornice 0.425; plinth 0.435 m: D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. The measurements of the panel with the inscription are (above) 0.39 and (below) 0.38 m. According to some sources the slab was found outside the Porta Flaminia in the vineyard of the Marquess Giustiniani,[7] according to one single source in the Giustiniani gardens near the Lateran.[8] Should this be true, then the monument belongs to *Regio* II, which is not improbable in view of the two (?) other finds of Bona Dea monuments on the Caelian.[9]

Florence, Palazzo Rinuccini, Via di S. Spirito 39 (= Scuola Lucrezia Tornabuoni); fixed to the wall of the room called *Presidenza*.

Phot. No. 24968/2 of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Firenze.

CIL VI 64 = *ILS* 3502.

Letter heights: l. 1: 45; l. 2: 40; l. 3: 35, except for the I in *Claudi* (40); l. 4: 30, except for the I in *servi* (40); l. 5: 30; l. 6: 25; l. 7: 30 mm.[10]

Venustus / Philoxeni / Ti(beri) Claudi Caisaris / servi / dispensatoris / vicarius / B(onae) D(eae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Venustus, underslave of Philoxenus, slave and steward of the Emperor Tiberius Claudius, has fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea willingly and justly.

Claudian.

CIL VI 64: *cippus sive basis in qua apparent vestigia statuae quae illi erat imposita.* This is not correct. In studying the monument I arrived at the conclusion that the inscription is written on a *slab*. Moreover, the decoration on the top of the piece does not seem to be original, and there certainly is no question of *vestigia statuae*. Erman, *Serv. vic.*, p. 414, No. 8. Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Weaver, No. 10; Boulvert, *Esclaves*, p. 489, No. 178; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1; Chantraine, p. 21, note 24.

l. 2: *CIL* writes the I of *Philoxeni* as a long I. Though the letters are rather irregular the difference between this I and the other letters of line 2 is too small to have been made on purpose. This same Philoxenus is also found in *CIL* VI 8719; cf. Erman, *Serv. vic.*, p. 415, No. 24.

---

[7] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, plan II 11-12-14-15.

[8] Cf. Callari, *Ville*, p. 191; pp. 193 ss.; Helbig I^4, p. 16 *vox* 20; *Roma e dintorni*, plan IV 26; near the Lateran, 16 Via Matteo Boiardo, stood a villa Giustiniani (IV 25-26).

[9] See above, Nos. 2 and 3.

[10] The dimensions given by *CIL* are not correct.

l. 3: *CIL*, *ILS*, and Erman all read *Caesaris* which is not correct. The Emperor Claudius (41-54) is meant; for his name and titles and their chronology, cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 185-186; E. Groag-A. Gaheis, *Claudius* (256) in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 2778-2839; *PIR*^{2} II, pp. 225-229, No. 942; Kneissl, p. 34 and note 56.[11]

l. 4-5: Cf. G. Bloch, *Dispensator* in *DA* II-I (1892), pp. 280-286; W. Liebenam, *Dispensator* in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 1189-1198.

l. 7: v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito): *CIL* draws the L twice as high as the other letters, which, however, are all the same size.

Regio VI[12]

5. Marble slab. H. 0.34; W. 0.70 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. The piece was found near the church of S. Silvestro on the Quirinal,[13] *in viridario pp. Teatinorum* (*CIL*).

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 7292, Sala del Fauno, parete IV.

CIL VI 56 = *ILS* 5453.

Letter heights: l. 1 and 2: 45; l. 3: 35; l. 4 and 5: 30 mm.

Voto suscepto / Bonae Deae / Astrapton Caesaris vilic(us) / aediculam aram saeptum clusum / vetustate diruta restituit.

Having made a vow to Bona Dea Astrapton, Imperial overseer, has restored a shrine, altar, and the enclosing wall fallen down with age.

Imperial Age.

For the older sources cf. *CIL*; see also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Lugli, *Alta Semita*, p. 202, No. 4; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1.

Regio VIII[14]

(6). Marble statuette—in all probability—of Bona Dea. H. 0.39 m. Found on the Campodoglio and prob. coming from the sanctuary of Sabazius and Caelestis on the Capitol.[15] The dedication was made by Attia Celerina.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 6723, 1st stanza to the left of the entrance, ground floor (on loan from the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Inv. No. 72.878).[16]

---

[11] Kneissl refers to the inscription as a *Grabinschrift* (!).

[12] See Ch. Hülsen, *Alta Semita* in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 1692; Lugli, *Alta Semita*.

[13] *Cf. Roma e dintorni*, p. 293 and plan A 10 (p. 177); map III 18.

[14] Cf. H. Thédenat, *Forum* in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 1277-1320, esp. 1279-1309; O. Viedebantt, *Forum Romanum* in *RE* Suppl. IV (1924), coll. 462-511; Platner-Ashby, pp. 95-98; P. Romanelli, *Il Foro Romano* (= *Itinerari* 44), Roma, MCMLXIII^3.

[15] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 374.

CIL VI 30.948.

Per voce(m) / Pegasi / sacerdot(is)—*on the left of the base.*
Sancto Deo Sabazi[o] / d(ono) / Attia Celerina / de[d(it)]—*on the right of the base.*

As directed by the priest Pegasus, Attia Celerina has presented the August God Sabazius with this (statuette).

The goddess is seated on a throne with a high tapering back and with arms. She is dressed in a richly draped tunic with a girdle under the breast, and a cloak covering her left shoulder and knees, with even richer draperies. Head and right hand are lost and so is part of the right arm-rest. She has a damaged cornucopia in her left hand and on her right arm vestiges are visible of a serpent coiling round that arm and drinking from a bowl the goddess held in her right hand.

3rd or 4th cent. A.D. (Guarducci, see below).

G. Gatti in *NS* 1892, p. 344; Guarducci, pp. 17-18; Macrea, *Sabazius*, p. 333, note 30, defines the figure as *l'image de la Victoire*; Coarelli, *Cult. or.*, pp. 48-49. Gatti gives an account of the excavation: "... per lavori di fondazione d'un nuovo pilone nel lato occidentale del monumento al re Vittorio Emanuele, si è trovata, alla profondità di circa quattro metri dal piano della via Guilio Romano, un'antica stanza, che misura m. 3.30 di lunghezza per m. 2.35 di larghezza, ed. è alta m. 2.40. E costruita in laterizio ed addossata alla rupe capitolina ... Fra le terre si è rinvenuta una statuetta sedente, alta m. 0.36 (*incorrect*) che rappresenta la Fortuna o l'Abbondanza."

Guarducci (who mentions it as still being in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme) points out that as the right hand is lost it is impossible to decide whether Fortuna or Bona Dea is meant. For both goddesses are represented with the cornucopia in the left hand, though Fortuna holds a helm in her right, while Bona Dea holds a bowl from which a serpent drinks. As the cornucopia is preserved and there are vestiges of a serpent on the right arm the identification as Bona Dea seems correct.

(7). Marble statuette of Fortuna or Bona Dea. H. 0.33 m. Found at the cross-roads of the *Vicus Iugarius* and the via del Mare.[17] It has been assumed that the statuette comes from the sanctuary of Sabazius and Caelestis on the Capitol,[18] as does No. (6) above. The dedicant is Lautia Felicula.

---

[16] The latter No. is on the statuette.

[17] Cf. A. Grenier, *Vicus, Vicani* in *DA* V (n.d.), pp. 854-863, esp. 861-863 (II: *Les vici urbains*); Platner-Ashby, pp. 574-575; *Roma e dintorni*, map IV 13-16.

[18] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 374.

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 6722, 1st stanza to the left of the entrance, ground floor.

Guarducci, pp. 18-19, fig. 5; Pietrangeli, p. 22, No. 35; Coarelli, *Cult. or.*, pp. 48-49.

Lautia Sp(uri) f(ilia) Felicula / don(um) dedit.

Lautia Felicula, Spurius' daughter, has given this (statuette).

3rd cent. A.D.

The appearance of the goddess and the general design of the statuette greatly resemble No. (6) above. Also in the case of No. (7) head and right forearm are lost which makes it impossible to decide what the figure held in this hand. Guarducci thinks it most probable that this statuette too comes from the sanctuary of Sabazius (and Caelestis) on the Capitol, the more so as it shows traces of scorching (as on the base of Flavia Epicharis; cf. Guarducci). In proof of the fact that statues of other deities were dedicated to Sabazius, Guarducci refers to two instances of similar dedications to Sabazius on the Capitol, one of which, a Mercury (prob.) was offered to the deity.[19] If this statuette represents Fortuna ("se tale veramente la dea può essere chiamata, e non Bona Dea") the particular relationship between this goddess and Sabazius is once more emphasized by a dedication from Fiano Romano:[20] *Iovi Sabazio Optimo et Fortunae Sanctae* (cf. Guarducci's note 26). Pietrangeli follows a similar line of reasoning and also wavers between Fortuna and Bona Dea. The similarities with No. (6) and the fact that two so similar statuettes seem to come from the same sanctuary could be an indication that Bona Dea is represented in this case too.

Regio XII[21]

8. Cippus in peperino. H. 0.74; W. 0.50; D. 0.42 m; found in the Terme Antoniniane near the library in 1912.[22] The monument is damaged at the upper and lower parts;. Present whereabout unknown.

Phot. neg. Soprintendenza Monumenti, No. 5630; Soprintendenza Forum, No. 11.622.

NS 1912, p. 313 = *BullCom* 1916, p. 204 = *AE* 1917-1918, p. 22, No. 94.

Sacrum / Dianae / Silvano / Bonadiae.

---

[19] Cf. *CIL* VI 30.949: M. Furius / Clarus / pro salute / filiorum suorum / M. Aureli Clari / et Furiae Clarae / [Sa]ncto Invicto / [S]abazi / [per M]ercurium / [donum d]at. Cf. also Macrea, *Sabazius*, p. 331, note 16; Imhof, *Invictus*, p. 212, note 45.

[20] Cf. *Atlante* 2, 32 A 3; R. Paribeni, *Fiano Romano* in *NS* 1905, p. 363, No. 4; Macrea, *Sabazius*, p. 331, note 17 (*ILS* 9277).

[21] Cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 391-392; K. Schneider, *Piscina* in *RE* XX 2 (1950), coll. 1783-1790, esp. No. 7 (1789-1790).

Dedicated to Diana, Silvanus, and Bona Dea.

Late 3rd cent. A.D. (*NS*); Severan (*BullCom*).

For a joint appearance of these deities elsewhere cf. the dedication from Portus-Porto to Silvanus by a priest of Liber in the quarter of the *Bonadienses* (No. 67), and one from Aquincum-Budapest: *Bonae Deae / et Panthaeo / Dian(a)e Silvana/bus* (No. 128). See also No. 9[1].

Ghislanzoni, p. 313 (room H), 2:"In questo ambiente, fra la terra di riempimento si è rinvenuto un cippo di peperino, sagomato in basso e in alto, misurante in altezza m. 0.74 x 0,50 x 0,42, sul quale leggesi: SACRVM / DIANAE / SILVANO / BONADIAE. Tutte le divinità alle quali è dedicato il cippo, *Diana, Silvanus* e *Bona Dea,* avevano un tempio sull'Aventino; alla prima era dedicato il celebre tempio detto *aedes Dianae Cornificianae*, perchè ricostruito sotto Augusto da *L. Cornificius*; quanto al secondo, da un'iscrizione dedicatoria del 115 d. Cr. (CIL VI 543) rinvenuta "in vinea ad thermas antoninianas" (*so one source; cf. the other possibilites found in CIL*), sappiamo che ad esso era consacrato un tempio, denominato *templum sancti Silvani salutaris*; alla Bona Dea pure era dedicato un tempio, che dal luogo dove sorgeva, cioè sotto il *saxum*, la vetta dell'Aventino, veniva chiamata *Bona Dia Subsaxana*, ed era assai frequentato perchè venne ricostruito da Livia e poscia da Adriano ed è ricordato dai regionarî come ancora esistente nel IV secolo. La nostra iscrizione, per i caratteri, non può essere anteriore alla fine del III sec. d. Cr.; e questo prova in maniera non dubbia che a ragione l'Hülsen ritiene errata e solo fondata sopra una inesatta punteggiatura del passo del *Vita Hadriani* (cap. 9) la congettura del Becker e di altri che cioè il tempio venisse da Adriano ricostruito in altro luogo.[23] È degno di nota però che a tutte e tre le divinità, ciascuna delle quali aveva il suo tempio, sia stata fatta una dedicazione in comune." R. Lanciani in *BullCom* 1916, pp. 204-205: "Nell'ambiente vicino alla Bibliotheca (*of the Baths of Caracalla*)[24] verso il mezzo del recinto è stata rinvenuta un'ara, o sostegno di donario, in peperino, scorniciata di sotto e di sopra, alta m. 074, sulla cui faccia è incisa la dedicazione: SACRVM / DIANAE / SILVANO / BONA DIE, a lettere dei tempi severiani. Le tre divinità Diana, Silvano, dea Bona sono non solo aventinesi, ma strettamente locali e connesse col prossimo monte di S. Balbina, la cui sommità (m. 37 sul mare) era detta *Saxum*. E siccome il tempio della dea Bona stava a ridosso del monte, nel sito attualmente occupato dalla vecchia casa colonica della vigna Boccapaduli (n. 12 via di S. Balbina), così le era stato attribuito il *cognomen* di *Subsaxana*, che ha conservato sino alla tarda redazione dei cataloghi regionarii. I medesimi danno il nome di *clivus Delfini* alla predetta salita di S. Balbina, che la commissione Reale ha conservato diligentemente nell'ordinare il nuovo parco. (p. 205) Il nome della seconda divinità, Silvano, richiama alla mente il racconto di Alessandro Donati (*De urbe Roma* I. III, c. XIII, pag. 330) circa la scoperta fatta in principio del secolo XVIII di un "templum sancti Silvani salutaris in montis Aventini vertice, ubi templum sanctae Balbinae, in vinea ad Thermas Antoninianas" (forse la vigna Benucci soprastante alle Terme stesse, recentemente espropriata) donde la base sarà precipitata nello xisto al tempo della rovina di Roma (v. *CIL* VI 543).[25] Deve essere anche ricor-

---

[22] Cf. Ghislanzoni, plan opposite p. 305; *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 384-385, map IV 21-V 19.

[23] Cf. ch. II, No. 17 (*60*) = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* Aelius Spartianus, *De Vita Hadriani* XIX 11.

[24] Cf. F. Benoit, *Thermae* in *DA* V (n.d.), pp. 216-219 (figg. 6875, V and 6876); E. Saglio, *Balneum, Balneae* in *DA* I—I (1877), pp. 648-664; A. Mau, *Bäder* in *RE* II 2 (1896), coll. 2743-2758; Platner-Ashby, pp. 520-524; H. Kähler, *Terme* in *EAA* VII (1966), pp. 715-719.

[25] *CIL* VI 543: Numini Domus August(ae) et San[cti Silvani] Salutaris sacr(um) .... in l. 5: in templo Sancti Silvani Salutaris ....

dato il titulo dedicato a Silvano da un T. Aelius Tryphon *sacerdos solis invicti* (*CIL* VI 659),[26] prima perchè trovato "a 1740 in vinea de Buccapadulis sub aede s. Balbinae e regione s. Gregorii"; in secondo luogo perchè constituisce un tratto di unione tra il sanctuario di Silvano e il Mitréo antoniniano poc'anzi descritto. Anche lo "stato maggiore" della Quarta Coorte dei Vigili, accasermata nel piano del monte tra s. Balbina e s. Saba, volle onorare Silvano con la dedicazione *CIL* VI 643.[27] Del tempio di Diana non occorre parlare. Ricorderò soltanto che "nell'a. 1772 ... in certi orti incontro s. Balbina ... si trovò una statua di Diana Efesina di alabastro'.[28]
Borgo, *Iscr. sacre,* pp. 161-164.

l. 4: Both *BullCom* and *AE* read *Bona Die.*

Regio XIII[29]

9. Marble altar. H. 0.875; W. 0.58; D. 0.46 m. The panel with frame on which the inscription is written measures H. 0.54; W. 0.40; D. 0.39 m. Grechetto marble. The altar was found in the vineyard near the Arco di S. Lazzaro, via di Porta S. Paolo, at present della Marmorata.[30] On the right side of the altar is a *patera*, and on the left side an *urceus*. The top is decorated with two double volutes with rosettes and the usual *pulvinus* on the two sides.
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 4609, Galleria, XVII.

EE IV 723a = *CIL* VI 30.855 = *ILS* 1621.

Letter heights: l. 1: 48; l. 2: 37; l. 3: 35; l. 4-6: 30; l. 7-8: 25; l. 9: 20 mm.

Bonae Deae / Galbillae / Zmaragdus / Caesaris Aug(usti) / vilicus / horreorum / Galbianorum / coh(ortium) trium d(onum) d(edit) / cum Faenia Onesime.

To Bona Dea Galbilla. Zmaragdus, Imperial overseer of the Galban storehouses, of the three cohorts, has given this (altar), together with Faenia Onesime.

Augustan (*CIL*)—Augustan or A.D. 68 (? Gatti)—A.D. 68 (*ILS*, Waltzing).

CIL and *ILS* give detailed commentaries; see also G. Gatti, *Alcune osservazioni sugli orrei Galbani* in *RM* I (1886), pp. 65-78, esp. p. 70 and note 3 and p. 71; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Waltzing II, pp. 65-68; Waltzing III, pp.

---

[26] *CIL* VI 659: Salvis Aug[g(ustis)] / Invictis Sanc[to] / Silvano sacrum / T. Aelius Tryf[o]n / sacerdos Solis / Invicti ex viso / fecit.

[27] *CIL* VI 643: [Silv]ano Felici ...

[28] Reference to F. de Ficoroni, *Le vestigie e rarità di Roma ricercate e spiegate,* Roma, 1744 (cf. *CIL* VI 1 (1876), p. LXII, No. XCVI; L. Guerrini, *Ficoroni, Francesco de'* in *EAA* III (1960), pp. 647-648).

[29] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Aventinus* (1) in *RE* II 2 (1896), coll. 2282-2284; Merlin, *L'Aventin*; G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio*, 3 vols., 1930-1938, Suppl. 1940: 3, pp. 548-594; Platner-Ashby, pp. 65-67.

[30] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 413 and map IV 15.

321-322, No. 1369; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 8; Stuart Jones, p. 95, No. 34a and plate 36 (Gall. 33-35); Sirago, p. 144, No. 2;[31] Hermann, *Röm Götteralt.*, p. 151, Anhang I (Zusätzliche Liste nicht im Katalog aufgeführter römischer Götteraltäre), No. 7;[32] Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1.

1. 1-2: Bona Dea certainly is not the only deity to be worshipped in storehouses: *CIL* VI 188 mentions the *Genius Convervator horreorum Galbianorum* as well as *Fortuna Conservatrix horreorum Galbianorum*; also Dea Syria and Sol (Malakbel) have their worshippers in the *horrea*; cf. Coarelli, *Cult. or.*, pp. 50-52.

1. 4: Cf. Gatti, *l.c.,* p. 70, note 3: "Se contro ogni buona regola epigrafica, e contro l'uso constante dei monumenti, potessimo intendere il *Caesar Augustus* di questo cippo per un altro imperatore diverso da Ottaviano, dovremmo certamente pensare a Galba; alla cui età conviene benissimo la paleografia dell'iscrizione. In tale ipotesi il cippo sarebbe stato dedicato nell' a. 68 da un servo di Galba, preposto all'amministrazione degli orrei, quando quest'imperatore li ingrandì *domum suam deponens*; e da allora soltanto cotesti magazzini, che portavano il nome di Sulpicii, avrebbero incominciato ad esser denominati Galbani. L'accennata ipotesi sarebbe convalidata dal fatto, che dal tempo di Augusto fino all'imp. Galba, nessuno della gente Sulpicia ebbe tanta rinomanza da essere appellato e più comunemente conosciuto con sole cognome di Galba, come lo fu il Ser. Sulpicio che salì all'impero. Ma quantunque nei monumenti epigrafici e nelle monete Galba sia nominato *Ser. Galba imp. Caesar Augustus* ed *imp. Augustus*; pur tuttavia non si trova mai designato coi soli cognomi imperiali di *Caesar Augustus.* I quali in tutte le iscrizioni finora conosciute, quando sono adoperati senza il nome personale, denotano constantemente ed esclusivamente il primo imperatore ..."

CIL: "Fuisse ea (horrea) iam aetate Caesaris Augusti titulus confirmat (nam Caesarem Augustum v. 4 intellegi posse Galbam, non Octavianum, recte omnino negavit Gatti ..."[33]

ILS: "Nudis Caesaris Augusti vocabulis, ut interdum Claudius et Nero (cf. n. 1786, 1838), ita etiam Galba, certo in titulo huius generis, designari potuit."

Waltzing III: "Les mots *Caesar Augustus* semblent désigner Galba, comme ailleurs Claude (*CIL* VI 5539) et Néron (*CIL* VI 8943)."

1. 5: Another *vilicus* of the Emperor and at the same time Bona Dea worshipper is Astrapton, above No. 5.

---

[31] Sirago quotes only part of the inscription, referring to *ILS*, and stating that a *vilicus* is a *guardiano o custode* of *depositi di grano.*

[32] Hermann remarks that the altar is in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

[33] Gatti certainly is not thus explicit.

l. 6-8: horreorum / Galbianorum / coh(ortium) trium: cf. Coarelli, *Cult. or.*, p. 51.

l. 9: *CIL*, *ILS*, and Waltzing read wrongly *Fenia*. Personal examination has convinced me that this must be *Faenia*.

9'. Fragment of the upper part (left) of a cippus with *acroteria*. H. 0.47; W. 0.20; D. 0.30 m. "Trovato in Via Galvani nella scuola E. De Amicis" (*BullCom*).

BullCom LXVIII (1940), p. 177, No. 5 = *AE* 1946, p. 25, No. 93.

Sanct[o Silvano] / Hercu[li ...] / et · Bon[ae Deae] / aedicul[am et] / aram....

(Somebody has given/dedicated ?) a shrine and an altar to Holy Silvanus, to Hercules, and Bona Dea.

C. Pietrangeli, *Supplementi al Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* I in *BullCom* LXVIII (1940), pp. 175-202; p. 177, No. 5. For the Via Galvani, see *Roma e dintorni*, map (V 13).

l. 1: Cf. Nos. 8, 67, 128; ch. II, No. *68*.

l. 2: For the Hercules-Bona Dea connection, cf. ch. II, Nos. *32* and *67*.

l. 3: *BullCom* reads in the transcription of the text *Bon[ae Deae(?)]*. Bonae Deae, however, is the most obvious supplement, not least because of the other deities mentioned.

Regio XIV[34]

10. Small shrine, found near the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere[35] in 1744.

CIL VI 65 = *ILS* 3500.

Bonae Deae / sacrum / M(arcus) Vettius Bolanus / restitui iussit.

Dedicated to Bona Dea. Marcus Vettius Bolanus has had this (shrine) restored.

Neronian (Savage).

CIL comments on VI 65-66-67 (= Nos. 10-11-12): "Ne'giorni scorsi scavandosi Trastevere presso la chiesa di S. Cecilia i fondamenti per far un conservatorio di fanciulle, fu trovato molti palmi sotto terra un tempietto come un tabarnacolino con questa iscrizione (65). Presso a questo tabernacolino fu trovato un pozzo strettissimo e in vicinanza di esso un cippo non molto grande con quest'altra iscrizione (66). Presso di esso fu cavato una testa di marmo piccola con un poco di busto di dietro spianato e con un buco BOTTARI.[36] In platea inter D. Caeciliae et D. Ioannis Genuatium sita ad aedem conservatorii puellarum quod dicitur D. Pasqualis Baylon "era un pozzo coll'orificio sollevato quattro palmi dal suolo, di bocca sferica, lavorato a mattoni detti a cortina e profondo c. 17 palmi, otto de'quali occupati sono dall'acqua, di diametro p. 2½: in ambedue i lati e nella parte posteriore innalzavasi una fabbrica di mattoni quadrata co'muri di un palmo di grossezza, divisa nel mezzo da una iscrizione scolpita in tevertino (67), onde formava due nicchie ... nell'angolo sinistro (del nicchio inferiore) eravi piantata un'ara di pietra peperino ... con iscrizione (66) MARANGONI.[37] Ne'fondamenti della fabbrica dietro alla chiesa di S. Cecilia (65, 66). GIORN.[38] In muro conservatorii S. Paschalis Baylon MARINI,[39] ubi adhuc extant." De-Marchi, *cult. priv.* I, pp. 80-81;[40] Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; G. Gatti in *BullCom* XXXIII (1905), pp. 348-349; Jordan-Hülsen, pp. 639-640; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 & note 3; Savage, *Trastevere*, p. 42: "From the quantity of dedications to Bona Dea, it appears that there was a modest shrine of the goddess in the reign of Nero; *note 148*: Three inscriptions naming Bona Dea (...) were found *in situ* under the Opera Pia Michelini in S. Pasquale, Via Anicia 13. *CIL* VI 67 commemorates the gift of an image and *aedes* and implies the goddess' protection of an *insula Bolani* in Trastevere. From the lettering of the inscription, the *insula* must have belonged to M. Vettius Bolanus, *consul suffectus* in the reign of Nero, and not his son of the same name who was *consul ordinarius* in A.D. 111; ... The Roman well near which the inscription was discovered may have stood in the court of the *insula Bolani. CIL* VI 75 = DESSAU 3508 (= No. 13 below), a dedication to Bona Dea Oclata was found in the garden of Sta. Maria dell'Orto. The epithet Oclata is probably an adjectival equivalent of the phrase, *ob luminibus restitutis* (thus) of *CIL* VI 68 (= No. 44 below). One other dedication to Bona Dea was found in the immediate vicinity; see *CIL* VI 36.766 (= No. 14 below);" Latte, *RR*, p. 230.

---

[34] Cf. Savage, *Trastevere.*

[35] *Cf. Roma e dintorni*, pp. 438-440, plan p. 439 and map IV 14.

[36] Cf. *CIL* VI 1 (1876), p. LXIII, No. CI.

l. 4: restitui: Cf. Nos. 11 and 12 below, both referring to Bona Dea *Restituta*.

11. Cippus of rather small dimensions. Found together with Nos. 10 and 12.

CIL VI 66 = *ILS* 3501.

B(onae) D(eae) R(estitutae) / Cladus / d(onum) d(edit).

Cladus has presented Bona Dea Restituta with this (cippus).

Neronian (cf. No. 10).

Cf. No. 10 for information of a more general nature.

l. 1: B(onae) D(eae) R(estitutae): *CIL* reads B.D.R. but as *CIL* VI 67

---

[37] *Ibidem*, No. C.

[38] *Giornale de' Letterati* pubblicato in Firenze, 1744, t. III parte 4.

[39] Cf. *CIL* VI 1 (1876), pp. LXIV-LXV, No. CXIV.

[40] De-Marchi, referring to Ovid, *Fasti* I 135-136: "Ma la notizia di quel testo deve forse riferirsi in particolar modo alle case a pigione o *insulae*, nelle quali si pigiava la plebe, formando quasi altrettante comunità distinte, simili ad una sola grande famiglia: oggi ancora nelle case popolari di Napoli, che hanno certamente colle *insulae* di Roma antica, e per la costruzione e per gli abitanti, molta somiglianza, è frequente l'altare comune ornato e mantenuto dalla pietà de' vicini, e la *Bona dea* ricordata da un titulo sacro romano (VI 65-67) come posta in *tutelam insulae* fu probabilmente la santa comune d'uno di quegli alveari immensi di Roma imperiale."

(= No. 12) reads *restitut(ae)* it may be assumed that a similar reading is meant here. *ILS*: *Bonae deae restitutae*; Jordan-Hülsen, pp. 639-640: *R(estitutrici)*. See also Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 302, note 4.

l. 2: The same Cladus is found in *CIL* VI 67 (= No. 12).

12. Inscription in travertine mentioning the gift of a *simulacrum* and an *aedes*. Found together with Nos. 10 and 11.

CIL VI 67 = *ILS* 3501a.

Bon(ae) Deae Restitut(ae) / simulacr(um) in tut(elam) insul(ae) / Bolan(i) posuit item aed(em) / dedit Cladus l(ibens) m(erito).

To Bona Dea Restituta. Cladus has erected a statue for the protection of Bolanus' block of flats and he also has given a sanctuary, willingly and justly.

Left on the stone: Bol.

Neronian (cf. No. 10).

Cf. No. 10 for information of a more general nature.

l. 1: Bon(ae) Deae Restitut(ae): Cf. No. 11.

l. 2: in tut(elam): Cf. J.-A. Hild, *Tutela* in *DA* V (n.d.), pp. 553-554; W. Ehlers, *Tutela* 4 (*Römische Schutzgöttin*) in *RE* VII A 2 (1948), coll. 1599-1600; E. Sachers, *Tutela* 1-3 in *RE* VII A 2 (1948), coll. 1497-1599 (legal).

l. 2-3: insul(ae) / Bolan(i): This is the *CIL* reading followed by Savage, *Trastevere*, p. 52, note 148. *ILS* read: *insul(ae) /Bolan(ianae)*, and so does Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, p. 244 (*Insula Bolaniana*). For Bolanus cf. No. 10 above. In view of the circumstance that door-plates are found with the name of the owner in the genitive as well as instances of an adjectival form of the owner's name neither the *CIL* reading nor that of *ILS* need expressly be preferred.[41]

---

[41] Besides the *insula Bolani*, are known in Rome from the epigraphic sources: *insula Eucarpiana*, see *CIL* VI 10.250, cf. p. 3502 = *ILS* 8363; *insula Vitaliana*, see *CIL* VI 33.893, cf. p. 3896 = *ILS* 3679, R. Gall, *Insula Vitaliana* in *RE* IX 2 (1916), col. 1595; *insula Sertoriana*, see *CIL* VI 29.791 = *ILS* 6034, R. Gall, *Insula Sertoriana* in *RE, l.c.*; one whose exact name is not known, see *CIL* VI 10.148, cf. p. 3502 = *ILS* 8366; another whose owner was called Q. Critonius, see *CIL* VI 9824; further an *insula Arriana Polliana* and an *insula Cuminiana*, see R. Gall, *Insula Arriana* and *Insula Cuminiana* in *RE, l.c.*, col. 1594. These names are found in dedicatory and sepulchral inscriptions, whereas the door-plates of these *insulae* are not known.

Two such door-plates are preserved: *[I]nsula /Eutychetis*, see *NS* 1933, p. 510, No. 237, and *Insula Saeni Val* [..] *Aurel* [..], see Panciera, *Documenti*, No. III, pp. 119-121. Further, an *insula Felicles* is known, see R. Gall, *Insula Felicles* in *RE, l.c.*. See also: G. Humbert-Ch. Lécrivain, *Insula* I in *DA* III-I (1900), pp. 546-547; E. Fiechter, *Insula* in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 1593-1594; G. Calza-G. Lugli, *Insula* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 166-168; J. E. Packer, *Housing and Population in Imperial Ostia and Rome* in *JRS* LVII (1967), pp. 80-95. Lewis and Short, p. 971, translate *insula* (II): "A house for poor people, which was let out in portions to several families; opp. domus, which was the mansion of a rich family."

Cf. R. Gall, *Insula Bolaniana* in *RE* IX (1916), col. 1594: "am rechten Tiberufer in Rom, in der Nähe der Tiberinsel, östlich von S. Maria dell' Orto unter dem heutigen Conservatorio S. Pasquale Baylon ..." Gall reads in *CIL* VI 67: *restitut(rici)* and *Bolan(i)*. He does not mention the letters *Bol* on the stone. Platner-Ashby, p. 281: "Insula Bolani: a lodging house belonging to M. Vettius Bolanus (*CIL* VI 67), consul before 69 A.D. It was in Region XIV, west of the pons Aemilius, and a little north of the church of S. Cecilia" Cf. p. 85 (*Bona Dea*) p. 68 (*Balineum Bolani*).

l. 3: aed(em): or possibly *aed(iculam)*.

l. 4: Cladus: cf. No. 11.

The inscription *Bol*, possibly an abbr. of the genitive of the owner's name, can be compared to the door-plates referred to in note 41. Cf. V. Chapot, *Signum* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 1325-1336, esp. p. 1330 and pp. 1332-1334.

13. Rectangular marble base. Found in the garden of S. Maria dell'Orto in Trastevere in 1861, in the foundations "*della nuova fabbrica de'tabacchi,* now *Monopoli di Stato*".[42]

CIL VI 75 = *ILS* 3508.

Front:

Anteros / Valeri Bonae / Deae Oclatae / d(onum) d(edit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

Back:

C(aius) Pae[ti]/nius et

Anteros, slave of Valerius, has given this to Bona Dea Oclata, willingly and gladly. Gaius Paetinius and

Pre-Augustan (see below, *ad* l. 3).

CIL gives the above information; *ILS* merely say: *Romae rep. trans Tiberim*. Cf. also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; G. Gatti in *BullCom* XXXIII (1905), pp. 348-349; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167, note 13; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 1 (cf. note 3); Savage, *Trastevere*, p. 42, note 148; Latte, *RR*, p. 230, p. 231 and note 1.

Front:

l. 1: The same name is found in *CIL* VI 55 = No. 2, and prob. in *CIL* VI 30.852 = No. 33, in connection with the Bona Dea cult.

l. 2-3: Bonae / Deae Oclatae: *CIL*: *Deae cognomen quod est* oclatae *videtur explicari collato titulo a Felice publico Bonae deae agresti posito* ob luminibus restitutis *n. 68* (= No. 44 below). Marucchi, *Eléments*, p. 173 (*Ste-Balbine*), states that even the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine was named after this capacity of a goddess of ophthalmology, and that *on y a retrouvé des ex-voto en forme d'yeux.*[43] For the form *Oclatae*, cf. Gummerus, p. 36, No. 109 (= *CIL* VI 9608): *D(is) M(anibus) M. P. (....) Eutucae medico oclario sibi et suis.* Gummerus comments: "Der Mann hiess Eutyches, u und c für griechisch υ und χ ist vor-augusteïsch. Auch *oclarius* für *ocularius* hat Analogien in der älteren Sprache (*poplus* für *populus* bei Plautus)"; Savage, l.c.: "The epithet *Oclata* is probably an adjectival equivalent of the phrase *ob luminibus restitutis* (thus) of *CIL* VI 68 (= No. 44 below)"; Radke, *Beobachtungen,* p. 331, translates *Oclata: sie hat das Augenlicht wiedergegeben.*[44] Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 200, note 21, where she speaks of the punishment for men beholding the Bona Dea rites, i.e. blindness, refers to Propertius IV ix 53-58, Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 40 and *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 17f., the *Scholia Bobiensia,* Hildebrandt, pp. 25, 20, and to Tibullus I vi 21ff. (see ch. II, Nos. *32, 11, 17, 8, 30*), and emphasizes that it concerns a theme that is not of Greek but of Roman origin.[45] She continues: "D'altra parte alcune iscrizioni testimoniano il potere che questa divinità esercitava sugli occhi: essa è detta OCLATA (= Oculata, secondo Mommsen, *CIL* VI 75), e a lei si possono scogliere voti OB LUMINIBUS RESTITUTIS (*CIL* VI 68; cfr. anche XIV 2251." It seems that Piccaluga in the latter case refers to the formula *ex visu* but perhaps the interpretation should be a different one; cf. below Nos. 44 and 75).

---

[42] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 440-441 (*S. Maria dell'Orto*) and p. 442 (*Palazzo della Manifattura dei Tabacchi*); map. IV 11-14.

14. Small marble base. The letters are of a poor quality but of a rather old type. It was found in the irregular trapezium between the Viale del Re

---

[43] "Le XIIe région ne possédait pas un grand nombre de monuments remarquables. Il faut citer cependant: le temple de la bonne Déesse qui présidait à la fertilité de la terre et guérisait les maux d'yeux; son sanctuaire était pour ce dernier motif dénommé "templum bonae Deae oclatae" (a statement without any foundation); on l'appelait aussi "templum bonae Deae subsaxanae", parce qu'il était situé au-dessous de l'Aventin." As his authorities for these assertions, Marucchi refers to Ovid, *Fasti* V 140 (this should be 150; Ovid, however, merely uses the name *Saxum,* not the epithet *Subsaxana*), and to "Spartien, In Adrian. XVIII" (this should be XIX). For the passages, see ch. II, Nos. *35* and *60*; cf. for such *ex-votos*: F. T. van Straten, *Gifts for the Gods* in *Faith, Hope and Worship, Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (ed. H. S. Versnel), Leiden, 1981 (= *Studies in Greek and Roman Religion* 2), pp. 65-151, esp. 105 ss. (*passim*).

[44] Radke states that such names find their origin in the fulfilment of prayers; he compares Bona Dea Oclata to Fors Fortuna, Ops Consiva, Juno Februata, and refers to *CIL* VI 68 (= No. 44).

[45] "L'accenno all'episodio che ha come protagonista Tiresia potrebbe far pensare a tutta prima che si tratti di un motivo greco, ma ci si convince ben presto del contrario: a proposito della intrusione di Clodio in casa di Cesare, durante la celebrazione del rito, Cicerone, nella sua arringa contro il colpevole, quasi si meraviglia perchè *oculos, ut opinio illius religionis est, non perdidisti* (...), segno evidente che la credenza che l'intruso potesse essere privato della vista aveva un reale fondamento nel complesso rituale di Bona Dea."

(now Viale di Trastevere), Via S. Francesco a Ripa, and Piazza Mastai (not *via* Mastai as *CIL* and *ILS* state).[46] The monument afterwards was fixed to the garden wall of the Municipal Museum on the Caelian. H. 0.10; W. 0.25; D. 0.13 m.

Rome, Palazzo dell'Esposizione, cassa 192 (Phot. neg. No. 6095).

CIL VI 36.766.

Letter heights: l. 1: ca 18; l. 2: ca 12-18; l. 3: ca 12-20 mm.[47]

Theogenea / C(ai) Rutili / Bonae Deae v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito) l(ibens).

Theogenea, freedwoman of Gaius Rutilius, has fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea, justly and willingly.

Early Imperial Age.

CIL: "basis marmorea litteris malis sed antiquioribus reperta nel trapezio irregolare compresso fra il viale del Re, via S. Francesco a Ripa e via Mastai, *cum fundamenta iacta sunt aedificii alicuius. Nunc in museo municipale in monte Caelio horti muro applicata.*" G. Gatti in *BullCom* XXXIII (1905), pp. 348-349, draws the attention to the fact that several dedications to the goddess were found in the immediate vicinity (Nos. 10-11-12-13-44), concluding that a Bona Dea sanctuary must have stood in that part of Trastevere. A. Valle in *NS* 1905, p. 270; *AE* 1906, 78; Savage, *Trastevere,* p. 42, note 148; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 1-2: Theogenea / C(ai) Rutili: Gatti supposes that Theogenea is C. Rutilius' *wife.*

According to our information the following monuments come from Rome yet there is no specification of their exact provenance.

15. Marble altar.

CIL I^2 972 (=816) = VI 59 = VI 30.688 = *ILS* 3491.

Q(uintus) Mucius Q(uinti) [l(ibertus)] / Trupho ser(vus) / vovit leiber solv(it) / l(ibens) m(erito) / Bonae Deae / sacr(um).

Quintus Mucius Trupho, freedman of Quintus, has as a slave made a vow, and fulfilled it after his manumission willingly and justly. Dedicated to Bona Dea.

Republican Age.

CIL I^2 972 (=816) reads as shown above, followed by *ILS* and *CIL* VI 30.688. *CIL* VI 59 omits *vovit.*

CIL I^2 972 (=816) and *CIL* VI 59 state that the piece is either "In aedibus Iosephi

---

[46] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 441-442, map IV 11.

[47] The measurements were established from the photograph since, in spite of several attempts, it appeared impossible to see the monument itself.

Costae in Burgo Vaticano or in villa Cugnoni ad viam Triumphalem n. 33"; *CIL* VI 30.688 refers to the latter address. *ILS* merely say: "Romae, bis descripta." See also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 2; Veyne, p. 33;[48] *ILLRP* I, p. 61, No. 56, with the same reading; Latte, *RR*, p. 231.

l. 3: vovit: *CIL* VI 59 omits *vovit* commenting: "Mommsenus in vol. I proponit inter vv. 2 et 3 inserendum esse vov(it)." *ILS*, Veyne, and Degrassi all read *vovit*.

solv(it): Except *CIL* VI 59 (*sol*) all sources read *solv*.

16. Two testamentary inscriptions. According to some sources the texts were written on a fragment of an antique round vase. One single source states that they stood either on the upper edge or on the front of a round altar decorated with four festoons of violets, roses, acorns, grapes, ears of corn, pine-cones, Italian panic grass, pears, and poppies. The altar (?) seems to have been inscribed on four sides but only one half with the two inscriptions is described (cf. *CIL*).

CIL VI 54.

A (*ab uno latere; CIL*).

Annia P(ubli) l(iberta) Flora ex / testamento Bonai Deai / sacrum / Annia—*flos*—soror / et / Isia liberta / faciund(um) curarunt.

B (*ab altero latere; CIL).*

[An]nia P(ubli) l(iberta) Flora ex / [test]amento Bonai Deai / sacrum / Annia soror / —*flos*— / [e]t Isia libert(a) / faciundum / curarunt.

Annia Flora, freedwoman of Publius, has by testament dedicated this (altar, vase?) to Bona Dea. Publius' sister Annia and the freedwoman Isia have seen to its realization.

Imperial Age.

The older sources are found in *CIL*. Cf. also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

A

l. 1-2: ex / testamento: Cf. Mommsen, *RS* II 1, pp. 35-37.

l. 8: curarunt: *NT* is written in ligature. Cf. H. Thédenat, *Cura* in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 1611-1613; E. Kornemann, *Cura* (1,2) in *RE* IV 2 (1901), coll. 1761-1771.

B

l. 5: libert(a): *RI* is written in ligature.

l. 7: *NT* is written in ligature.

---

[48] See Veyne's discussion about *Dédicaces pour affranchissement*, pp. 32-35.

17. Votive tablet seen in Rome. Without any data except for Smetius' information repeated by *CIL*: *"In aedd. Caesiis in camera custodiaria ad fenestram ferream."*

CIL VI 57 = VI-V 3612*.

Bonae Deae / sacrum / Caesia Sabina / ex voto / in suo fecit.

Dedicated to Bona Dea. In order to fulfull her vow Caesia Sabina has erected this on her own estate.

The older sources all following Smetius are found in *CIL*. The same inscription is considered a falsification in *CIL* VI-V (*Addenda et Corrigenda*); cf. p. 249*, No. 3612*. Cf. further Hey, *Bona Dea* p. 2071; Latte, *RR,* p. 230 and note 3.

18. Slab in white Italian marble. H. 0.18; W. 0.24 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. Damage to the right side. No data.

Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 5662, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. VIII 14.

CIL VI 62.

Letter heights: l. 1: 30; l. 2-5: 15 mm.

Secunda L(uci ?) [l(iberta)?] / aedicul(am) gradus ... / tect(um) focum pro patr[io ?] / Gen(io ?) maior(um ?) Bonae D(eae) d(onum) d(edit) ... / Florae conlib(ertae) conl[ib(erta)].

Secunda, freedwoman of Lucius (?), *has presented Bona Dea with a shrine, stairs, a roof, and a hearth, for the paternal Genius of her ancestors* (?). *The fellow-freedwoman to her fellow-freedwoman Flora.*

Imperial Age.

Cf. besides *CIL* also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR,* p. 230 and note 3.

l. 1: *CIL* reads SECVNDA-L ...: as it seems to be clear from the last line that Secunda is a freedwoman the addition of a second *L* is perhaps not out of place.

l. 3-4: pro patr[io ?] / Gen(io ?) maior(um ?): *CIL* reads PRO-PATR ... / GEN-MAIOR; cf. Th. Birt, *Genius* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1613-1625, esp. 1618 with information concerning the *genius patris*; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 214, note 6; H. Steuding, *Manes* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 2316-2323, esp. 2319-2320, where the relations between *Genius* and *Manes* are discussed; H. Steuding, *Inferi* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 234-261, esp. 243-244: *manes paterni, patrii dei,* etc.; Otto, *Die Manen*, p. 68: *di parentes*; p. 69: *manes paterni*; p. 73: *animae umbraeque paternae*; pp. 74-78: *Genius*; W. F. Otto, *Genius* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 1155-1170; J.-A. Hild, *Genius* in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 1488-1494; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 175-181 (*Genius*), esp. p. 176: *Genius-Manes*; Latte, *RR*, pp. 103-107 (*Genius und Iuno*); p. 103: "... und es gibt von späten Zeugnissen abgesehen keinen Genius eines Verstorbenen. Die Kraft, die im Menschen lebt, erlischt mit dem Tode." Latte's remark and the interpretation of the abbreviations above based on the other information seem to be quite contradictory.

19. Marble altar. H. 0.50; W. 0.358; D. 0.208 m (left: the altar slightly slopes to the right). The panel with the text: H. 0.187; W. 0.214 m. A note in the British Museum Records says that the altar was in the collection of Cardinal Passionei at Frascati before 1763. It came to the British Museum in the Towneley Collection in 1805.[49]

London, British Museum, Registr. No. 1805. 7-3. 207.

EE IV 722 = *CIL* VI 69 = 30.689 = *ILS* 3511.

Letter heights: l. 1: and 6: 21; l. 2-4: 18; l. 5: 14 mm.

C(aius) Tullius Hesper / et Tullia Restituta / Bonae Deae Annia/nensi Sanctissim(ae) / donum / posuerunt.

Gaius Tullius Hesper and Tullia Restituta have erected this (altar) as a gift to Most Holy Bona Dea Annianensis.

Imperial Age.

Cf. besides the few data to be found in *CIL* and *ILS* Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Peter, *Bona Dea*, coll. 791 and 792; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 8.

l. 3-4: Bonae Deae Annia/nensi Sanctissim(ae): *AE* of Bonae written in ligature. Both *CIL* and Hey read ANNEA/NENSI. Hey explains: *Anneanensi i. domus Anneorum.* I have followed the *ILS* reading. The space between the second *N* and the following *A,* and further what might have been cross-lines of an *E* seem to speak in favour of the *CIL* reading. However, the good condition of the other letters, of the whole altar, and in particular of the surroundings of this one letter seems to preclude the possibility of this letter having been damaged.

20. Altar in travertine. Without any data except for the information in *CIL*: "*ara lapide Tiburtino. In domo Amiani* in Corso—*Amati in schedis Vaticanis.*"

CIL VI 71 = *ILS* 3505.

Bonae Deae / Conpoti / sacrum / fecit / Antonia Hygia / d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(edit).

---

[49] Letter, 5-IX-1972, from B. F. Cook, Assistant Keeper, The British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, to the author.

Dedicated to Bona Dea Conpos. Antonia Hygia has erected this altar at her own expense, and presented it as a gift.

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL* and *ILS* (*Romae*) Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 2: *ILS* refer to No. 3438: "Idem cognomen in Hercule". Vaglieri reads *compos.*

l. 6: d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(edit): Or, possibly, *d(edicavit)*; cf. Cagnat4, p. 425.

21. Inscription on the base of a statuette of a seated female figure, whose upper part was already lost when Henzen saw the monument. "Romae in villa Casaliorum Muratori, ubi adhuc extat" (*CIL*).

CIL VI 72 = *ILS* 3514 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 10.

Bonae Deae / Hygiae.

To Bona Dea Hygia.

2nd cent. A.D. (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 242).

The older sources are found in *CIL*. *ILS* merely copy the *CIL* information. See also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "identificazione delle due divinità ? cf. Valetudo"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Peter, *Bona Dea*, coll. 791-792: "... und identificierte sie mit Hygia (Bonae Deae Hygiae CIL VI 72, wo Bona Dea nur Epitheton zu Hygia ist)". Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 1; Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 10; Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 31-32: Bona Dea "come datrice di sanità e di prosperità viene confusa ora con la greca Igea" ...; E. Thrämer, *Heatlth and Gods of Healing (Roman)* in *ERE* VI, pp. 553-556, esp. p. 555, note 1 of the 2nd column; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 2: Cf. for Hygia the dedicant of No. 20 above.

22. Tablet in grey stone. H. 0.20; W. 0.41-0.36; D. 0.03-0.02 m. From Rome. Formerly in the Museo Kircheriano.

Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, antiquarium, Inv. No. 29.299.

CIL VI 73 = *ILS* 3506.

Letter heights: l. 1: 25; l. 2-4: 20 mm.

Bon(ae) Deae / Luciferae / Antistia Veteris lib(erta) Eur(?) / d(onum) d(edit).

Antistia Eur ..., freedwoman of Vetus, has presented Bona Dea Lucifera with this gift.

Imperial Age.

(The back of the tablet shows another inscription in a lettering of very poor quality: D(is) M(anibus) / [Q]uintio Marcius / Marciae Afrodisi/ae Callimorfus / libert(a)e su(a)e be/ne merenti fec(it). *CIL* VI 35.801).

Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013, refers in connection with the epithet to *Oclata* (No. 13 above); Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 1; Gummerus, p. 18, No. 3; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 2: Hey considers *Lucifera* not an epithet but lists this inscription under the heading *cum nominibus aliarum dearum* (just as (our) Nos. 21, 24, 70, 75, 99, 129).

23. Small altar (?). A ladle (*simpulum*) and a bowl (*patera*) seem to have been the ornaments on the sides of the altar.[50] "In aedibus Petri Fortii Belgae" (*CIL*).

CIL VI 74=*ILS* 3507.

Bonae Deae / Nutrici d(onum) d(ederunt) / Onesimus / Caesaris n(ostri) / ser(vus) Faustinus et / Valeria Spendusa et / Valeria Pia filia.

To Bona Dea Nutrix. Onesimus Faustinus, slave of Our Emperor, Valeria Spendusa, and (their?) daughter Valeria Pia have given this present.

"Spätestens hadrianisch" (Chantraine, p. 203; cf. p. 313, No. 142: "Das Formular Caesaris ñ. weist auf flavische Zeit oder später)".

CIL gives the older sources. *ILS* merely state: *Romae*. Cf. also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, , *RKR*. p. 218 and note 7; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1; Chantraine, p. 203; p. 313, No. 142.

l. 4-5: The *N* of *n(ostri)* is written Ñ; for the addition of *noster* to the Emperor's name or title cf. Chantraine, pp. 193-215 (*Die Erweiterung der Freigelassenen- und Sklavennomenklatur durch* NOSTER). Cf. also Chantraine, p. 313, No. 142: "Faustinus stellt lediglich eine Variante zu Faustianus dar. Doch ist die Inschrift nur abschriftlich erhalten. Hülsen 228 conjiziert Faustianus."

l. 6: *CIL*: "VALERIVS ... NDVS Marini"; Chantraine, *l.c.*: "Die Frau heisst *Valeria Spendusa* und könnte *liberta* der Messalina oder Nachkomme eines ihrer Freigelassenen sein" (the latter part of this suggestion does not seem very acceptable to me, in view of the woman's *cognomen*).

---

[50] Cf. *CIL* VI 74: "In lateribus videntur fuisse simpulum et patera secundum ea quae de apographo Agincourti dicit Marini (sched. Vat. 9118 ab Agincourt, parum accurate)." Cf. for simpulum Lewis and Short, p. 1702, *s.v.*; E. Pottier, *Simpulum* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 1345-1346; Fr. Leonard, *Simpuvium* in *RE* III A 1 (1927), coll. 213-216. For patera cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1314, *s.v.*; E. Pottier, *Patera* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), p. 341 & figg. 5522 & 5523; Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefässnamen*, pp. 242-245; Helene Miltner, *Φιάλη* (1) in *RE* XIX 2 (1938), coll. 2059-2062; H. Luschey, *Φιάλη* in *RE* Suppl. VII (1940), coll. 1026-1030.

l. 7: As it is apparent that the mother has given the daughter her *nomen* it seems clear once more that Valeria Spendusa was a freedwoman herself.

24. Marble pediment. It is crowned by a square block (the base for a statue ?). A laurel wreath with ribbons floating to the left and the right forms the central decoration. The pediment has an egg and dart moulding. The middle part of the monument is inscribed over the whole width. Measurements of the text part: H. 0.25; W. 0.815 (both ends however are damaged); D., maximum, 0.065, minimum, 0,05 m. Mentioned as coming from Rome.[51]

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Reference No. *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1773) pt. III, No. 12.

CIL VI 76 = *ILS* 3515.

Letter heights: l. 1: 23; l. 2: 26 mm (i.e. on an average as the lettering is rather irregular).

Bonae Deae Veneri Cnidiae / [D(ecimus) I]unius Annianus Hymenaeus et Invicta spira et Haedimiana.

To Bona Dea Venus Cnidia. Decimus Iunius Annianus Hymenaeus and the sodalities named Invicta and Haedimania.

Imperial Age.

The numerous older sources are found in *CIL*; Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014: "difficilmente per identificazione delle due divinità," but pp. 1014-1015: "A Venere e non alla Bona dea si dovrà riferire la lapide"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (*cum nominibus aliarum dearum*); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218: "... in einer Reihe von Beispielen ist sogar Bona dea einfach als ein Attribut zu dem Namen einer anderen Gottheit hinzugetreten.[52] A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari di Antichità*, Roma, 1962, *ins*. 107 add. "Già prima del 1627 negli Arundelliana ad Oxford—copiata dal Castellini nel palazzo Crescenti tra il 1611 ed 1626, da cui dependono Gudio, Lamberio e Langermann" (as Prof. S. Panciera, Rome, informs me).

l. 2: [D(ecimus) I]unius Annianus Hymenaeus: *CIL*: "In v. 2 primae duae litterae iam apud Chandlerum desunt."

Invicta spira et Haedimania: This is the *CIL* reading, apparently the correct one (see below). However, *CIL* comments: "ET HAEDIMANIA Hübner cum plerisque, ET FIAEDIMIANA Chandler, SPIRAE PHAEDIMIANAE DO Doni (In my opinion the only other solution), SPERETEIA EDIMIANAE D D Gudius-Scribendum esse vid. INVICTA SPIRA PHAEDIMIANA: Similiter Puteolis commemoratur *thiasus Placidianus* I.N. 2429. *Spira* cum collegium sit sacris

---

[51] Letter, 9-IX-1972, from C. J. Young, Departmental Assistant, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, to the author.

[52] In note 9, p. 218, Wissowa gives the following instances: *Bona dea Iuno* (No. 129), *Venus Cnidia, Isis* (No. 99), *Caelestis* (Nos. 75 and 70); "nicht hierher gehört *CIL* VIII 20.747: deae [bonae Va]letudini (= No. 141)"; cf. also Wissowa's note 1.

Liberis addictum (...) mire vocabulo appellatur Mithrae potissimum proprio quod est *invicta* [Cum de ET vocabulo satis constet, deinde subsequi videatur PHAEDIMIANA vel simile vocabulum, magis crediderim duas spiras, invictam et Phaedimianam, cum Hymenaeo aram dedicavisse Th. Mommsen]." *ILS*: "et haedimiana legit Hübner cum plerisque. Spirae sodalicia Bacchica dicta (...), sed etiam aliorum deorum (...), Phaedimiana haec spira appellata fortasse a conditore, ut supra N. 3366 thiasus Placidianus. Spirae mentio in dedicatione adiuncta ad nomen hominis est etiam supra N. 3270 (Mommseno videtur retinendum ET, et intellegendae duae spirae, invicta et Phaedimiana)". *ILS* read: *invicta spira [P]haedimiana.*

For spira see Poland, p. 153: σπεῖρα; F. Poland, Σπεῖρα 2; in *RE* III A 2 (1929), coll. 1586-1592, and *Nachtrag*, coll. 2551-2552; G. Wissowa, *Liber* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 2021-2029, esp. 2028; Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 359; Wissowa, *RKR,* p. 252, note 5, and p. 304, note 1; for the term σπεῖρα and its various meanings cf. also Liddell and Scott, p. 1625, *s.v.* Waltzing I, p. 45, note 1; p. 215, note 1; p. 224; III, p. 174, No. 640 (= *CIL* VI 261); p. 184, No. 670 (= *CIL* VI 461); p. 462, No. 1766; pp. 80-81, No. 223. D. M. Pippidi, *Dionysische Inschriften aus Histria aus dem II-III Jh. u. Z.* in *Dacia,* Nouvelle Série, III (1959), pp. 391-413, esp. 407-413. Pippidi gives a survey of the material discovered after the publication of Poland's list: p. 407, note 94.

Invicta: Cf. W. Drexler, *Invictus* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), col. 263; Imhof, *Invictus*, pp. 197-215.

Et Haedimiana: For the controversy *Haedimiana-Phaedimiana, cf. also C. Koch, Venus* (1) in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 828-887; col. 881: 5. "Bona Dea V. Cnidia (...): stadtrömischer Kult, von einem Phaedimus gegründet (*CIL* VI 2273 = *ILS* 3183: *Fedimus conditor sacrari Veneris Chendies*), nach ihm bezeichnen sich die *cultores Vener[is] Cnidiae (CIL* VI 4872) als die *spira [P]haedimiana* (...)". In view of these arguments it may be assumed that there is question of a clerical error (H. for PH). For spira is without any doubt followed by an E, and the left part of the cross of the T is in all T's of the text extremely small. See also below No. 67, l. 4.[53]

25. Sepulchral inscription: without any relevant data.

CIL VI 2236.

D(is) M(anibus) Aelia Nice / sacerdos Bon(a)e Deae / se biva conparavit sibi et / alumn(a)e suae Cl(audiae) Nice et / Ael(iae) Thalasse et Ael(iae) Serapiae et / Cl(audiae) Fo(r)tunat(a)e et Lucciae Felicitati et / Valerio Menandro et

---

[53] *Ad* Poland, cf. F. Cumont, *La grande inscription bacchique du Metropolitan Museum,* II. *Commentaire religieux de l'inscription* in *AJA* XXXVI (1933), pp. 232-263, esp. p. 235, note 5.

To the Souls of the Departed. Aelia Nice, priestess of Bona Dea, has built this (tomb ?) when still alive, for herself, for her pupil Claudia Nice, for Aelia Thalasse and Aelia Serapia, for Claudia Fortunata, Luccia Felicitas, Valerius Menander, and

3rd or 4th cent. (?—see below *ad* biva).

CIL: "In domo D. Caroli Astalli Mazochi, eandem dicunt Benzoniorum ad S. Marcum Emendationes Mazochii ms. Smetii—Trovata nella via Appia fingit Ligorius fraude ..." Cf. further Gilbert, II, p. 210, No. 1; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 & note 6; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, note 139.

"Vv. divisio incerta" (*CIL*).

l. 1: D(is) M(anibus): Cf. Otto, *Manen*, esp. pp. 68-78; H. Steuding, *Manes* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 2316-2323; J.-A. Hild, *Manes, Mania* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1571-1576; E. Marbach, *Manes* (2) in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), coll. 1051-1060; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 238-240; Latte, *RR*, pp. 99-100; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 357-362.

l. 3: biva (= viva): For the interchange v-b, cf., e.g. L. Chatelain. *Le culte de Silvain en Afrique et l'inscription de la plaine de Sers (Tunisie)* in *MEFR* XXX (1910), (pp. 77-97), p. 89.[54] C.M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik,* Freiburg i/B, 1917, p. 33.[55]

l. 4: alumn(a)e: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 99, *s.v. alumnus* (B).

l. 5: Ael(iae) Thalasse et Ael(iae) Serapiae: *CIL* "exemplum dedi Mazochii correctum in emend. In ipso libro exhibet 5 THALASSAE, 6 FORTVNATE, 7 MENANDRO-F."

26. Sepulchral inscription. H. 0.255; W. upper part 0.21, W. lower part 0.17 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. The right part is lost. Without relevant data. White marble.

Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 5673, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. VIII 34.

CIL VI 2237.

Letter heights: l. 1: 23; l. 2-6: 18 mm.

D(is) [M(anibus)] / Terentiae Am[....] / sacerdoti Bon[ae Deae] / Petroniae .... / Teren(t)ia Th[allusa ?] / patron(a)e [b(ene) m(erenti) fecit].

---

[54] "Le vocabulaire (of the inscription) offre le double intérêt que présentent des mots nouveaux et des archaïsmes. Je ne compte pas parmi les mots nouveaux le terme iubant, pour iuvant, simple particularité orthographique des plus fréquentes dans la langue du IIIe et IVe siècle ..."

[55] Auf römischen Inschriften liest man: B für V in bibas, bixit, iubenis u. dgl., eine Eigenheit, welche sich in der Provinz (...) noch stärker geltend macht." See esp. J. L. Barbarino, *The Evolution of the Latin /b/-/u/ Merger: A Quantitative and Comparative Analysis of the* B-V *Alternation in Latin Inscriptions,* Chapel Hill, 1978 (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Romance Languages, Number 203).

To the Souls of the Departed. For Terentia Am...., priestess of Bona Dea, and for Petronia ... Terentia Thallusa (?) *has built this (monument)—for her* patrona *and benefactress.*

Imperial Age.

The text is written in a panel crowned by a pediment the left part of which survives. An animal jumping upwards (most prob. a weasel) is seen in this left part, and a jug in the fragmentary right part, divided by two vertical lines, possibly the lower part of a column or tree. The lower part of the slab is lost, yet the inscription seems to end with 1.6. The whole of the ornamental part of the monument seems to have represented an *aedicula.*

CIL gives the older sources and further states merely: "tabula marmorea. In museo Vaticano ... Ibi adhuc extat." About the figures in the pediment: *Figura animalis, vas.* Cf. also Gilbert II, p. 210, No. 1; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, note 139.

l. 1: *CIL* reads *D M* which is not correct, the *M* being completely lost.

l. 2: *CIL* proposes *AMPLiatae.* However, the vertical line behind *AM* could be anything from I to P.

l. 4: *CIL* suggests in its drawing that this is the only word of line 4. This is not probable since the damage to this line is much bigger than *CIL* suggests. A *cognomen* seems to have gone lost.

l. 5: *CIL* reads TERENTIA which is not correct. *Thallusa* is the name proposed by *CIL*, being, however, but one of the possible solutions. Cf. e.g. No. 25, 1. 5, where an Aelia *Thalasse* is mentioned.

l. 6: *CIL* suggests that the *B* of *b(ene)* is readable, yet behind *patron(a)e* only a point and a vertical line are visible. Neverteless, the *CIL* interpretation is wholly acceptable.

27. An inscription without any data.

CIL VI 2238.

[Tyc?]he mag(istra) Bonae D[eae].

Tyche (?), *priestess of Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

CIL: "loco non indicato, Schedae Amati Vatic. manu ignota"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Gilbert II, p. 210, No. 1; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155; Piccaluga. *Bona Dea*, p. 227, note 139.

[Tyc?]he: *CIL* reads ... HE and *Tyche* seems to be the most acceptable completion.

mag(istra): *CIL: Mag*—"Intellege mag(istra)".

28. Small golden *lamina* in the form of a votive tablet. Found in Rome and first seen in an antique shop. Afterwards in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the numismatic cabinet (where I did not find it).

CIL VI 30.853.

Voluptas / Rutuleia Bonae / Deae d(ono) d(at) pro Her/mete.

Voluptas Rutuleia has given this present to Bona Dea. For Hermes.

Late Republican or Early Imperial Age (?).

CIL: "parva lamina aurea forma tituli votivi, reperta Romae, fuit apud rerum antiquarum institorem, nunc in aedibus Conservatorum in numophylacio ... Memoratur, non editur BullCom 1883, p. 132 n. 3, p. 267 n. 3."
Caetani-Lovatelli, pp. 46-47.[56]

1. 2-3 Bonae / Deae: *NAE* is written in ligature.
l. 3-4: pro Her/mete: The *R of Hermete* is written ⅄; the last two *E*'s |' ; cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 3, 7, 8, 14.[57]

29. Marble slab. From Rome afterwards in Rossie Priory (Perthshire), Scotland.

EE IV 723 = *CIL* VI 30.854 = *ILS* 3504.

Bonadiae / Castre(n)si s(acrum?) / Gemellus Au(gusti).

Dedicated to Bona Dea Castrensis. Gemellus, slave of the Emperor.

Imperial Age.

CIL: "tabella marmorea originis sine dubio urbanae. Rossie Priory in Scotia." *ILS*: "In castello quodam Scotiae, tabella marmorea, adlata sine dubio ex urbe Roma." G. (Lord) Kinnaird, *Notes and Reminiscences of Rossie Priory*, Dundee, 1877, p. 21, No. 104.[58] Cf. also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 & note 8; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and notes 1 & 2.

---

[56] "Alla sopradetta serie di offerte votive di cui si aveva già contezza, piacemi aggiungere una nuova tuttora inedita, ed oggi custodita nel palazzo Capitolino detto dei Conservatori; cioè a dire, una piccolissima laminetta in oro sulla quale in minutissimi caratteri si legge: *Voluptas Rutuleia Bonae Deae d(ono) d(at) pro Hermete.* L'aver essa il cognome posto innanzi al gentilizio, ne dà argomento di riportarla agli ultimi tempi dell'impero. Il professore Giuseppe Gatti, cui vado debitrice della gentile comunicazione, giustamente osserva che così fatta laminetta dovè essere appesa ad un'offerta votiva che Voluptas Rutuleia donava a Bon Dea per un certo Ermete; verisimilmente una vesta del genere di quelle onde si è poc'anzi parlato (Cf. her pp. 43-45), per essere cotesta laminetta di tal natura da non potersi appiccare se non a cosa sommamente leggiera e soffice."

[57] "Alphabeth usité pour les inscriptions romaines dans le dernier quart du Ve siècle et pendant le VIe siècle de Rome (p. 3); Cursive de Pompéi (p. 7); Cursive d'Alburnus Major (p. 8); p. 14: Les formes || ou |' ne sont pas rares, sous l'empire, dans les inscriptions lapidaires; nous les avons déjà rencontrées dans l'alphabeth archaïque et dans l'alphabeth cursif." Cf. for the R, pp. 7 & 21.

[58] Regrettably, the slab is not listed in A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, who in his description of Rossie Priory leaves out the Nos. 104-135 of Kinnaird's catalogue.

l. 1-2: Bonadiae / Castre(n)si: *CIL* writes *Bona Diae* (*AE* in ligature). *ILS* writing *Bona diae* comment: *Sic traditur*. Apparently the two parts were felt to be an entity, cf. Nos. 8, 31, 67, and part II, IIIA. Both *CIL* and *ILS* write *Castresi*, and so does Latte. Wissowa suggests *Castrensi*.

l. 2: s(acrum ?): This is but one of the possible solutions of the *S* as an abbreviation in Latin epigraphy; cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 460-461. *S(ervus)* could also be possible in view of the following *Au(gusti)* but seems rather improbable considering the position of the *S*. The formula *ser. Aug.* is found once, in Rome, *CIL* VI 4214; cf. Chantraine, p. 184.[59]

l. 3: Au(gusti): the *CIL* reading is *AV* in ligature, commenting: "3 ex AV Kinnaird"; *ILS*: *Au[g]*, commenting: "Ultimum elementum non certum. Videtur intelligendum esse: Augusti (servus)."

30. Sepulchral inscription. According to the catalogue of the Graz Museum "aus den eleus. Feldern bei Neapel. Scilicet attulit secum peregrinator aliquis ex Italia redux; quapropter tam urbana esse potest quam Puteolana (CIL)".[60]

(Graz, Museum, *Cat. Mus. Graz*—ms. n. 503, Mommsen).[61]

EE IV 872 = *CIL* VI 32.461.

[Dis Manibus] sacr(um) / [coniugi]s castae / [sacerdotis B]onae Deae / [a possessoribus lo]cus datus / ....iibus vil / ....p vil lat / .....e

Dedicated to the Souls of the Departed, and that of (?) *my chaste wife, priestess of Bona Dea. The site has been given by the owners*—follow the dimensions of the site.

Imperial Age.

l. 1: [Dis Manibus]: See above, No. 25, *ad* l. 1.

l. 3: [sacerdotis]: Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 6, accepts this reading mentioning the inscription as one referring to *sacerdotes* of the goddess.

l. 5-6: *CIL* remarks: "'VII aut VIL' Momms.; videtur fuisse *[long.] p. VII, lat. p. ....*" (meaning: *longitudine pedum VII, latitudine pedum...*).

31. Sepulchral inscription on a white marble slab. H. 0.53; W. 0.44 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. Provenance not mentioned.

---

[59] Chantraine does not list this inscription in his ch. *Augusti servus oder verna und seine verschiedenen Abkürzungen* (pp. 180-188).

[60] One Bona Dea inscription was found at Pozzuoli and another at Pianura near Pozzuoli; see below, Nos. 79 and 78.

[61] W. Modrijan, director of the Landesmuseum Joanneum at Graz could not locate the inscription in the museum (letter, 11-I-1976, from Prof. M. J. Vermaseren to the author).

Rome, Villa Albani, secondo gabinetto (terreno), without Reg. No. The Prince Torlonia kindly permitted me to study the monument, but it was strictly forbidden to photograph it, however, or even to make a rubbing—hence the drawing below.

IG XIV 1449 = Kaibel No. 588 = *IGRRP* I 212 = *CCCA* III 271.

Letter heights (the lettering of the inscription is of an extremely bad quality but quite readable): l. 1-16: 20; l. 17: 15; l. 18-19: 15-20; l. 20: 20 mm.

Κεῖμαι Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώ/νιος ὁ καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν τε / θεῶν πάντων πρῶτον Βονα/δίης εἶτα Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Διο/νύσου καὶ Ἡγεμόνος τούτοις / ἐκτελέσας μυστήρια πάντοτε /σεμνῶς νῦν ἔλιπον σεμνὸν / γλυκερὸν φάος ἠελίοιο λοιπὸ/ν μύσται εἴτε φίλοι βιότητος ἑ/κάστης πάνθ' ὑπολανθάνετε τὰ / βίου συνεχῶς μυστήρια σεμνά / οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται μοιρ[ῶ]ν μί/τον ἐξαναλῦσαι / ἔζησον γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἀντώνιος οὗ/τος ὁ σεμνὸς ἔτεσιν ζ' ἡμέραι/σιν ιβ' / ἐποίησαν Αὐρηλεία Ἀντωνεία καὶ Αὐ/ρήλιος Ὀνήσιμος γλυκυτάτῳ τέκνῳ / μνήμης χάριν / Θ(εοῖς) Χ(θονίοις).

Here I lie, Aurelius Antonius, the priest of All Gods, first of all of Bona Dea, then of the Mother of the Gods, of Dionysus, and of Hegemon. Having at all times solemny celebrated their mysteries I have now left the holy and dear light of the sun. Henceforth, you initiates or friends of whatever way of living, avoid coming near to all the continuous solemn mysteries of life, for no one can break free from the thread of fate. For I, this holy Antonius, have lived seven years and twelve days. Aurelia Antonia and Aurelius Onesimus erected this in memory of their dearly beloved child.
Dedicated to the Gods of the Underworld.

ca. 3rd cent. (Kaibel)—4th cent. (*CCCA*).

IG: *Sine loco*—the older sources are found here. Morcelli-Fea-Visconti, p. 244, 119 (p. 36, No. XXVIII): *Sur un travertin* (the material, however, is white marble) *en lettres assez grossières.* The authors translate:

"Aurelius sum hic Antonius; ille ego Deum
Sacerdos plurium, tuus, Dea o Bona,
Deorum et Matris, et Bacchi, et Cyllenii,
Queis usque pius peregi unus mysteria,
At pulcri dulce Solis jam liqui jubar,
Vestram, quod superest, vos o vitam vivite,
Sacrorum socii, hinc et curare mittite
Istius adsidua vitae omnia mysteria;
Fatorum ut nemo fila quit retexere,
Nempe Antonius ille ego pius duodecima
Praereptus annum luce abii post septimum.

Fecerunt Aurelia Antonia
Et Aurelius Onesimus
Filio dulcissimo
Memoriae gratia.
Diis inferis."

See further Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155;[62] Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 3.

l. 1-2: Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώ/νιος: ΑΝΙω is written; cf. l. 4: ΕΙΙΑ for εἶτα.

l. 2: ἱερεὺς: ΚΑΙ.Ι.ΕΡΕΥC is the text.

τῶν τε: Cf. Kaibel: "τῶνδε Iacobs; retinui τε quia qualem apodosis formam barbarus scriptor sibi figuraverit nescio."

l. 3-4: Βονα/δίης: An extremely small fragment of the last letter of l. 3 is visible, without any indication of an *A*—which letter, however, is to be filled in.

l. 2-5: Cf. Kaibel: "2 sq. distinguuntur Bona Dea, Mater deorum, Dionysus, Iacchus, qui ἀρχηγέτης τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς Δήμητρος audit." *IGRRP*: "Hegemon nonnunquam dicitur *deus Iacchos tamquam dux pompae Eleusiniae*". Cf. W. Drexler, *Hegemon archegetes* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1875-1877, esp. 1876-1877, No. 7. *CCCA*: l. 5: 'Ηγεμόνος i.e. of Iacchus, ἀρχηγέτης τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς Δήμητρος, but possibly Hermes is meant".[63]

l. 9: Cf. Kaibel: "6 prius εἶτε omissum esse vidit Welcker Syll. 58 sive mystae sive profano cuique vitae generi addicti."

l. 11: Cf. Kaibel: "7 συνεχῶς adverbium pro adiectivo positum, fortasse ut duplex mysteriorum epitheton vitaretur."

l. 12-13: μοιρ[ῶ]ν μί/τον: Kaibel ΜΟΙΡΟΝ; for the exact text, see fig. 1.

l. 15-16: Cf. *IG*: "De puerili Antonii aetate dubitari non potest, si quidem versum 10 ipsi numeri a coniecturis defendunt; est enim trimester iambicus. ἔτεσ(σ)ιν ἑπτά ἡμέραισιν δώδεκα.[64] neque quemquam offendet hiatus illicitus. Omnino autem versus quamvis miseri, si exceperis heptametrum v. 7, satis recte facti sunt, ut suspicari liceat rudem versum 3 ab ipso scriptore alienum esse: et numeris et sensui consultum erit, si hunc in modum emendaveris εἶτα θεῶν Μητρός τε καὶ Ἡγεμόνος Διονύσου. Falsi utique Stephanius Ἡγεμόνα Herculem intellegit coll. Xen. anab. IV 8 25".

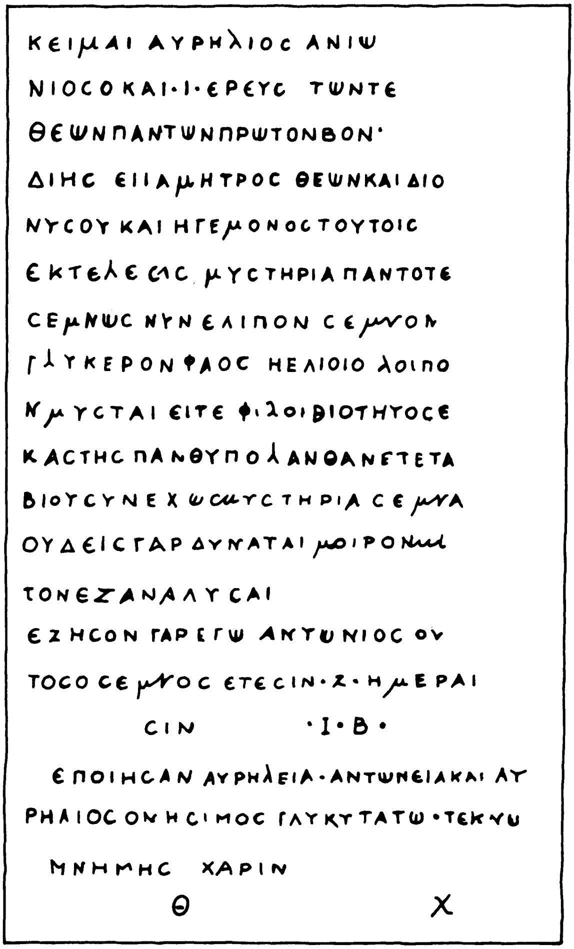
---

[62] "Anche dei pueri come erano adepti ai culti di Cybele e di Mithra, pare lo fossero anche della Bona Dea, come risulta da una iscrizione greca di un certo Aurelius Antonius morte a sette anni ..."

[63] For a similar accumulation of priesthoods, cf. G. Wissowa, *Liber* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), col. 2028; for the identification Liber-Dionysus, cf. *ibidem*, coll. 2021-2022; cf. further *CIL* XIV 4328 = No. 67 and *CIL* III 10.394 = No. 128. See also *CIL* VI 1779 = *ILS* 1259; *CIL* VI 1780 = *ILS* 1260; Malaise, *Inventaire*, pp. 122-123, Nos. 30 and 31; *Conditions*, pp. 78, 132, 141, 452. For the people mentioned, cf. Chastagnol, *Fast.*, pp. 171-178, No. 69. In *ILS* 1264 another instance is found, cf. Chastagnol, p. 86 and note 93, under No. 37. All these instances date back to the last years of the 4th cent., so that Vermaseren's date might be preferred to Kaibel's.

[64] For the age of the boy, seven years and twelve days, cf. an instance given by Taylor, *Ostia*, p. 16: a boy who died four years old, and was *pr(aetor) pr(imus) sacr(is) Volka(ni faciundis)* (*CIL* XIV 306). She also refers to 341, "in which a boy of twelve years is *praetor secundus* and is also a decurion and a Roman knight," This, says Taylor, "leads to the belief that the offices were sometimes honorary during the Empire at least."

l. 20: Θ(εοῖς) Χ(θονίοις): why Kaibel reads: θ(εοῖς) [χ](αταχθονίοις) but comments: *Subscriptum* Θ.Χ., is not very clear to me; cf. above, No. 25, *ad* l. 1 (*D.M.*).



ΚΕΙμΑΙ ΑΥΡΗλΙΟC ΑΝΙΩ
ΝΙΟCΟ ΚΑΙ·Ι·ΕΡΕΥC ΤΩΝΤΕ
ΘΕΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΒΟΝ·
ΔΙΗC ΕΙΙΑμΗΤΡΟC ΘΕΩΝΚΑΙΔΙΟ
ΝΥCΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕμΟΝΟCΤΟΥΤΟΙC
ΕΚΤΕλΕCΑC μΥCΤΗΡΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ
CΕμΝΩC ΝΥΝ ΕΛΙΠΟΝ CΕμΝΟΝ
ΓλΥΚΕΡΟΝ ΦΑΟC ΗΕΛΙΟΙΟ λΟΙΠΟ
ΝμΥCΤΑΙ ΕΙΤΕ ΦΙλΟΙΒΙΟΤΗΤΟCΕ
ΚΑCΤΗC ΠΑΝΘΥΠΟλΑΝΘΑΝΕΤΕΤΑ
ΒΙΟΥCΥΝΕΧΩCμΥCΤΗΡΙΑ CΕμΝΑ
ΟΥΔΕΙCΓΑΡ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ μΟΙΡΟΝμι
ΤΟΝΕΞΑΝΑΛΥCΑΙ
ΕΖΗCΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΓΩ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΟΥ
ΤΟCΟ CΕμΝΟC ΕΤΕCΙΝ·Ζ·ΗμΕΡΑΙ
CΙΝ ·Ι·Β·
ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝ ΑΥΡΗλΕΙΑ·ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΑΚΑΙ ΑΥ
ΡΗΛΙΟC ΟΝΗCΙΜΟC ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩ·ΤΕΚΝΩ
ΜΝΗΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ
Θ Χ

Fig. 1
(Drawing made by the author in the Villa Albani, Rome)

32. A-B-C Three marble statuettes. Provenance unknown. They used to be in the Collection Giustiniani in Rome, Nos. 1186 A—B—C. H. ca. 0.20 (A and C), 0.23 m (B). In the case of 1186 B the right forearm with the serpent drinking from the bowl has been supplemented but the similarities of the three statuettes are such that B also can be listed in the series of Bona Dea representations.

Clarac IV, pl. 558, Nos. 1186 A-C = Reinach, *RS* I, p. 294 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, Nos. 6-8.

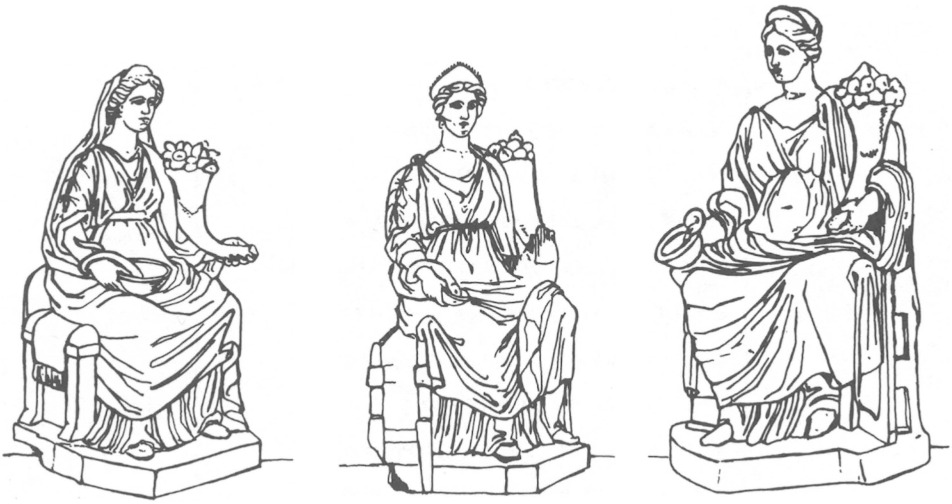


Fig. 2
(After Clarac IV, p. 558, No. 1186 A-C)

2nd cent. A.D. (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 242).

The goddess is represented as a seated matron. Her attributes are the serpent drinking from a bowl in her right hand and the cornucopia in her left.

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227: "6.-8. Ehemals Rom, Slg. Giustiniani. Herkunft unbekannt. Bei 1186 B ist der rechte Unterarm mit der Schlange ergänzt; die Uebereinstimmung mit 1186 A und C erscheint uns aber hinreichend, um auch B mit Bestimmtheit zu dieser Reihe zu zählen. Höhe ungefähr 0,20 m und (1186 B) 0,23 m. C. Clarac 4, 558, Nr. 1186 A—C. Reinach, RS. I, 294." P. 228: "In Claracs Musée de sculpture fällt unter den als "Hygieia" bezeichneten Statuen der Typus einer sitzenden, matronalen Göttin auf, deren Attribute Schlange und Füllhorn sind (Nr. 6-8 und 11 unserer Liste—*11* = *No. 49 below*)". P. 233: "Der jetzt in etwa einem Dutzend von Exemplaren sicher nachzuweisende Göttertypus (Nr. 1-9, 12, 13) ist einheitlich und durch seine beiden Attribute genügend charakterisiert, um keinen Zweifel darüber aufkommen zu lassen, dass wir es mit ein und derselben, und zwar einer ganz bestimmten Gottheit zu tun haben, die sich durch die Inschrift des Albaner Stückes (*No. 73 below*) eben als Bona Dea zu erkennen gibt". P. 242: Greifenhagen suggests that the three statuettes were found near the Villa Giustiniani. Should this be true, it could be an indication of their provenance from *Regio* II, where three (?) inscriptions in honour of Bona Dea were found (above, Nos. 2-3-4).

33. Marble statuette. H. 0.50 m. Formerly Rome, "Archäologisches Institut" (Greifenhagen). Head and neck with the upper part of the bosom are lost.

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 9.

2nd cent. A.D. (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 242).

Bona Dea is represented as above Nos. 32 A-B-C (see fig. 2).

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227: "9. Ehemals Rom, Archäologisches Institut". Höhe 0,50 m. Matz-von Duhn, II, No. 890." Cf. also Greifenhagen, p. 228: "Eine weitere Statuette (Nr. 9), die früher im ehemaligen deutschen Institut auf dem Kapitol stand, muss der Beschreibung nach die gleiche Göttin sein (note 3: ... Der Verbleib des Originals ist mir unbekannt)."

Surroundings of Rome

Nomentum—Mentana[65]

34. Marble altar. The altar is decorated with two double volutes with rosettes (see No. 9). The plinth is of unusually big dimensions and consists of two steps, the top one being rounded.

Mentana, Collezione Zeri, No. 41.

CIL VI 70.

Bonae Diae / Castr(i) Font(anorum) / Ti(beri) Claudi / Aug(usti) l(iberti) Prisci / Celer / ser(vus) tabul(arius) / posuit.

To Bona Dea of the Castrum Fontanorum. *Celer, slave and bookkeeper of the Imperial freedman Tiberius Claudius Priscus, has erected this (altar).*

Claudian.

CIL: "s(ine) l(oco). Extat scripta manu aliena in Gudii ms. p. 25 (inde ed. 53, 1)". Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "Castr(orum) Font(anorum)?: protettrice". Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 8; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and notes 1 and 2.

l. 1: The *E* of *Bonae* and the *D* are damaged but legible. *AE* of *Diae* is written in ligature.

l. 2: *CIL*: "lege CASTR*i* FONT*anorum* vel simile quid et intellege de loco alias ignoto.—Celer servus est Prisci cuiusdam liberti Claudii, tabularius fortasse rationis aquariorum". The two *T*s of this line are bigger than the other letters, a peculiarity not found in the rest of the inscription, cf. Cagnat^4, p. 22. See Platner-Ashby, p. 105.

l. 3-4: Ti(beri) Claudi / Aug(usti): A different possible translation is of course: *Priscus, freedman of the Emperor Tiberius Claudius.* Yet also in that case the name of the freedman would have been the same. Cf.; Kneissl, p. 34.[66]

---

[65] Cf. *CIL* XIV (1887), pp. 440-441; H. Philipp, *Nomentum* in *RE* XVII 1 (1936), coll. 820-821; *Roma e dintorni*, map pp. 606-607; p. 609; *Atlante* 2, 32 B 3.

l. 5-6: Cf. above, *ad* l. 2.

(Outside) **Porta S. Pancrazio**

35. Sepulchral inscription, found "extra portam S. Pancratii in vinea Fr. Incoronati" (*CIL*).[67]

CIL VI 2239.

D(is) ❧ M(anibus) / Ve[t]uri[a]e Semne / honora[t]ae o[b] / magistratum / collegi Bonae Deae / Tyndaris lib(erta) / patronae b(ene) ❧ m(erenti) / fecit.

To the Souls of the Departed and That of Veturia Semne, honoured because of her dignity of magistra *of the college of Bona Dea. The freedwoman Tyndaris has built this (tomb) for her* patrona *and benefactress.*

Imperial Age.

CIL: "Solae servaverunt schedae Zarattini Castellinii quas possidet Garrucius; ex iis edita est in bull. dell'inst. 1861, p. 41." Waltzing III, p. 218, No. 796. Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "Anche di donne dobbiamo supporre composto il collegium dell'iscrizione urbana." Vaglieri follows the above reading, except for a capital *H* in *Honoratae*. Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167 and note 3; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155 and note 2.

l. 1: Cf. above, No. 25, *ad l. 1.*

l. 2: *CIL*: "Vv. 2.3 traduntur VEIVRINE • SEMNE / HONORAIAE OR".

l. 3: for the reading by *CIL* see *ad* l. 2; cf. Taylor, *Ostia*, p. 52.[68]

l. 4-5: Cf. Waltzing I—IV; E. Kornemann, *Collegium* in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 380-480; G. Humbert, *Collegium* (III) in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 1295-1297.

---

[66] c) Claudius. "Die Titulatur des Claudius weist auf den meisten Inschriften das ihm vom Vater überkommene Cognomen GERMANICUS auf. Das numerische Verhältnis ist ähnlich wie bei Caligula 3:1. In der Filiation des Nero und überhaupt als Divius Claudius erscheint Claudius ohne Cognomen, desgleichen in zahlreichen Fällen, wo sein Name bei Konsulatsangaben, in Cursus honorum oder in Grabinschriften von Sklaven und Freigelassenen genannt wird." In note 56, referring to this passage, a.o. *CIL* VI 64 and 70 are mentioned. *CIL* VI 70, however, is no more a sepulchral inscription than 64 (=No. 4). Both are of a sacral nature.

[67] Cf. *Roma e dintorni,* p. 454 (*Porta S. Pancrazio,* formerly *Aurelia* or *del Gianicolo*); map IV 8.

[68] Speaking of the cult of the Emperors at Ostia, Taylor refers to *CIL* XIV 33, in which one T. Annius Lucullus is called *honoratus* in connection with the college of the *dendrophori.* As to Vaglieri's suggestion of a name by the capital H, cf. the instances in Waltzing III, p. 224, No. 831 (=*CIL* VI 4019): No. 836 (=4037); p. 225, No. 845 (=4222); No. 847 (=4305); No. 848 (=4306). These inscriptions all come from the tomb of Livia's freedmen (cf. below, No. 36).

Via Appia

36. Slab in white, lightly spotted, marble. H. 0.15; W. 0.44 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. It is concave from left to right. Found in the tomb of Livia's freedmen, *ca.* 2 miles from the City on the Via Appia.[69]

Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 6771, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. XLVII; phot. neg. No. M. 13.88.

CIL VI 2240 (=4003).

Letter heights: A l. 1: 28; l. 2-3: 20 mm. B (the lettering of this part is rather irregular) l. 1: sloping from 28 to 20; l. 2: sloping from 23 to 18; l. 3: sloping from 20 to 15 mm.

A—left of a vertical line.

Maenalus / pediseq(uorum) / dec(urio).

B—right of the line.

Philematio Aug(ustae) l(iberta) / sacerd(os) á Bona / Dea mater Maenali.

Maenalus, head of a decuria *of lackeys.*
Philematio, freedwoman of the Empress, priestess of Bona Dea, mother of Maenalus.

Augustan-Claudian.

The line dividing the two parts ends at the top in a circle (a mirror?).

See, besides *CIL*, Gilbert, *l.c.* (cf. above, No. 25); Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 167; Waltzing III, p. 223, No. 825; Waltzing reads: *Maenalus / pediseq(uus) / dec(urio). / Philematio Aug(usti) l(ibertus), / sacerd(os) a Bona Dea, mater Maenali.* An interpretation of this reading would offer some difficulties; Duff, *Freedmen*, p. 129[70]

A l. 2-3: *CIL* reads PEDISEQ / DEC, without further explanation. For Waltzing's reading, see above.

---

[69] Cf. E. Saglio, *Columbarium* in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 1333-1338, esp. 1335-1336, figg. 1741-1743; E. Samter, *Columbarium* in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 593-603; F. Grana-G. Matthiae, *Columbario* in *EAA* II (1959), pp. 746-748.

[70] "In the province of religious worship, freedmen were excluded from the College of the Augurs and from the priesthoods of old Roman deities except that of the *Bona Dea*. Though the Roman of the early Empire had not much faith in his ancient gods, he did not tolerate a foreign freedman offering sacrifice to the divine protectors of Rome. But he could not with reason prevent him becoming priest to those of his alien deities whom the state recognized. Freedmen could attain to the priesthoods of the Great Mother, Isis, Mithras, or any of the external gods in whose introduction into Rome they had been so largely instrumental. Thus freedmen were priests not only to the *Bona Dea* ...." In this note 1, Duff refers to this inscription as an instance supporting his theory.

Via Aurelia

37. Fragment of a marble slab, found "in praedio La Tedesca, Via Aurelia" (*CIL*).[71]

CIL VI 30.852.

[Ant?]erotis d(ono) d(at) / B(onae) D(eae).

(To the Departed Soul) of Anteros (?); *he (she) has presented this to Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071.

Via Nomentana

38. Big marble architrave, found in three parts on the Via Nomentana "nella tenuta Prati fiscali a ponte Nomentano" (*NS*).[72] H. 0.30; W. 0.96; D. 0.17 m.

CIL VI 36.765 = *ILS* 9249 = *AE* 1908, p. 55, No. 225.

Popillia Psacas cum Thaine / [coll]ega sua B(onae) D(eae) d(onum) d(edit).

Popillia Psacas has, together with her colleague Thaine (?) *presented Bona Dea with this gift.*

Imperial Age.

D. Vaglieri in *NS* 1908, p. 132, No. 1 (cf. p. 131).[73] *CIL*, *ILS*, and *AE* all have the same reading and refer to the same findspot (see above); see also G. Gatti, *Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel Suburbio* in *BullCom* 1909 (pp. 113-145), pp. 139-142.[74] Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

---

[71] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 590; map p. 593; *Atlante* 2, 31-32; Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*, pp. 225-230.

[72] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 310 and 607; map. p. 609; Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*, pp. 82-92.

[73] "Nella tenuta Prati fiscali a ponte Nomentano, di proprietà del sig. Agostino Giuliano, facendosi lo scassato sono tornati in luce numerosi frammenti architettonici, assai richi, parecchi dei quali hanno però sofferto per incendio"—follows a list of columns, blocks of stone, ornaments in terra-cotta, the bases of two marble statues, and the inscription in question.

[74] "Nell'eseguire lavori agricoli nella tenuta denominata Prati Fiscali, fra il quarto e il quinto chilometro della via Nomentana, sono stati scoperti pochi resti di muri in opera reticolata di tufo, grossi m. 0,60, spettanti probabilmente ad una villa romana. Fra questi avanzi si ha un vano d'ingresso, con soglia di travertino, largo m. 2,05, che sembra fosse stato decorato con colonne di portasanta, di cui un bel fusto, del diametro di m. 0,57, fu quivi stesso trovato. Sparsi fra la terra, ed a poca profondità dal suolo, sono stati recuperati molti frammenti marmorei e fittili, i quali provengono da monumenti di diversa natura e di diversa età, che dovevano anticamente sorgere in quelle vicinanze. I principali sono: a) Numerosi avanzi di decorazioni architettoniche, ... b) Torso di statua virile," ... fragments of various other statuettes and of sarcophaguses. "c) Delle iscrizioni incise in marmo meritano di essere segnalate le seguenti: 1. Tre frammenti di grande architrave, su cui leggesi:" follows our inscription ... "Le ultime quattro lettere significano *Bonae deae donum dedit*; e denotano che un'ara, od un'edicola fu construita e donata

l. 1: Popillia Psacas: *CIL*: "[Psacas scriptum pro Psecas ut vol. IV 3905. DESSAV]". *ILS*: "Psecas (Psacas etiam IV 3905)".

l. 1-2: Thaine / [coll]ega: *CIL*: "Collega (quod vocabulum nota de femina adhibitum) dicitur Thais ut sacerdos deae vel magistra collegii cuiusdam cultricum eius, quale memoratur in titulo supra n. 2239" (=No. 35) ... It is rather questionable whether *Thaine* could be the ablative of *Thais* as is suggested by *CIL*. Cf. Liddell and Scott, p. 781; Lewis and Short, p. 1865. See also K. Neumann, *Collega, conlega* (2) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 378-380, and above No. 35, ad l. 5.

l. 2: B(onae) D(eae) d(onum) d(edit): Thus read all sources.

Via Tuscolana

39. Slab in Italian marble. H. 0.365; W. 0.54; D. 0.10-0.095 m. The measurements of the inscribed panel are, without the broad double moulding: H. 0.22 and W. 0.40 m. From time immemorial the slab was fixed to the wall of the house No. 155 Via Tuscolana, and was, in view of the information in *NS* 1924, probably found there.[75]

Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Magazzino epigrafico, Inv. No. 12.6369, phot. neg. No. Museum 3438.

NS 1957, pp. 334-336, fig. 1=*AE* 1960, 253.

Letter heights: l. 1 and 3-5: 30; l. 2: 35 mm.

Sacrum / Bonae Deae / Castrensis / fecit / Valgia Silvilla.

Dedicated to Bona Dea Castrensis. Valgia Silvilla has erected this (monument).

1st cent. of the Empire (*NS* 1957, p. 336).

Bianca Maria Felletti-Maj, *XIV.—Via Tuscolana.—Epigrafe* in *NS* 1957, pp. 334-336: "nella facciata di una casa in Via Tuscolana, al numero civico 155, era da tempo imprecisabile murata una epigrafe marmorea con dedica alla Bona Dea. Tale epigrafe gentilmente è stata donata dai proprietari, Signori Meloni, al Museo Nazionale

---

a quella benefica divinità dalle due donne Popillia Psacas e Thaine, che erano addette al sacerdozio della medesima. È noto infatti che il culto della *Bona dea* era essenzialmente femminile, e nelle antiche iscrizioni quasi sempre—this certainly is an exaggeration—si leggono fatte da *magistrae*, da *ministrae*, o genericamente da sacerdotesse. Queste costituivano una specie di collegio presieduto dalle *magistrae*; ed è perciò che Popillia chiamò Thaine *collega sua* o semplicemente nel sacerdozio, o piuttosto nel magistero." In his note 1, Gatti refers to *CIL* VI 2239 (=No. 35), in which "è espressamente ricordato che una donna aveva conseguito il *magistratum collegii Bonae deae*." From the whole of the account as given by Gatti it is clear that the site in question for a long period (cf. *leiber* in No. 6 and the Christian inscription, No. 7) was used for various ends: habitation, sanctuary (?), cemetery.

[75] Cf. the doubts expressed in *NS* 1957, p. 335: "Purtroppo non si ha alcuna notizia sulla provenienza della lapide; sebbene si possa presumere che venga dalle fondazioni della casa, non si può escludere anche tutt'altra origine."

> Romano, dove ora si trova col numero d'inventario 126369. L'epigrafe misura cm. 36 di altezza, cm. 55 di lunghezza e cm. 9,5 di spessore.[76] La breve iscrizione è in ottimo stato e in bella capitale, racchiusa entro una semplice cornice sagomata (fig. 1)." P. 335: "Purtroppo non si ha alcuna notizia sulla provenienza della lapide; sebbene si possa presumere che venga dalle fondazioni della casa, non si può escludere anche tutt' altra origine.[77] ... Valgia Silvilla appose (p. 336) la sua dedica evidentemente a una determinata immagine della dea, che dal suo tempietto tutelava il quartiere presso un accampamento militare. L'epigrafe sembra potersi datare al I secolo del Impero. La dedicante non è altrimente conosciuta (but see below, *ad* l. 5). Apparteneva forse alla famiglia illustrata da quel Valgius Rufus, la cui produzione letteraria era ammirata da Orazio?"[78] *AE* merely states: "La dédicace à la *Bona Dea* par *Valgia Silvilla* a été transportée au Museo Nazionale. Remarques sur l'épithète *Castrensis* et sur les *Valgii.*" Borgo, *iscr. sacre*, pp. 25-28.

l. 2-3: Cf. Nos. 34 and 111 (Aquileia).

l. 5: In view of the provenance of the monument, perhaps the same Valgia Silvilla is to be recognized in a sepulchral inscription published by G. Mancini in *NS* 1924 (*Via Latina*), pp. 47 and 48: "Presso porta Furba,[79] sulla sinistra della via Tuscolana, nel punto ove questa forma crocevia con la via Militare, il sig. Francesco de Angelis, nell'eseguire un cavo per la costruzione di un nuovo fabbricato, mise in luce, alla distanza di m. 16 dalla via Militare, di m. 14 dalla via Tuscolana ed a m. 2 di profondità da piano di campagna, alcuni resti di muratura in opera reticolata ed un grande cippo funebre di marmo (m. 1.25 × 0.84 × 0.54) con cimasa pulvinata, base modinata e patera e prefericolo ai lati. Il lato anteriore ha incisa la sequente iscrizione: *Dis Manibus / sacrum / Valgia Silvilla / sibi et / Ti(berio) Claudio Auximo / coniugi suo /*

---

[76] The results of my own measuring were somewhat different; see above.

[77] It nevertheless seems most probable that the slab was found on that site since it is not of such an attractive appearance as to justify transport elsewhere. B. M. Felletti-Maj continues: "Il luogo di culto ufficiale della dea in Roma—il tempio della Bona Dea Subsaxana ai piedi dell'Aventino—era ben lontano di qui. Ma i piccoli santuari, le are, le statuette, erano disseminati qua e là nell'Urbe—a giudicare dalle epigrafi rinvenute e dalle piccole sculture—simili all'edicola scoperta in Trastevere presso S. Cecilia, costituita da una edicoletta di mattoni, di forma quadrangolare, divisa in due nicchie, una sovrastante all'altra, di cui la superiore probabilmente ospitava la statuetta. Tali edicolette sacre servivano da riferimento per indicare i luoghi; e nello stesso tempo la divinità ivi adorata assumeva nel linguaggio populare un attributo derivante della topografia. Così si spiega l'epiteto dato alla Bona Dea di *arcensis triumphalis*, cioè che sta presso l'arco di trionfo (see No. 86), e gli epiteti derivanti da un nome di famiglia, come *Annianensis* o *Galbilla,* alludenti all'edicola eretta presso o entro le case degli *Annii* e dei *Galbiani* (Nos. 19 and 9; a house of the Galbiani is not known to me: the indications are sufficient for accepting that the shrine of Bona Dea Galbilla was in the *Horrea Galbiana*). L'attributo *castrensis* non è nuovo, ma è segnalato solo in una epigrafe di Aquileia (No. 111), mentre da Roma proviene una dedica di un tale Celer, servo di un liberto di Claudio, che si rivolge alla *Bona Dea castr[i] font[anorum]* (No. 34: Note the different reading: *Castr(i) Font(anorum)*)."

[78] Valgius Rufus, *consul suffectus* in 12 B.C., belonged to the circle of poets under the patronage of Maecenas; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 273-274; H. Gundel, *Valgius* (7: *C. Valgius Rufus*) in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 272-276.

[79] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 647, plan p. 569.

benemerenti et / libertis libertabus/que suis et Auximi / posterisque eorum".[80]

Via Aurelia

40. White marble slab, found on the Via Aurelia on the estate of O. Falconeri.[81] The piece used to be in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum of Brunswick but appears to have vanished after the Second World War.[82]

CIL VI 58.

Cicereia Orestis / lib(erta) Elegans / Bonae Deae sacrum.

Cicereia Elegans, freedwoman of Orestes. Dedicated to Bona Dea.

Imperial Age.

G. Spiel-E. Spangenberg, *Neues vaterländisches Archiv oder Beiträge zur allseitigen Kenntniss des Königsreichs Hannover und des Herzogsthums Brauschweig,* Jahrgang 1826, erster Band, Lüneburg, 1826, pp. 354-363: XIII: *Römische und griechische Inschriften in dem herzoglichen Museum zu Braunschweig*; p. 357, No. 9: *Eine Tafel von weissem Marmor, ein Fuss breit, 5½ Zoll hoch.* The reading is as shown here above. *CIL*: "Inventa ad viam Aureliam in praedio Octavii Falconerii, qui Gudio donum dedit ..." Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (?)

41. Small column in travertine. According to some sources the monument stood in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.[83] "A card. Passioneio[84] comparata et in eremo Camaldulensium sub arce Tusculana collocata, ubi adhuc extat" (*CIL*).[85]

CIL VI 63.

Servilia L(uci) l(iberta) / Bonae Deae / votum solvit / l(ibens) m(erito).

Servilia, freedwoman of Lucius, has fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea willingly and justly.

---

[80] "Nel lato posteriore è rappresentata in rilievo la porta dell'Hades leggermente socchiusa; ciascuno dei due battenti ha due specchi lisci ed una piccola maniglia di forma semicircolare."

[81] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 590; plan p. 593; *Atlante* 2, 31-32; Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*, pp. 225-230.

[82] Letter, 19-IV-1973, from Dr. Bodo Hedergott of the museum to the author.

[83] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 332-334; map III 32.

[84] In the collection of Cardinal Passionei at Frascati was another dedication to Bona Dea, before 1763, since 1805 in the British Museum; see No. 19. For B. Passioneius, who published the description of the Cardinal's collection, cf. *CIL* VI 1 (1876), p. LXIV, No. CVIII.

[85] Cf. for *i Camáldoli, Atlante* 2, 33 E 2; *Roma e dintorni*, p. 653, plan p. 664; M. Borda, *Tuscolo* (=*Itinerari* 98), Roma, MCMLVIII, p. 37 (*EREMO DI CAMALDOLI*).

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071: Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

Tor Sapienza

42. Altar in Alban stone. "In Agro Romano ad Tor Sapienza[86] effossa a Laurentio Fortunati anno 1861" (*CIL*).

CIL VI 53.

Aelia Exusia / Bonae Deae / sacrum.

Aelia Exusia. Dedicated to Bona Dea.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

Via Nomentana

43. Marble cippus with cornice and plinth. The front shows two busts, of a man and a woman, in bas-relief. Under the busts is the text. On the sides the usual *patera* and *praefericulum*. The cippus was found on the Via Nomentana, near the main entrance of the Villa Torlonia.[87]

CIL VI 38.755 = *ILS* 9437.

Publiciae / Cale / Bonae Deae / sacrum / Martialis / servos.

Dedicated to the Good Goddess Poblicia Cale (? or: *For the Departed Soul of Poblicia Cale. Dedicated to Bona Dea). The slave Martialis.*

Imperial Age (? NB twice *o* for *u*).

G. Gatti in *NS* 1902, pp. 555-556: "Via Nomentana. Nel proseguire i lavori di allargamento e di livellazione della via Nomentana, è stato recuperato, presso il principale ingresso della villa Torlonia, un cippo marmoreo, con cornice e zoccolo. Sulla fronte vi sono scolpiti, in basso-rilievo, due busti, uno maschile, l'altro femminile; e sotto di esse leggesi l'iscrizione"—Reading as shown here above. P. 556: "Nei lati del cippo si hanno i consueti simboli del prefericolo e della patera. La seconda lettera del nome Pobliciae è rescritta: prima era stata incisa PVBLICIAE." *CIL* refers to *NS*, and states: "Sepulcralis est titulus, ut iam intellexit Gatti". In *ILS* the same reference: cf. *ILS* III, p. 520 (Bona Dea index): "Bona Dea mulier appellata 9437, dea Bona pia 8069" (=No. 47 below).

l. 1-2: The original *u* of *Publiciae* has been substituted by an *o* cf. *servos* in l. 6). The same name (and woman?) is found in a falsification, *CIL* VI-V 2606* (s.l.): publicia / cale / a. cornelio / secundo coniugi / suo bene merenti / cippum cum titulo / insculptum / permissu L. valerI / flaccI bene merenti / ab eodem / mancupatum locum (Taur. 6 s.v. Cornelia).

---

[86] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 612, plan p. 609; *Lazio* map p. 376; *Atlante* 2, 33 D 1.

[87] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 307, map II 30; Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*, pp. 82-92.

Via Ostiense

44. Slab in yellowish marble. H. 0.31-30; W. 0.40 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab is fixed to the wall. The inscription is in a simple frame. The piece was, together with another inscription (*D. Octavi D. l. Modiaci*), found on the Framia estate, Via Ostiense near the third milestone in 1794 (*CIL*).[88]

Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 6855, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. XLV 44; phot. neg. 13.361,

CIL VI 68 = *ILS* 3513.

Letter heights: l. 1: 40; l. 2: 30; l. 3: 25; l. 4-6: 20 (on an average; the lettering is rather irregular); l. 7-8: 10 mm. (on an average).

Felix publicus / Asinianus pontific(um) / Bonae Deae Agresti Felicu(lae?) / votum solvit iunicem alba(m) / libens animo ob luminibus / restitutis derelictus a medicis post / menses decem bineficio Dominaes medicinis sanatus per / eam restituta omnia ministerio Canniae Fortunatae.

Felix Asinianus, slave in the service of the priests, has fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea Agrestis Felicula, willingly and heartily, sacrificing a white heifer, thanking her for the recovery of his eyesight. Though given up by the physicians he recovered after ten months by taking medicines, by the aid of the Mistress. It was by her help that everything was restored during Cannia Fortunata's term of office.

To date the piece is rather difficult. On the one hand it has to be established that ob + abl. is relatively late; Hofmann-Szantyr, p. 238, cites as earliest dateable place *Acta Arvalia* anno 183 (III 23); on the other hand there is the circumstance that the termination *—aes* for *-ae* in the gen. Sing. of the 1st declension is most frequent in inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.; cf. Sommer, pp. 326-327; Leumann, p. 419.

Besides the information cited above, in *CIL* are found the older sources. *ILS*: "Romae, rep. ut videtur ad lapidem tertiae (*sic*) viae Ostiensis (VI 68 vidit Henzen)". Cf. also Vaglieri, Bona Dea, p. 1013: "siccome protettrice dei campi", and p. 1014: "Fra le dedicazioni specialmente notevoli è una fatta per il riacquisto della vista", follows our inscription reading in l. 3: *felic...v...*; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; G. Gatti in *BullCom* XXXIII (1905), pp. 348-349; Gatti gives an entirely different provenance, confusing *CIL* VI 68 and 75; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 1, 3, 5, and 7; Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, III, pp. 174-175.[89] Gummerus, p. 18 No. 3.[90] Sanders, p.

---

[88] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 420, 569-571; plan p. 569; maps V 13-14-15 and VI 13-14-15; Ashby, *Rom. Campagna*, pp. 214-219; *Via Ostiense*, pp. 3-13; p. 26.

[89] "Auf göttlichen Verordnungen in Träumen beziehen sich offenbar auch manche Danksagungen auf römischen Inschriftsteinen für Wiedererlangung der Gesundheit ... Ein Sklave der Pontifices zu Rom bringt laut einer in schlechtem Latein abgefassten Inschrift der "Guten Göttin" (Bona Dea) das Dankopfer einer weissen Kuh für Herstellung des Augenlichts,

141.[91] Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 200, note 21; Latte, *RR*, p. 230, p, 231 and note 1. Becher, *Heilgötter*, p. 216, note 33.

l. 2: pontific(um): *if* is written in ligature F ; cf. *ILS*: "Pontificum. Servus publicus fuerat (*why* fuerat, *not* erat?) a sacris pontificalibus".

l. 3: *cu* is written C ; *CIL* does not give an interpretation but reads: *felic...v..*; *ILS*: "Fortasse: Feliculae, ut nomen Felix indiderit a nomine suo".

l. 4: iunicem alba(m): *ba* is written $\overset{A}{B}$, not B^{A} (*CIL*); for the sacrifice of a white heifer, cf. Gagé, *Matronalia*, pp. 78-79.

l. 5-6: ob luminibus / restitutis: Cf. No. 22: *Bon(ae) Deae Luciferae* (?), and No. 13: *Bonae Deae Oclatae*; see Sanders, quoted in note 91; Bultmann, pp. 14-15.[92]

l. 7: Dominaes: For the genitive with the ending *-aes*, cf. Carcopino, *Ostiensia*, p. 351.[93] *CIL* VI 33.368; 5679 = *ILS* 1739; 6464 = Erman, *Serv. vic.* p. 421, No. 86; p. 419, No. 50. For *Domina*, see Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 221-227. See also *CIL* VI 809: ("trov. nel 1797 sopra i monti di S. Paolo, a sinistra della via Ostiense (dopo l'osteria di Malafede ed il ponte della Refolta), si conserva sotto il chiostro del monastero di S. Paolo NIBBY. Extat adhuc in coenobio S. Pauli") Thiasus / Agili Glabrion / inperatu aram / fecit Dominae. *Ad* l. 4 *CIL* comments: "domina dicitur Bona Dea supra n. 68, Isis Henzen 5832".

Without any indication of provenance

45. Marble statuette of a seated goddess. Rather inferior quality. H. 0.315 m. Fine-grained Italian marble with greyish veins. The goddess is veiled and wears chiton and mantle. She holds in her left hand the cornucopia, in her right a bowl from which a serpent coiling around her forearm is drinking.

Rome, Musei Vaticani. *magazzini*, Inv. No. 3026; phot. neg. No. XXXII. 10.21

Time of Hadrian (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 242).

"Nachdem er von den Aerzten verlassen und nach zehn Monaten durch die Gnade der Herrin mit Arzeneien geheilt war" ..."

[90] Gummerus refers to Nos. 22 and 13, and states: "Wahrscheinlich I. Jahrh. n. Chr. (wegen der Genitivform *dominaes*)."

[91] "Zelfs in het proza drong het gebruik (i.e. *lumina* for *oculi*) door, zoals een paar plaatsen uit PETRONIUS (105) en APULEIUS (Metam. 4, 34; 6, 14 bv.) aantonen. Uit deze auteurs die nauwer aansluiten bij de volkstaal dan de bellettrie pleegt te doen, blijkt tevens dat het begrip aan het volk niet vreemd zal zijn geweest. Dit wordt trouwens ook bewezen door een dankopschrift:" follows the fragmentary reading of our inscription.

[92] "Dieses Charakter des Lichtes als der Helligkeit, die die Möglichkeit des Sehens verleiht, kommt auch darin zum Ausdruck, dass das Auge Licht, oder das Licht Auge genannt werden kann ...."

[93] "On rencontre très souvent à Ostia la déclinaison semi-grecque des noms propres avec des génitifs féminins en *aes*. Carcopino refers to *CIL* XIV 299, 440, 515, 1109.

Von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, I, p. 64, No. 16; II, tav. XXIX, No. 116 (*Statuetta della Dea Fortuna*).[94] Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* p. 227, No. 4; pp. 228, 230, figg. 2 and 3, 242.[95]

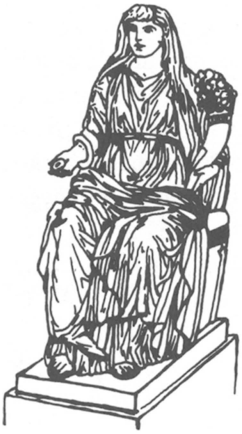


Fig. 3
(after Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 231, fig. 3)

46. Marble statuette of Bona Dea. H. 0.403 m. Provenance unknown. The statuette belonged to the legacy Gerrit van Papenbroek and was formerly in the collection Vendramin in Venice, and afterwards probably—the head at any rate—in the collection Reynst in Amsterdam.

Fine-grained white marble. The material of the body is somewhat yellower than that of the head, which does not belong to the statuette. Besides the original head the following are also missing: part of the right foot, the left arm up to the elbow, the cornucopia in this arm up to the rim, the right arm from below half-way down the upper arm, further a large part of the serpent to the right of the throne. On the right thigh there is a fracture belonging to the serpent. The upper part of the cornucopia was joined separately.

---

[94] STATUETTA DELLA DEA FORTUNA. Alt. m. 0.30 (cf. the somewhat different result of my measuring); marmo italico a cristalli minuti e venature grigiastre; mancano un tratto della patera e del diadema; la superficie ha subito lesioni più o meno profonde. La statuetta rappresenta una Fortuna comodamente assisa sul trono, con gli attributi del diadema, della patera e della cornucopia. Un velo copre la parte posteriore della testa, ricadendo sulle spalle; i piedi poggiano su di uno sgabello basso e posto di traverso. Cf. la statuetta del Museo Capitolino, Stuart-Jones, Stanza terrena a dritta, 21 (p. 70, No. 21 (Pl. 13): STATUETTE OF A SEATED GODDESS. H. to top of plinth .62 m. Marble, grechetto. Both forearms with hands are lost, and the front of the plinth and part of the throne at the back on the r. has been cut away. A matronly goddess with a high stephane, a mantle veiling the back of the head and shoulders and covering the knees, a chiton high girt and with sleeves, is seated on a high-backed throne with the legs, cushion, and seat cut in relief. The l. foot is drawn back. On her feet are sandals, and the hands, which are lost, were held out parallel to the knee and carried attributes, a cornucopia in the left perhaps and a patera in the right.—Bad Roman work), e del Giardino della Pigna, Amelung-Petersen, *Giardino della Pigna,* 213, ma disposta inversamente . (This statuette is of no importance in this context as there are no attributes which might identify the figure as Bona Dea), nonchè le raffigurazioni della Bona dea (references to No. 73, below, and to Peter, *Bona Dea*).

[95] "... Ausser dem Füllhorn ist am Original auch die Schlange deutlich zu sehen, die sich, wie bei den anderen, um den rechten Unterarm der Göttin windet und aus der Schale trinkt" (p. 227).

The goddess wears a chiton and mantle and is frontally seated on a throne. The two attributes, serpent and cornucopia, together indicate a Bona Dea rather than a Hygieia, under which name the statuette was formerly entered in the museum catalogue. The thin chiton is fastened by buttons on the upper arms. The mantle is draped over back and knees. Her hair is parted in the middle and dressed in a chignon on the back of the head. The feet rest on a stool. The legs of the throne have bell-shaped ornaments, and on the seat is a thick cushion. The throne has a back with an astragal moulding at the sides, but no arms.

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. 1818 (1745): Pb. 114.

Imperial Age.

Signorum Veterum Icones per D. Gerardum Reynst Urbis Amstelaedami Senatorem ac Scabinum dum viveret Dignissimum collectae, I-II, Amsterdam 1668/9, 97 (head). F. Oudendorp, *Brevis veterum monumentorum, ab amplissimo viro Gerardo Papenbroekio Academiae Lugduno-Batavae legatorum, descriptio*, Leiden 1746, 70 No. 26. C. J. C. Reuvens, *Ontwerp van eenen Catalogus van het Museum van Oudheden* (Ms), 1824, 36 No. 15. L. J. F. Janssen, *De Griekseche, Romeinsche en Etrurische Monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden,* Leiden 1843/8, 9 No. 70. Brants, p. 14 No. 43. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea* II, col. 510.[96] Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst,* Amsterdam 1979, 213 No. 96; 219 No. 113. Bastet-Brunsting, No. 66, Pl. 19.

(46'). A dedication, possibly to Bona Dea. Without any data except for: "Romae apud Io. Baptistam Casalem" (*CIL*). Two feet are represented in the inscription.[97]

CIL VI 825.

Quieianae / B(onae?)—*duorum pedun imagines*—Deae.

To Bona Dea Quietana(?).

CIL suggests the above form of the epithet: "Fortasse intellegendum *B(onae) d(eae) Quietanae, ut cognomen trahatur a domo Quieti cuiusdam". See besides CIL* also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071.

---

[96] "Den bei Greifenhagen genannten Denkmälern ist eine Statuette in Leiden hinzufügen (... Kopf nicht zugehörig), während für manches ähnliche Werk, bei dem die Schlange nicht erhalten ist (reference to No. (77), below), die gleiche Deutung vermutet werden kann."

[97] *CIL* refers to: "Tomasinius de donariis (Utini 1639) cap. VII p. 65, cui misit dominus lapidis, aere expressit (inde Fabretti 471, 115)."

Velitrae—Velletri[98]

(47). Sepulchral cippus, found at Velletri, on which a mortal (?) is called *Dea Bona Pia*. The monument was in the collection Borgia in Velletri. "Hodie Romae in museo Pio Clementino, ubi est Meleager" (*CIL*).

CIL X 6595 = *ILS* 8069.

Anto/niae / Q(uinti) f(iliae) / Deae / Bonae Piae.

To Antonia (or: *To the Departed Soul of Antonia*), *daughter of Quintus, the Dutiful Good Goddess* (?).

Republican Age (?).

Cf. besides *CIL* and *ILS*, *ll. cc., also ILS* III 1, p. 520 (Bona Dea index): "Bona Dea mulier appellata 9437 (= No. 43), dea Bona pia 8069".

48. Marble chair, formerly in the Museo Borgia at Velletri. According to *CIL* now in the Archaeological Museum of Naples.[99]

CIL VI 61.

.......a Primigenia ❧ B(onae) D(eae) d(onum) d(edit).

.... *a Primigenia has given this present to Bona Dea.*

CIL refers to Th. Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani* (1852), No. 6753; see also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

(49). Marble statuette. H. *ca.* 0.40 m. Found at Velletri, and formerly in the collection Latini at that place. According to Clarac part of the right forearm and the serpent are additions.

2nd cent. A.D. (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 242).

Clarac IV, p. 557, No. 1186; Reinach, *RS* I, p. 294; Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 228, No. 11 (Greifenhagen enters the statuette with reservation in his list).
Greifenhagen, *l.c.*; "Ehemals Velletri, Slg. Latini. 1826 am gleichen Ort gefunden. Nach Angabe Claracs Teil des rechten Unterarms und die ganze Schlange ergänzt. Höhe ungefähr 0,40 m." (References to Clarac and Reinach). P. 228, note 1: "Bei Clarac 4, 557, Nr. 1186 (...) ist die schlange ergeblich ergänzt; ... Wohl aus diesem Grunde vermutet C. "plutôt une Abondance qu'une Hygie". Die Statuette konnte ich

---

[98] Cf. *CIL* X 1 (1883), pp. 651-652; G. Lugli-G. Colasanti, *Velletri* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXV (1937), pp. 29-30; G. Radke, *Velitrae* in *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), coll. 2406-2411; E. Lissi-Caronna, *Velletri* in *EAA* VII (1966), pp. 118-119; *Lazio,* pp. 518-519, map p. 496; *Atlante* 2, 32 F 4; 33 F 2.

[99] My visits there, however, remained without result, nor is the piece to be found in A. de Franciscis, *Guida del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Di Mauro Editore, (1967^{11}). Yet, it is true that the Collection Borgia came from Velletri to Naples (cf. *Napoli e dintorni,* p. 178).

> in Velletri nicht ermitteln. Ein im dortigen Museum befindliches, stark verwachsenes Exemplar ist mit jener nicht identisch, mag aber ebenfalls eine Bona Dea gewesen sein".[100]

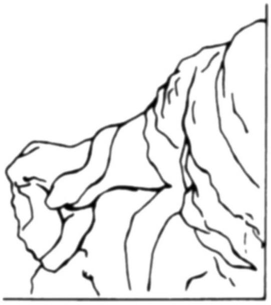


Fig. 4
(After Clarac IV, p. 557, No. 1186)

The goddess is represented in her usual pose. She is a seated, matronal, goddess, with veil, chiton, and mantle. A serpent coils around her forearm (added), and forms together with the cornucopia the attributes of the deity.

prope **Ficulea**[101]

50. Two fragments of an inscription mentioning the restoration of a Bona Dea *fanum*. Found on the Olevano estate near Ficulea in 1826. Lost (?).

CIL XIV 4001.

M(arcus) Marciu[s .... / et Marcia Pri ...... / et Marcia Nomas l(iberta) / eorum / fanum Bona[e D]eae / vetustate di[rut]um / a solo resti[tuerunt.

Marcus Marcius (......) and Marcia Pri ...... and Marcia Nomas, their freedwoman, have restored the Bona Dea sanctuary, collapsed by its old age, building it up from its foundations.

---

[100] P. 234: "Nur vermutungsweise lässt sich die 1826 in Velletri gefundene Statuette (Nr. 11) anschliessen, bei der nach Angabe der Beschreibung die ganze Schlange und ein Teil des Unterarms ergänzt sind. Wenn von der Schlange wirklich keine Spur vorhanden war, müsste der Restaurator ein ähnliches Stück gesehen haben, das mir unbekannt geblieben ist. Denn von den hier zusammengestellten Denkmälern kann kaum eines als Vorlage für die bereits 1850 ausgeführte Ergänzung benutzt worden sein. Die Statuetten Giustiniani (Nr. 6-8 = Nos. 32 A-B-C), hätten den Ergänzer gewiss veranlasst, auch die Schale hinzufügen. Allenfalls könnte ihm die Zeichnung bei Ménard, Histoire de Nîmes (1758), bekannt gewesen sein (Nr. 2, Abb. 1 = No. 136). Näher liegt aber wohl doch die Vermutung, dass ein Rest der Schlange erhalten war und ihre Vervollständigung veranlasste."

[101] Cf. Nibby, II, p. 424 (*OLEVANO-TORRICELLA*); *CIL* XIV (1887), p. 447 (XXXVIII. *FICVLEA* (*la Cesarina; accedit Olevano*)); Ch. Hülsen, *Ficulea* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2271-2272; G. Lugli, *Ficulea* in *Enc. Ital.* XV (1932), , p. 226; *Lazio,* p. 341; map p. 376.

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL* also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071: Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 10; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 5: fanum: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 725 (*fanum* 1); E. Samter, *Fanum* in *RE* VI 1 (1907), coll. 1995-1996; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Fanum* in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 973-978; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 468-469; Latte, *RR*, p. 244 and note 2.[102]

Fidenae-Villa Spada[103]

51. Dedicatory inscription, without any data but those found in the text itself.

CIL XIV 4057.

Numini domus A[ug(ustae)] / Blastus Eutact[ianus? et] / Secundus Iuli Quadr[ati] / co(n)s(ulis) II lib(ertus) ob honorem V[Iviratus] / et Italia lib(erta) eiusd[em] / ob magis[t]erium B(onae) [D(eae)] / dedicaverunt XIIII K(alendas) Oct[o]b(res) / M(arco) Clodio Lunense .... / et P(ublio) Licinio Crasso co(n)s(ulibus) / quo die et epulum dederunt / incendio consumtum senatus / Fidenatium restituit.

To the Divinity of the Imperial House. Blastus Eutactianus (?) *and Secundus, freedman of Julius Quadratus, consul for the second time, because of the dignity of the sexvirate, and Italia, freedwoman of the same, because of the dignity of* magistra *of (the college of) Bona Dea, have dedicated this on 18 September, in the consulship of Marcus Clodius Lunensis and Publius Licinius Crassus, on which day they also have given a banquet. The Senate of Fidenae have restored (this sanctuary* ?), *destroyed by fire.*

After A.D. 105 (see below, *ad* l. 3-4).

CIL: "locus nullus adnotatur.—Romae MURATORI. Legitur litteris minusculis in schedula inserta codici Ambrosiano A 55 inf. f 5 scripta fortasse manu Accursii; inde edidit Murat...". Waltzing III, p. 665, No. 2374.[104] Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 6 and 10; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 1: *CIL*: "inter NVMINI et DOMIVS (sic enim est in schedula) lacuna significatur". For *numen* see F. Pfister, *Numen* in *RE* XVII 1 (1937), coll.

---

[102] Cf. also D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora, Recherches sur les colonies grecques du littoral roumain de la mer Noire,* Bucureşti-Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 296-297, esp. note 81 (p. 297).

[103] Cf. *CIL* XIV (1887), p. 453; Ch. Hülsen, *Fidenae* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2278-2279; G. Lugli, *Fidene* (*Fidenae*) in *Enc. Ital.* XV (1932), p. 226; *Roma e dintorni*, p. 604, map p. 609; *Lazio*, p. 267, map p. 96; *Atlante* 2, 32 C 3.

[104] Waltzing refers to *CIL* XIV (1887), p. 453, and suggests that the monument was found on the *La Serpentara* estate; cf. the sources cited above in note 101.

1273-1291; Wagenvoort, *Imperium*, pp. 73-102; Latte, *RR*, p. 57 and note 2; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 33-45.

l. 2: "Blastus hic servus, cuius nomen praecedit nomen liberti consularis, fuit sine dubio ex domo Augusta" (*CIL*). Waltzing reads *Blaetus*. Chantraine, p. 345, No. 360.[105]

l. 3-4: Secundus ... / ... lib(ertus): *CIL*: SECVNDVS voluit qui schedulam scripsit (secũdus); male STRIDVS Murat".

Iuli Quadr[ati] / co(n)s(ulis) II: *CIL*: "significatur C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus consul iterum 105 p. c". Cf. *PIR*2 IV, pp. 257-260, No. 507.

l. 4: ob honorem V[Iviratus]: Cf. above, No. 35, where Veturia Semne is *honorata ob magistratum collegi Bonae Deae*, and the commentary there, *ad* l. 6. Was this Secundus a *sexvir Augustalis*? Considering the fact that one of the tasks of those *seviri* was giving *epula* to the people it seems an obvious conclusion; cf. Masquelez, *Augustales* in *DA* I-I (1877), pp. 560-561.

l. 5-6: Cf. above, No. 35.

l. 6: ob magis[t]erium: Cf. above, No. 27. *CIL*: "MAGIST ... PERIVM ... BV traditur: lege magisterium B(onae) d(eae)".

l. 7: Oct[o]b(res): *CIL*: "OCTB traditur".

l. 8-9: *CIL*: "hi consules praeterea ignoti sunt".

l. 8: *CIL* "LVNENSA." Cf. *PIR*2 II, p. 276, No. 1169.

l. 9: *CIL*: "CRAPO Mur. contra schedulam". Cf. *PIR*2 V, p. 37, No. 187.

l. 10: epulum: Cf. N.D. Fustel de Coulanges: *Epula* in *DA* II-I (1892), pp. 736-738.

l. 11: consumtum: *CIL*: "CONSVMTUM voluit qui schedulam scripsit: male CONSVMTVS Murat".[106] The question is: what was destroyed by fire? Is it the dedicatory inscription of a restored sanctuary we have here? It seems not improbable.

52. Fragment of a marble slab. H. 0.40; W. 0.28 m; found in 1925. *In loco*.

NS 1929, p. 262, No. 9.

Letter heights (the lettering is of good quality): 0.032 and 0.025 m.

Aquillia m[agistra?] / Bonae Dea[e ....] / p(osuit?).

Aquillia, magistra (?) *of Bona Dea, has* (?) *erected* (?)

Imperial Age.

---

[105] "Nach 105 n. Chr, gesetzt, Text nur handschriftlich erhalten. DESSAU zur Inschrift ergänzt Eutact[ianus] und bemerkt: "Blastus ser. sine dubio ex domo imperatoria", HÜLSEN hat sie 228 aufgenommen. Da die Angabe: Aug. ser. o. ä. fehlt, zudem andere Möglichkeiten der Ergänzung denkbar sind, hat die Inschrift auszuscheiden. Ein sicherer Eutactianus X 4134."

[106] Lewis and Short, *s.v. consumo*, do not list the form *consumtus*, only *consumptus* (p. 444).

P. Romanelli, *Via Salaria, trovamenti a Villa Spada e a Castel Giubileo* in *NS* 1929, pp. 262-264, Nos. 9, 10, and 11.[107]

l. 1: Aquillia: Romanelli, p. 264: "Circa il nome della dedicante ricordata nella prima delle epigrafi ora venute in luce, si può notare che il gentilizio *Aquillius* è conosciuto da un'altra iscrizione del territorio fidenate".[108]

m[agistra?]: In view of the circumstance that *magistrae* are mentioned in the following Nos. from the same place is such an interpretation of Romanelli's *M* probably not out of place. See above, No. 27.

l. 2: It is not very probable that an epithet of the goddess is to be completed in the damaged part, but rather the gift which Aquillia *p(osuit?).*

l. 3: p(osuit?): This seems to be the most acceptable solution; cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 449-450.

53. Fragment of a marble slab (right part). H.0.30; W. 0.20 m; found in 1925, together with No. 52.
In loco.

NS 1929, p. 262, No. 10.

Letter heights: 0.04; last line: 0.015 m.

.....]a s(erva?) / ..... / mag(istra) / [Bonae] Deae / d(onum) d(edit) / .....i..aḷpiiam (?).

.....*a, slave* (?) ...., magistra *of Bona Dea has given as a present* .... (?).

Imperial Age.

Cf. Romanelli (see No. 52).[109]

l. 1: From Romanelli's transcription it seems that the text of this line ends in *S*. The *A* could be the last letter of a woman's name. Sometimes *S* stands for *servus-serva*; cf. Cagnat^4, p. 460. Yet this is no more than a suggestion.

l. 2: See above, No. 27.

---

[107] Cf. p. 261: "Nella tenuta di Villa Spada, sulla via Salaria, di proprietà del gr. uff. Aristide Montani, e precisamente sulla collina che si stende a levante dell'altura che, presso il casino di Villa Spada, fiancheggia la via e sulla si vuol riconoscere l'acropoli dell'antica Fidene, procedendosi nell'autunno 1925 allo scasso del terreno, furono incontrati numerosi avanzi di costruzioni antiche, delle quali tuttavia non fu possibile rilevare alcun che di preciso. Alcune di esse erano a blocchi di tufo, altre in laterizio o in opera reticolata." It is clear from the information provided by Romanelli that, in spite of the various and many remains, the reconstruction of a temple is not possible.

[108] *CIL* XIV 4064: Q. Aquillius ... / Noniae.

[109] Romanelli's transcription:
/A·S
/MAG
DEAE
D·D
.I..AḶPIIAM

l. 3: To add *Bonae* seems appropriate in view of the texts of the other inscriptions found together with this one.

54. Fragment of a marble slab (left part). H. 0.30; W. 0.31 m; found in 1925, together with Nos. 52 and 53.
In loco.

NS 1929, p. 263, No. 11.

Letter heights: from 0.02 to 0.035 m.

Maria (mulieris) l(iberta) M........... / mag(istra) Bonae Dea[e ..... signum] / palliatum inarge[ntatum ..... / cathedram pulv[inar] / vestimenta alb[ata .... ex] / marmore III cru[stas .... / armarium clu[sum? ....

Maria M..........., freedwoman of a woman, magistra *of Bona Dea,* (*has dedicated*?), *a statue dressed in a* pallium *and silvered, an armchair, a couch for the gods, bleached clothes, ... three marble pieces of inlaid work* (?), ... *a closed chest* (?)

Imperial Age.

Cf. Romanelli (see No. 52).[110] Lugli, *Alta Semita,* p. 202, No. 5.[111]

l. 2: mag(istra): See above, No. 27.
l. 2-3: *Signum* appears to be a very likely conjecture in view of the following adjectives.
l. 4: cathedram: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 301, *s.v.* pulv[inar]: *Ibidem*, p. 1490, *s.v.* Cf. also Romanelli, pp. 263-264: "L'interesse maggiore di questa iscrizione è costituito dalla nota dei doni offerti alla Dea, doni numerosi e vari, il che è piuttosto raro nelle dediche a questa Divinità. Notevole la presenza fra queste offerte di uno o più *pulvinar.* Si sa che le feste della Bona Dea, cui potevano intervenire soltanto le donne, avevano preso a mano a mano il carattere di *lectisternia*; pertanto in esse le immagini delle Divinità dovevano essere esposte sopra letti e cuscini (*pulvinaria*) e quivi ricevere l'offerta di cibi e bevande. Cicerone, parlando contro Clodio, il quale, come è noto, aveva profanato le feste della Dea, introducendosi in esse sotto spoglie muliebri, fa spesso menzione di questi *pulvinaria* della Bona Dea".

---

[110] Romanelli's transcription:
MAG BONAE DEAa ..... signum
MAG BONAE DEAA ..... signum
PALLIATVM INARGEntatum
CATHEDRAM PVLVinar
VESTIMENTA ALBata .... ex
MARMORE III CRVstas ....
ARMARIVM CLVsum ? ....

[111] Lugli follows exactly Romanelli's reading.

l. 6: cru[stas]: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 485, *s.v.* (II): "In partic., technical term of plastic art, inlaid, chased, or embossed work on walls or vessels, plasterwork, mosaic work".

l. 7: armarium: Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 162, *s.v.* Cf. also Romanelli, p. 264: "Meno chiaro (than the *pulvinar* mentioned) è l'uso e il significato che può avere avuto l'*armarium* menzionato nell'ultima riga: può trattarsi di un semplice armario destinato a custodire le immagini e i doni della Dea, ma potrebbe anche pensarsi a qualche oggetto di più precisa e determinata destinazione, ricordando che la *Bona Dea* era venerata altresì come protettrice e dispensatrice della salute, sì da essere talvolta identificata con Hygia (reference to *CIL* VI 72 = No. 21): onde nel suo tempio in Roma era posta una farmacia, da cui le sacerdotesse distribuivano medicinali ai fedeli che vi accorrevano".

Ostia-Ostia Antica[112]

Regio IV-Insula VIII-3

55. One of the series of five dedicatory inscriptions of the temple (*aedes*) of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina.[113] White marble. H. (maximum, left) 0.64; W. (maximum, lower part) 2.02; D. varying from 0.05 to 0.04 m. The slab consists of four fragments, the upper part in particular being heavily damaged.

In loco, Inv. No. 31.003.

NS 1942, p. 163 = *AE* 1946, No. 221 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84, p. 85, fig. 1 = *AE* 1968, No. 80.

Letter heights: l. 1: 13; l. 2: 11.5; l. 3: 10 cm.

M(arcus) Maecil[i]us M(arci) f(ilius) [F]urr[..... duovir] / aedem Bonae Dea[e] ex sua [pecunia fac(iundam) cur(avit)] idemq(ue) pro[bavit].[114]

Marcus Maecilius Furr....., son of Marcus, duovir, *has the temple of Bona Dea had built at his own expense, and he has also approved of the building.*

Early Julio-Claudian.

Calza, *Bona Dea* (= *NS* 1942), pp. 152-165; *AE* 1946, No. 221; Meiggs, *Ostia*, p. 353; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 5; Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* pp. 83-88; *AE*, 1968, No. 80.

---

[112] Cf. *CIL* XIV (1887), pp. 1-9; G. Calza-G. Colasanti, *Ostia* in *Enc. Ital.* XXV (1935), pp. 743-747; G. Calza, *Ostia* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 1654-1664; G. Calza e.a., *Scavi di Ostia,* I, *Topografia generale,* Roma, 1953; Meiggs, *Ostia*; Raissa Calza-Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *Museo Ostiense* (= *Itinerari* 79), Roma, MCMLXII; G. Becatti, *Ostia* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 782-796; Calza-Becatti; *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 572-582, plan p. 577; *Via Ostiense,* p. 41 en fig. 21.

[113] Cf. Calza-Becatti, plan opposite p. 3, No. 83; *Roma e dintorni*, plan p. 577.

[114] The inscription was reconstructed with the help of Nos. 56-59.

l. 1: Calza, p. 164: "Il dedicante *M. Maecilius M. f.,* forse, *Tu]rr[anius,* ci è ignoto"; the second *i* in Maecilius is not legible, the *u* of the *cognomen,* however, is. Calza reads p. 163: *VRR.* Meiggs, p. 353, note 1, reads: *[T]urr[anianus],* pretending to follow Calza's reading, without any comment, however, on his own alteration. Zevi, pp. 87-88: "Un piccolo enigma rimane il cognome, dopo che gli ultimi due testi hanno escluso l'ipotesi, del Calza e Meiggs, di un cognome derivato dal gentilizio *Turranius.* Non mi è stato finora possibile rintracciare alcun cognome che inizi con *Furr[...]*; è possibile sia un cognome derivato da un gentilizio, ma non saprei dire quale. *Furranius* è attestato come *nomen* una sola volta a Roma (e mai a Ostia), sì che la sua rarità può far supporre un errore di scrittura, o di lettera, per *Turranius* o *Furfanius.* Pensare ad un *cognomen Furrianus,* derivato da *Furius* con geminazione della r, è ipotesi inaccettabile. Rimane perciò il fatto molto singolare che del nostro personaggio tanto il *nomen* quanto il *cognomen* sono finora isolati nella onomastica ostiense; e perciò, anche se il cognome serbasse traccia di un'adozione, riesce difficile collocare Mecilio nella prosopografia della città. È più probabile pertanto che egli appartenesse alla famiglia romana donde uscirono parecchi senatori e magistrati. Legato ad Ostia da interessi forse anche materiali, Mecilio non avrebbe disdegnato di assumere la magistratura più alta della colonia, lasciando in tale occasione un monumentale segno della sua magnificenza".

duovir]: For the reconstruction of the title, see below Nos. 57 and 59. Zevi, p. 87: "Sappiamo ora con certezza che Mecilio fu duoviro in Ostia, ciò che, del resto, facilmente già si era intuito dal verbo probare, tipica azione di un magistrato". Meiggs, p. 512, already had entered Maecilius in his list of *duoviri* of Ostia. Cf. also Taylor, *Ostia,* p. 17.

l. 2: aedem Bonae Dea[e]: All sources read *aedem Bonae Deae,* yet of the last *e*—though without any doubt to be added—no trace is over.

ex sua [pecunia]: This is the correct reading given by Calza and Meiggs—who adds *constituit* to *pecunia.* Zevi, p. 84: ex su[a pecunia]; rests of the a of sua, however, are visible.

l. 3: pro[bavit]: See above, *ad* l. 1, Zevi's comment on the term.

56. A fragment of one of the series of five dedicatory inscriptions of the temple (*aedes*) of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina. H. 0.61; W. 0.437; D. 0.072 (top) and 0.062 m. (bottom).

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 12.304.

CIL XIV 5411 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84; p. 85, fig. 2.

Letter heights: l. 1: 12.7-12.4; l. 2: 11.4-11.5; l. 3: 10.5, the letter I 12.3 cm.

[...]ecili[....] / ...]m Bona[....] / ide[....].

Early Julio-Claudian.

The inscription can easily be completed with the help of No. 55 (see there). Zevi, p. 85: "Nessuno, per quanto so, ha rilevato che di questo testo (i.e. of No. 55 above) esisteva una seconda copia già edita in *CIL* XIV 5411, dove si legge—follows the above reading—che è facilissimo integrare sulla scorta dell'altra più completa. L'iscrizione fa parte di quelle raccolte dal Wickert nella *mantissa,* comprendente sopratutto epigrafi provenienti dalle Terme del Foro, dove erano riadoperate come lastre di rivestimento. Infatti, anche questo frammento presenta tracce di reimpiego: il margine superiore è stato scalpellato, e il margine destro mostra che la lastra è stata ritagliata per ridurne le dimensioni, senza cura del testo".

57. A fragment of one of the series of five dedicatory inscriptions of the temple (*aedes*) of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina. H. 0.475; W. 0.575; D. 0.068-0.07 m. The upper and right sides seem to be intact.

Ostia, Palazzo Aldobrandini, near the excavations, Inv. No. A.17.

CIL XIV 4679 = Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84; p. 85, fig. 3.

Letter heights: l. 1: 12.4-12.5; l. 2: 11.3-11.4 cm.

[...]o·vir / [...]c·cur.

Early Julio-Claudian.

The inscription can easily be completed with the help of No. 55 (see there). Zevi, p. 84: "Nella primavera del 1967, durante una ricognizione del materiale archeologico in proprietà Aldobrandini, custodito nel palazzo contiguo al recinto degli scavi, ho potuto prendere visione dell'iscrizione *CIL* XIV 4679, di ignota provenienza, il cui testo è—follows the above reading. Mi hanno colpito la somiglianza di forma e grandezza delle lettere, distanza tra le righe e spessore delle lastre con il frammento precedente (= No. 56); un confronto diretto dei pezzi mi ha persuaso della appartenenza ad onta di una leggerissima differenza nell'altezza della prima riga.[115] Un elemento determinante sembrano l'identica scalpellatura del retro e le variazioni di spessore, che in ambedue aumenta dell'alto in basso. L'epigrafe del santuario va perciò completata"—follows the complete reading of the dedication (see above, No. 55).

58. Eleven fragfments belonging to one of the series of five dedicatory inscriptions of the temple (*aedes*) of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina. The eleven fragments could be arranged so as to form three parts: a) H. 0.20; W. 0.245; D. 0.069-0.07 m; b)—ten pieces—H. 0.64; W. 0.58; D. 0.069 (top)—0.09 m. (bottom); c) anepigraphic.

---

[115] Since the inscriptions are known under two different *CIL* Nos. and Zevi gives (my) Nos. 56 and 57 as two figg. (p. 85, figg. 2 and 3), indicating a difference in the letter heights, it appears acceptable to list them under two Nos. in this catalogue.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 7734 a-b-c.

Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, pp. 84-86; p. 85, fig. 4.

Letter heights: l. 1: 13; l. 2: 11.3-11.4; l. 3: 10.5 cm.

a) [...]us[...].
b) [...] M·f·Furr[../ae·ex·su / [...] prob[..].

Early Julio-Claudian.

The inscription can easily be completed with the help of No. 55 (see there). Zevi, pp. 84-86: "Contemporaneamente (i.e. with No. 57), un paziente lavoro di ricerca aveva permesso di riperire undici frammenti, dieci dei quali congiungenti, che ricompongono un pezzo di una grossa lastra incisa con belle lettere; in essa si legge—follows the text as given above; il frammento che non congiunge con gli altri, reca—see above. Le integrazioni sono ovvie sulla base dei precedenti testi, e ovvia potrebbe sembrare pure l'appartenenza alla seconda iscrizione (*CIL* XVI 5411 + 4679) se non facessero difficoltà alcune differenze nelle misure, e il fatto che il retro è liscio anzichè scalpellato come negli altri due pezzi. È vero che anche questa iscrizione mostra tracce di reimpiego e, al pari delle altre, è stata ritagliata sul margine destro; la lisciatura del retro potrebbe essere avvenuta in quella occasione, ma tale operazione avrebbe sensibilmente ridotto lo spessore della lastra che invece è lo stesso delle altre. Infine, al contrario di quanto si nota negli altri frammenti, la superficie iscritta è assai corrosa, come se eposta a lungo alle intemperie, tanto che le lettere hanno perduto la nettezza dei contorni. Mi sembra perciò che ci troviamo in presenza di una terza copia, redatta, al pari delle altre, in dimensioni monumentali".

59. Three fragments belonging to one of the series of five dedicatory inscriptions of the temple (*aedes*) of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina. The fragments do not fit. They were found 1-II-1939 in the excavations of the portico near the Porta Marina.[116] a) H. 0.225; W. 0.46; D. 0.055 m; b) H. 0.33; W. 0.30; D. 0.055 m; c) H. 0.315; W. 0.60; D. 0.03 m. The original width of the slab must have been *ca.* 2.70 m.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 6684 a-b-c.

Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, pp. 86-87; p. 85, fig. 5.

---

[116] The portico nearest the Porta Marina is the *Portico della Fontana a Lucerna*; cf. Calza-Becatti, plan opposite p. 3, No. 88.

Letter heights: ca. 8.8.-7-9 cm.

a) [...]M·f·Furr[... / ...]ae·ex[...].
b) [...]vir / [...] cur.
c) [...]bavit.

Early Julio-Claudian (cf., however, Zevi's observation here below).

The text can easily be completed with the help of No. 55 (see there). Zevi, pp. 86-87: "Molto più piccola (than the Nos. 55-58) invece era un'altra iscrizione di cui restano tre frammenti che non congiungono; vennero trovati quasi contemporaneamente, scavando un portico vicino alla Porta Marina, il 1-II-1939, e roconosciuti pertinenti alla stessa epigrafe, ma, nelle vicende del periodo bellico e postbellico, erano stati separati e solo durante l'attuale riordinamento sono stati nuovamente riuniti. La consultazione dei "Giornali di Scavo" ha perciò fornito conferma della giustezza dell'accostamento. Il testo di ciascuno dei frammenti è il sequente (see above). La disposizione dei pezzi nella fotografia (fig. 5) corrisponde a quella che dovevano avere quando la lastra era intera, anche se, per ragioni di spazio, è stata ridotto la distanza fra loro. Quanto al testo, ancora una volta non occorrono commenti; potrà interessare forse gli epigrafisti la forma delle lettere, che a prima vista sembrano assai più tarde dell'epoca cui effettivamente si debbono ricondurre tutte queste iscrizioni (metà circa del I secolo d. C)".[117]

Regio V-Insula X-2

60. The dedicatory inscription of the sanctuary of Bona Dea, at the end of the Cardine degli Augustali, *Regio* V-*Insula* X-2.[118] The text is on a little pillar.

AE 1961, pp. 9-10, No. 45.

Valeria Hetaera / dat Bon(ae) Deae / Opiferae sacr(um).

Valeria Hetaera is the giver of this present. Dedicated to Bona Dea Opifera.

Augustan.

Floriani-Squarciapino, pp. 93-95, refers to the inscription but does not give the text. Cf. Cébeillac, p. 546, note 1: "Les trois autres inscriptions (besides the Maecilius dedications, Nos. 55-59) connues, dont celle que nous publions

---

[117] Cf. p. 87: "L'iscrizione del tempio della Bona Dea si è, per così dire, moltiplicata per quattro, comparendo nell'identico testo, in altrettante epigrafi distinte: alla munificenza del suo gesto, eccezionale per l'epoca, il donatore accompagnò la propaganda dovuta. Le tre iscrizioni monumentali saranno state collocate sulle pareti esterne del santuario, che dovevano affacciare su aree pubbliche; la quarta, più piccola, forse sul portale d'ingresso o, più verosimilmente, in qualche luogo all'interno."

[118] See Calza-Becatti, plan opposite p. 3.

(see No. 63), sont à rattacher au temple de la *via* des *Augustales* ... Madame M. F. Squarciapino publie le résultat de ses fouilles de ce nouveau sanctuaire de la Bonne Déesse et de ce petit cippe qui a permis l'identification de ce temple: *Valeria Hetaera / dat Bon. Deae / opl. ferae sacr.*; elle rappelle que dans les parages, on avait trouvé une margelle de puits avec une dédicace à la *Bona Dea*, offerte par *Terentia A. f.,* épouse de Cluvius'' (see below, No. 61).

l. 2-3: Bon(ae) Deae / Opiferae: Cébeillac reads: *Bon. Deae / opl. ferae.* In view of the fact that this cannot be called an acceptable solution (cf. Cagnat⁴, p. 449, who interprets the abbreviation OPL as *hoplomachus*), to join the two elements seems preferable. *Opifer* is found as an epithet of Aesculapius (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV 653; cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 5), and also Fortuna is styled *Opifera*; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1269, who translate: *aid-bringing, helping.*

61. Inscription on a well rim (the text was not accessible[119]). From the temple of Bona Dea at the end of the Cardine degli Augustali, *Regio* V-*Insula* X-2.[120] The dedication is Augustan, and was erected by Terentia, daughter of Aulus and wife of Cluvius. Another inscription dedicated by this woman is known.[121] At Ostia the name does further not occur, so that it may be inferred that Terentia came from Rome to make her dedication at Ostia.[122]

Ostia.

Meiggs, *Ostia*, p. 352, mentions the dedication; so does Floriani-Squarciapino, p. 94; Cébeillac, p. 546, note 1 (see above, *ad* No. 60), gives the information that Terentia was the wife of Cluvius.

62. The altar of the temple of Bona Dea in *Regio* V-*Insula* X-2. The altar is only referred to by Floriani-Squarciapino, p. 95: "Infatti non soltanto si è constatato che il santuario aveva su due lati del peribolo un porticato, come quello di Porta Marina e vari ambienti annessi, ma si è rinvenuta l'ara antistante al tempio presso cui era un pilastrino con dedica alla Bona Dea di una Valeria Hetaera (No. 60), e il pozzo cui si adatta la vera già nota (No. 61)."

63. A big block in travertine. Found 15-VI-1970 during the excavations by M. Floriani-Squarciapino. The monument was not found *in situ* but worked

---

[119] In 1973, the then Soprintendente alle Antichità di Ostia, Mrs M. Floriani Squarciapino, refused to give any information, intending to publish the inscription herself in a study of the new Bona Dea sanctuary. As far as I know this study has not been published yet.

[120] See above, note 118.

[121] Cf. F. Zevi, *Il Calcidico della Curia Iulia* in *RendLinc.* 16 (1971), pp. 237 ss.

[122] Dr. F. Zevi was as kind as to give this information, without being allowed, however, to give more specific data (1973).

into the pavement of the Bona Dea sanctuary in *Regio* V-*Insula* X-2.[123] H. (left) 0.342: (right) 0.331; W. 0.615; D. (left) 0.13: (right) 0.14 m.
Ostia, Inv. No. 11.821.

Cébeillac.

Letter heights: l. 1: 4.7-4.9, except for the word *Gamalae* (2.7); l. 2: 3.8-4; l. 3: 3.4-3.8; l. 4: 4-4.3; l. 5: 5-5.3 cm. There are traces of a red colour in the letters, which are cut very deep. One ligature is found: *MAL* in *Gamalae.*

Octavia M(arci) f(ilia) Gamalae (uxor) / portic(um) poliend(am) / et sedeilia faciun(da) / et culina(m) tegend(am) / D(eae) B(onae) curavit.

Octavia, daughter of Marcus and wife of Gamala, had the portico plastered, benches made, and the kitchen roofed, in honour of Bona Dea.[124]

Between 85 B.C. and the time of Caesar.[125]

l. 1: In the 2nd ch. of her study (*Octavia, fille de Marcus, femme de Gamala*, pp. 521-530), Cébeillac pays extensive attention to the person of Octavia and to her family. As to the form *Gamalae*, cf. p. 520: "Il n'est pas impossible, ainsi que le signale F. Zevi ((see below), qu'à la première ligne il faille lire non pas *Gamalae* mais *Gamalai*; dans ce cas, il s'agirait d'un génitif en *ai*, forme ancienne que se place chronologiquement entre le génitif en *as* et celuit en *ae*." F. Zevi, *P. Lucilio Gamala Senior e i "quattro tempietti" di Ostia* in *MEFRA,* tome 85—1973—2, pp. 555-581; p. 555, note 1, Zevi refers to our inscription with the same reading as Cébeillac with the exception of *Gamalai*. He writes: "La parola: *Gamalai* è iscritta con caratteri più piccoli, e potrebbe esser stata aggiunta dopo (ma non è certo)".

l. 5: D(eae) B(onae): Cf. Cébeillac, p. 521, note 2: "De façon marginale, nous devons avouer que notre embarras eût été grand si cette inscription avait été retrouvée dans un quelconque endroit autre que celui du temple impérial de la *Bona Dea.*Qui aurait osé affirmer que l'abbréviation *D.B.* signifiait *Dea Bona* alors que le libellé courant est *B.D. Bona Dea* ! L'hypothèse n'aurait *été* avancée et reçue qu'avec un certain scepticisme".[126]

---

[123] See for the site above, No. 60; cf. for the circumstances, Cébeillac, p. 517; p. 520, fig. 3, p. 521.

[124] Cébeillac, p. 519, translates: "Octavia, fille de Marcus, femme de Gamala, s'est chargée de faire stuquer le portique, fabriquer des banquettes et mettre un toit à la cuisine (du sanctuaire dédié) à la Bonne Déesse."

[125] Cébeillac, p. 529; Cf. F. Zevi, *P. Lucilio Gamala Senior e i "quattro tempietti" di Ostia* in *MEFRA*, tome 85—1973—2, p. 555, note 2: ... " Le conclusioni di Mireille Cébeillac (datazione dell'epigrafe nel I sec. a. Cr., probabilmente prima della metà; appartenenza di Octavia agli *Octavii Ligures* di *Forum Clodii*, ciò che spiega la connessione di una (?: un) Gamala con un Ligus in Cicerone, *ad Att.* XII, 23, 3) mi trovano pienamente consenziente ...".

[126] "Par ailleurs, le cas est rarissime; on connait l'inscription de Saticula dans E.E. VIII, 106 (=No. 83): G. Lugli, Deae Bonne (sic); il est difficile de mettre en parallèle le texte du *CIL*, X

Regio I-*Insula* IV-5

64. Fragment of a marble slab, possibly the dedicatory inscription of another *aedes* of Bona Dea. The fragment was found near the Via del Volcano, which traverses the quarter of the big *horrea.*[127] One of these was rebuilt and became a private residence of great elegance in the early part of the 3rd cent. A.D. H. (maximum) 0.085; W. (maximum) 0.11 m; D. 15-18 mm.

Ostia. Museo Ostiense, Magazzino (Grottoni). Inv. No. 8183.

CIL XIV 1857.

Letter heights: l. 1 (fragmentary): 12; l. 2 and 3: 15 mm.[128]

Aura / aede(m) Bon[ae Deae?] / [....]n stat[uam?].

Aura has presented Bona Dea with a sanctuary and a silver statue (?).

Augustan or Tiberian.[129]

CIL XIV 1857 only says *Ostiae,* and refers to Lanciani (see below). Cf. *CIL* XIV Suppl. 2, p. 616.[130] See also M. Lanciani in *NS* 1878, p. 67.[131]

l. 2: aede(m): It is not impossible that this inscription is the dedication of a third sanctuary of Bona Dea at Ostia— a hypothesis supported by Dr. F. Zevi in our discussion of the piece. However, Dr. Zevi does not exclude the possibility that what we have here is a fragment of the *Fasti* of the years A.D. 6 or 7. Yet it is also his conviction that the inscription has to do with Bona Dea.

Bon[ae Deae?]: I was unable to detect any traces of the *A* of *Bonae* as suggested by *NS* and *CIL.*

l. 3: [.....]n stat[uam?]: Possibly this line can be completed: *argen(team) statuam.* Cf. above No. 54: [signum] ... inarge[ntatum].

6595 (= D. 8069 = No. 47): deae Bonae piae, car l'expression dea Bona n'est pas nude dicta mais accompagnée d'un autre qualitatif, pia." It strikes me as somewhat strange that Cébeillac thinks "un autre qualitatif" determining for a different conclusion as we know of a *Bona Dea Castrensis, Bona Dea Agrestis,* and many other epithets (see epigraphical index). "Quant à l'usage chez les auteurs qui ont mentionné la Bonne Déesse, il est conforme à ce que nous avons constaté dans les inscriptions, tous parlent de Bona Dea ..." See, however, Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome, s.v. Damium: Deae Bonae*; see ch. II, No. 25 (*71*).

[127] Cf. Calza-Becatti, plan opposite p. 3.

[128] Not 20 mm. (*NS* 1878, p. 67).

[129] According to F. Zevi, in a discussion about the piece with the author.

[130] "Ad n. 1857. Vidi Ostiae in repositis musei."

[131] "Oltre ad una raccolta considerevole, di lucerne, di monete, di vasellame domestico, e di tegoli segnati con bolli già conosciuti, sono stati ricuperati questi altri monumenti scritti: ... Frammento di lastra marmorea, ...:

AVRΛ
AEDE BON'
✓·STAT

Regio IV-Between the Decumano Massimo and the Via del Foce[132]

(65). Statuette (in all probability) of Bona Dea. H. 0.56 m, the upper part of the cornucopia included. The head and right arm are lost. Fine-grained, white-yellowish marble. The goddess is seated on a *cathedra.*[133] She is dressed in a chiton with sleeves and a mantle which is draped round her shoulders and over her knees, the chiton being girded up under her breast. In her left arm she holds the cornucopia, and possibly she held in her drooping right hand the *patera*, from which the serpent—in the other representations of the goddess it coils around this arm—drank. However, no trace of all this remains. A spindle on the right hip of the figure indicates that the goddess had something in her right arm. Positive identification is impossible, yet the whole of the design suggests a Bona Dea rather than a Fortuna.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 409.

NS 1942, pp. 152-153; p. 153, fig. 1.
Calza, *Bona Dea* (=*NS* 1942), pp. 152-153: "Le stesse caratteristiche (i.e. as of the Albano Bona Dea; see No. 73) si osservano in un'altra statuina (che va aggiunta quindi all'elenco del Greifenhagen) trovata recentemente in Ostia stessa, non però nel suo tempio ostiense sibbene tra Via della Foce e il decumano. È di marmo bianco a piccoli cristalli e molto ingiallito. Misura cm. 55 (but see above). È una statuetta acefala muliebre seduta su cathedra, vestita di un chitone manicato e cinto sotto il petto e coperta da un mantello che avvolge spalle e ginocchia. Sostiene nella mano sinistra contro il braccio un cornucopia. La mano destra abbassata teneva una patera o (?) un serpente del quale la mutilazione del marmo non lascia vedere le tracce, ma un perno rimasto sul fianco destro attesta la presenza dell'oggetto che la figura teneva con la destra. Il carattere matronale della figura, la foggia e la disposizione dell'abito che è sempre uguale in tutte le raffigurazioni della Bona Dea, il corno di abbondanza di considerevoli dimensioni, che si riscontra come una particularità delle altre immagini, rendono assai probabile l'identificazione di questa figura come Bona Dea piuttosto che come Fortuna."

Without indication of exact provenance

(66). Statuette (in all probability) of Bona Dea. White marble. H. 0.255 m. Represented is a seated female figure, dressed in a chiton with sleeves which is girded up under the breast, and a mantle draped round shoulders and knees. In her left hand she holds the cornucopia. Her right hand and forearm are lost as are her head and part of her shoulders. The pose and the whole of the design of the statuette are identical with those of No. (65), and an identification as Bona Dea seems most acceptable.

Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 16.678.

(Not published, as far as I know).

---

[132] Cf. Calza-Becatti, plan opposite p. 3.

[133] See above, No. 54, l. 4.

Portus-Porto[134]

67. Three fragments—one now lost—of a slab in travertine. H. 0.34; W. 0.39; D. 0.03 m (Carcopino), 0.032 (*CIL*), 0.052 m (Thylander). According to Carcopino, it was known that the slab had been found on the Monte Giulio.[135] Carcopino saw two fragments, which he copied, fixed to a house at Porto. Afterwards the left fragment broke in two and the right part of this, i.e. the middle part of the whole slab, is lost.

Porto, House of Prince Torlonia.[136]

CIL XIV 4328.

Letter heights (the lettering is of rather inferior quality): l. 1-6: 4; l. 7: 3; l. 8: 2.5 cm (Carcopino, Thylander; cf. *CIL*: 37-23 mm).

Silvano Sanc[to] / P(ublius) Luscius Bergili/anus sacerdos / Dei Liberis Patris / Bonadiensium / Silbano Sancto / cui magnas gratias a/go conductor aucupiorum.

To Holy Silvanus. Publius Luscius Bergilianus, priest of the God Father Liber of the quarter of Bona Dea, to Holy Silvanus, whom I want to thank most cordially as a fowling contractor.

Imperial Age.

Carcopino, *Ostiensia*, pp. 342-350, No. I. "—Dans une maison de Porto, une inscription sur travertin, brisée en deux fragments qui se rejoignent exactement. Ils auraient été trouvés ensemble sur le Monte-Giulio. J'ai dû les ajuster et les copier à la hâte. Mon ami E. Hébrard, pensionnaire de l'Académie de France, qui m'accompagnait, ne fut pas autorisé à en prendre la photographie ...."; p. 343: Carcopino reads the text thus: Silva]n[o] sa[cr(um)]; / P(ublius) Luscius R[...]l/anus sacerdos / Dei Liber[i]s patris / Bonadiensium / Silbano Sancto, / cui magnas gratias a/go conducto aucupiorum. G. Calza in *NS* 1925, pp. 78-79, is the second scholar to study the inscription. Among the inscriptions transported to the Villa Torlonia at Porto Calza saw the two outer parts of the piece Carcopino had copied at Porto. The provenance, states Calza, is unknown. He continues: "L'iscrizione su lastra sottile di travertino e a lettere piuttosto scadenti, è oggi conservata in due frammenti:

---

[134] Cf. M. Besnier, *Portus* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 594-601, esp. pp. 598-600 and fig. 5778; J. Carcopino, *Il Porto Claudio Ostiense secondo recenti tasti* in *NS* 1907, pp. 734-740; G. Lugli, *Porto* in *Enc. Ital.* XXVIII (1935), pp. 26-27; Valnea Scrinari, *Porto (Ostia)* in *EAA* VI (1965), pp. 393-396; *Roma e dintorni*, map p. 568; *Atlante* 2, 32 E 1.

[135] Cf. Carcopino (see note 134), p. 736, fig. 1.

[136] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, p. 586.

a) (cm. 32×9). b) (cm. 33×18).

a)	IL	b)	////
	PLV		////
	AN		ERDOS
	DEI		S$_{\epsilon}$PATRIS
	BON		NSIVM
	SIL		SANCTO
	CV·I·M		GRATIAS·A
	GO·CO		RAVCVPIORVM

Il Carcopino l'aveva invece potuto copiare più integralmente e cioè—follows Carcopino's reading. A parte dunque la mancanza del frammento centrale, nelle lettura odierna non sono più visibili le due prime righe del frammento b che mostrano traccie di scalpellatura, si riscontra una lettera in più nell'ultima linea, cioè *conductor aucupiorum* anzichè *conducto aucupiorum.* Non si tratta quindi di un ringraziamento a Silvano "pour la ferme des aucupia" secondo la lezione del Carcopino; ma è il dedicante che si classifica come conductor aucupiorum."

The commentary of *CIL* refers to the studies by Carcopino and Calza.

In *NS* 1942, p. 152, Calza resumes his study, stating: "Tra più che cinquemila iscrizioni ostiensi, una sola esistente a Porto nella casa del Principe Torlonia e che il Carcopino asserisce sarebbe stata ivi trovata (sul monte Giulio?) suona così: "Silvano Sanc(to). P. Luscius Bergilianus sacerdos dei Liberi patris *Bonadiensium* Silvano Sancto cui magnas gratias ago conductor aucuporium." Come ha ben supposto il Carcopino, P. Luscius Bargilianus[137] fu sacerdote di Libero in un vico che traeva il suo nome da un sacello della Bona Dea, perchè i *Bonadienses* erano coloro che abitavano nel vico *Bonae Deae* similmente ai *Caelimontienses, Decennenses,* ecc. Si poteva dubitare, che questo vico fosse esistito a Porto o a Roma, ma l'attuale scoperto ostiense ci induce a propendere piuttosto per Porto (*L'attuale scoperto ostiense* is the Maecilius inscr. No. 55). Tanto più che da Porto proviene una statuetta di divinità femminile seduta entro edicola, conservata nella Villa Albani (see No. 68 below)."

In 1952, another study of the inscription is published:

Thylander, texte, p. 3, No. B 306. Thylander describes: "Plaque de travertin, haute de 34 cm., épaisse de 5,2 cm., les lettres hautes de 3,7-2,3 cm., trouvée 'dans une maison de Porto, brisée en deux fragments, qui se rejoignent exactement. Ils auraient été trouvés ensemble sur Monte Giulio' (Carcopino). Plus tard le fragment gauche a été brisé en deux, et la partie droite de celui-ci (le milieu de la plaque entière) a été perdue. La partie gauche et celle de droite de la plaque se trouvent a Portus, à la maison de Torlonia."

---

[137] Bergilianus will be meant (?).

He reads the text thus:[138]

SILVANO·SANC[TO]
P·LVSCIVS·BERGILI
ANVS SACERDOS
DE·I·LIBERIS·PATRIS
5 BONADIENSIVM
SILBANO·SANCTO
CV·I·MAGNAS·GRATIAS·A
GO CONDVCTOR AVCVPIORVM

See also Latte, *RR,* p. 231, note 5.[139]

l. 1: Carcopino reads: *Silva]n[o] sa[cr(um)]*; Calza (*NS* 1925), who evidently had seen the piece himself, reads: IL; *CIL*: "1. in. suspicor fuisse Silbano (cf. v. 2. 6)"; in *NS* 1942 Calza follows the *CIL* reading, and so does Thylander. Cf. S. S. Jensen, *Silvanus and his Cult* in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* II (1962), pp. 11-42.[140] Cf. also Taylor, *Ostia,* pp. 37-41 (*Silvanus*). [141]

---

[138] Thylander translates: "Au saint Silvain. Publius Luscius Vergilianus, prêtre du Dieu Liber Pater des habitants du vicus de Bona Dea. Au saint Silvain, à qui moi, fermier de la chasse (why not more exactly: de la chasse aux oiseaux?), j'adresse des remerciements."

[139] Latte refers to an inscription *CIL* XIV suppl. 4228, but apparently this one is meant.

[140] Jensen refers, p. 22, to the joint appearance of Silvanus and —e.g.— Liber. He cites A. Von Domaszewski, *Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften* in *Philologus* LXI, pp. 1-25 (=*Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion,* Leipzig und Berlin, VII (1909), pp. 58-85), stating: "His examination of the epigraphic material seems to show very clearly that Silvanus altars are nearly always raised by slaves and freedmen: this is naturally due to the fact that in ancient times agriculture was usually in the hands of such people. Freedmen, however, could enter another occupation, but they took Silvanus with them. This must be the reason why Silvanus is so often found in connection with other "business-gods", e.g. Hercules, Fortuna, Liber pater, Mercurius. The distinction between familia rustica and familia urbana was not, however, too strictly observed. This, according to von Domaszewski, explains the penetration of Silvanus into the towns, and on the whole this must be correct." In note 54 (p. 22) Jensen writes, referring to Latte, *RR,* p. 338 ("Das Bedürfnis der Grossstadt-menschen nach einer Beziehung zur Natur spielt mit herein, wenn in der Kaiserzeit Inschriften für ihn so häufig sind wie für keinen anderen Gott"): "This may, perhaps, be correct, but one can hardly imagine that it has been the main reason." For a list of Silvanus shrines in and around Rome, Jensen refers to Platner-Ashby, pp. 498-499, and to R. Peter, *Silvanus* in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 854-857. "Silvanus was taken up in the cults of other gods, and they into his." Cf. for a joint appearance of Silvanus and Liber also G. Wissowa, *Liber* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), col. 2026: "Auf dem Lande erscheint Liber in Weihinschriften oft vereinigt mit Silvanus oder auch mit Hercules, die beide als Beschützer der Ländereien verehrt werden (...) und führt, wie diese Götter, individualisierende Beinamen nach dem Besitzer des betreffenden Grundstückes." In this context it may be apposite to draw attention to several of Bona Dea's epithets illustrating the conception of the goddess as a personal goddess or private deity of a group, which is also often the case with Silvanus (and Liber).

[141] "At Ostia as elsewhere there was no public temple of Silvanus, but small private shrines

l. 2-3: P(ublius) Luscius[142] Bergili/anus: Carcopino reads: P(ublius) Luscius R[...]l/anus, and comments, p. 343: "Le *cognomen* du dédicant n'est pas certain. Est-ce *R[osi]lanus*, *R[osci]lanus, R[ot]lanus*? Est-ce, par suite d'une ligature, *R...lianus* qu'il faut lire? Il importe peu." Calza (*NS* 1925) only reads *AN* in l. 3. *CIL*: "fin. cognomen legi."

l. 3: sacerdos: *CIL*: "3 sqq. Luscius Bergilianus fuit sacerdos Liberi in vico quodam sive urbis Romae sive Portus qui nomen traxerat a sacello Bonae Deae; Bonadienses enim sunt qui habitant in vico Bonae Deae ..."

l. 4: Carcopino, p. 343: "La forme *Liberis* pour *Liberi* n'est pas pour surprendre. Cf. *CIL* VI 2251, 2252 et XIV 2865." Calza's reading (*NS* 1925) of this, then fragmentrary, line: DEI ....S$_{\varepsilon}$PATRIS, shows that he interprets Carcopino's ❦ wrongly. In 1942 Calza reads *Liberi*. Thylander: "*Liberis* au lieu de *Liberi*: attraction de Patris?" Taylor, *Ostia*, pp. 27-31 (LIBER PATER).[143]

l. 5: Carcopino, pp. 343-346.[144] Calza (*NS* 1925) reads in the two fragments only: BON..NSIVM. For Calza's opinion after the discovery of the Bona Dea sanctuary at Ostia in 1942 and of the *aedicula* of Porto, see above, general commentary. Thylander: "*Bonadienses*, ceux qui habitent un vicus qui porte le nom de Bona Dea, comme *Caelimontienses, Suburenses* (references to *CIL* VI 31.893 and to Carcopino). On a discuté sur l'emplace-

---

in his honor were numerous." In note 7 (p. 39), the author refers to her discussion of Liber Pater—see below, *ad* l. 4—and to R. Peter, *Silvanus*, col. 843: "... in his discussion of Silvanus as god of hunters (Peter) overlooks this inscription. The other dedications seem to have been made by hunters of wild animals." Taylor doubts (already) whether Carcopino's explanation of the inscription is right: "Carcopino, ... explains the words conducto aucupiorum of this inscription as "pour la ferme des aucupia"; this is, P. Luscius had for a certain period the right to farm out bird-hunting in a district which probably included Portus, and, having been succesful in his venture, he expressed his gratitude to Silvanus. The fact that the dedication is made by a priest of Liber Pater is not convincing evidence for the assumption that the altar stood in the temple of Liber Pater at Portus."

[142] A rather amusing coincidence is the circumstance that the Latin word for nightingale is *luscinus,* so that the name Luscius of a *conductor aucupiorum* might be considered appropriate.

[143] "At Ostia Liber Pater is represented only by a dedication found in the Casino del Sale (*EE* VII 1195) ... At Portus, however, his cult was very important in the time of Commodus and later ...". Taylor refers to Carcopino's explanation (pp. 343-348) of *Bonadiensium,* but considers his arguments far from convincing, for: "There is evidence that Portus, as well as Ostia, was organized into vici ... Since magistri vicorum are already known from Ostia, the division of the inhabitants of the port into vici can hardly be doubted. Moreover the absence of evidence of the cult of Bona Dea at Ostia and Portus need not deter us from believing that a statue or a shrine of that goddess existed there and gave a name to a vicus (Taylor's intuition proved right in 1942 when a Bona Dea temple was excavated at Ostia). In Rome, where excavations have been far more complete than in Portus, it is not possible to explain the origin of all the names of the vici. Therefore it is not improbable that Luscius was a priest of the temple of Liber Pater at Portus, and that the temple of the god was in a vicus of the city, the inhabitants of which were called the Bonadienses ..."

[144] Carcopino's theories were already rejected by Taylor (cf. above, *ad* l. 4). Moreover, two temples of Bona Dea were discovered at Ostia in later excavations, and there is the suggestion of a third one (cf. No. 64). As to the cult of Bona Dea at Porto, the *aedicula* found there is no doubt an indication of its existence (cf. No. 68), besides this inscription.

ment de ce *vicus: in vico quodam sive urbis Romae sive Portus* dit *CIL*. Mais ce *vicus* se trouvait très certainement à Portus. En effet une statue[145] de Bona Dea a été trouvée à Portus ... (No. 68 below). Ostia aussi a eu un culte de Bona Dea (reference to Calza in *NS* 1942)." Thylander's certainty is hardly supported by the finds, That the place in question—wherever it was situated—was not the only one having a quarter named after Bona Dea is clear from an inscription from Forum Clodi near Bracciano, *CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154 = No. 101, in which is referred to *mulieribus vicanis ad Bonam Deam*, the women inhabiting the quarter of Bona Dea, probably thus called because the goddess had a sanctuary there.[146]

l. 6: *CIL*'s suggestion that because of the orthography of this line also in line 1 *Silbano* is the preferable reading is questionable: cf., e.g., *CIL* III 633.[147] For the interchange B-V, cf. above No. 25, *ad* l. 3.

l. 8: conductor aucupiorum: Carcopino's conclusions, pp. 346-350, are based on his wrong reading of the line: CONDVCTO AVCPIORVM.[148] Calza (*NS* 1925) already gives the correct reading. *CIL* refers to *Digesta* 8 3 16,[149] and to Dessau's opinion in the ms.: "Apparet Luscium conduxisse a fisco, ad quem loca vicina Portui pertinuisse putandum est, ius aucupandi. "He refers to the *conductores piscatus* mentioned in *CIL* XIII 8830 = *ILS* 1461.[150]

68. *Aedicula*, in white marble. H. 0.82; W. and D., including the base, 0.52 m.

Rome, Villa Albani, garden, Inv. No. 348.[151]

Greifenhagen, Bona Dea, p. 228, No. 13.

Time of Trajan (Greifenhagen, p. 242).

The *aedicula* has four pillars with Corinthian capitals. The front shows a rather deep niche, the two sides have shallower niches. In the front niche a goddess is seated, veiled and dressed in a chiton and mantle; she wears a diadem, and holds in her left arm the cornucopia. The right hand is lost but the pose of the arm is such that it seems probable that the goddess had a bowl in that hand. Traces of the serpent coiling round her arm are clearly visible, but its head drinking from the bowl (we must assume) was broken off together with the hand of the goddess. The figure is seated on a richly ornamented throne with back and arms.

---

[145] Rather an *aedicula* with statuette.

[146] Cf. the commentary on No. 101.

[147] = Waltzing III, pp. 72-73, No. 199, from Philippi: in this inscription the name Silvanus is found as *Silvani,* whereas in the other texts cut in the same rock the name is written *Silbani.*

[148] Cf. also Taylor about Carcopino's suggestions (*Ostia,* pp. 27-31).

[149] "Nemini in alieno territorio aucupari licuisse per se patet et confirmatur."

[150] "Beetgum prope Leeuwarden Frisiae rep. a. 1888."

[151] Cf. Helbig IV^4, pp. 175-176; plan as frontispice.

Left niche: A bald man in toga stretches out his right hand to the left—the hand itself is lost. By his right foot is a basket.

Right niche: Victoria is represented. In her right hand the goddess holds a wreath and in her left a palm. She has wings and wears a chiton and mantle.

The *aedicula* has a base and an architrave, which is heavily damaged. The upper side is flat and plain, from which fact a roof in the form of a pediment may be concluded—now lost.

Cf. Morcelli-Fea-Visconti, p. 61, No. 348. The authors call the goddess in the front niche a Fortuna. This identification, is however, controverted by the serpent.[152] Greifenhagen, *l.c.,* calls the *aedicula* an altar, which is an incorrect description of the monument.[153]

Signia-Segni[154]

69. Dedication by a *magistra* of Bona Dea.

EE VIII 624 = *ILS* 3495.

Arunceia Sp(urii) f(ilia) / Acte mag(istra) / Bone Deae tunicas / duas et palliolum / rasas caleinas / et lucerna aeria d(onum) dedit.

Aurunceia Acte, daughter of Spurius and magistra *of Bona Dea, has presented (the goddess) with: two tunics, a small cloak, turquoise-coloured polished stones, and a [tall* or rather *aereus:] bronze lamp.*

Imperial Age.

See besides *ILS*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014: "Tra le cose dedicate sono nominate a preferenza, come di solito, edicole ed are. Ad oggetti di culto accennano solo poche lapidi" —follow *CIL* V 8242 (= No. 115), XI 3866 (= No. 102), and this inscription. Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071, Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6.

l. 2: mag(istra): See above, No. 27.

l. 3-4: tunicas / duas et palliolum: The garments mentioned may have been intended for the statue of the goddess. Cf. *CIL* XIV 2215, where the same articles are mentioned in connection with the Isis cult.[155]

---

[152] "Niche soutenue par quatre colonnes. C'est un monument votif à la Fortune, ..."

[153] P. 228, No. 13: ..."Der Bona Dea allein ist ein Altar in der Villa Albani geweiht, den die Herausgeber in den Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. datieren. Die roh behauene Rückseite zeigt, dass der Altar vor einer Wand gestanden hat. Auf der Vorderseite erscheint die in einer Nische thronende Bona Dea, während Victoria und der Stifter als Nebenfiguren auf die rechte und linke Seite des Altars verteilt sind. Dass die Göttin nicht Fortuna sein kann, wie Arndt und Lippold annahmen, lässt sich nach dem auf der Photographie noch deutlichen Rest der um den rechten Unterarm gewundenen Schlange mit Gewissheit behaupten."

[154] Cf. H. Philipp, *Signia* (2) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 2347-2348; G. Lugli, *Segni* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXI (1936), pp. 304-305; A. Caprino, *Segni* in *EAA* VII (1966), p. 154; *Lazio,* pp. 421--423; map p. 440; *Atlante* 2, 33 F 4.

l. 5: *ILS*: "Callainas lacernas memorat Martialis 14, 139,[156] vestis serica callaina memoratur XIV 2215 (galbinas in lapide fuisse coniecit Mommsen conferens Juvenal. sat. 2, 97)".[157]

l. 6: lucerna aeria = lucernam aeriam; for the final *m* being omitted, e.g. in the accusative on *am*, *um*, *em*, see Leumann, p. 224; further a mistake has been made here concerning the endings *-ia* and *-ea: aeria = aerea,* bronze; cf. V. Väänänen. *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes, Annales Academiae scientiarum Fennicae,* series B 40, 2 (Helsinki 1937) (Berlin, 1966^{3}), pp. 60-61.[158]

prope **Tibur-**
Monte S. Angelo[159]

70. Marble slab, found on Tiburtine territory in the mountain range of S. Angelo, between Tivoli and S. Gregorio da Sassola in the 17th century. In 1906 the piece was mentioned as being in the castle of S. Gregorio.[160] One part of the inscription is in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome,[161] fixed to the garden wall according to *ILS* and *II*—which is correct—and according to *CIL* in the storerooms.

Rome, Palazzo Barberini, garden wall (part).

CIL XIV 3530 = *ILS* 3512 = *II* IV 1, 611.

Bonae Deae Sanctissimae / Caelesti L(ucius) Paquedius Festus / redemptor operum Caesar(is) / et puplicorum aedem diritam / refecit quod adiutorio eius / rivom aquae Claudiae August(ae) / sub monte Aeflano consumma/vit imp(eratore) Domit(iano) Caesar(e) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) XIIII co(n)s(ule) V non(as) Iul(ias).

---

[155] Cf. Malaise, *Inventaire,* pp. 63-64.

[156] "Cuculli Liburnici: Iungere nescisti, nobis, o stulte, lacernas: / Indueras albas, exue callaïnas." Cf. L. Friedländer, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri,* Amsterdam 1967 (Leipzig 1886), p. 328; Lewis and Short, p. 270: *callainus: turquoise-colored.*

[157] "Caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa." Cf. L. Friedländer, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturarum Libri V,* Darmstadt 1967 (Leipzig 1895), p. 176. See also Pliny, *Naturalis Historia,* XXXVII 110 (33), speaking of gems: "Comitatur eam (i.e. the stone) similitudine propior quam auctoritate callaina, e viridi pallens;" cf. E. De Saint-Denis, Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle, livre XXXVII, Paris, 1972, p. 81 (text), p. 160 (§110, note 1).

[158] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1079; cf. also J. Toutain, *Lucerna, Lychnus* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1320-1339; A. Hug, *Lucerna* (λύχνος) in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), coll. 1566-1613; H. Menzel-J. Elgavish, *Lucerna* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 707-718.

[159] Cf. *CIL* XIV (1887), pp. 365-372; Ch. Hülsen, *Aefulae* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 475-476; St. Weinstock, *Tibur* in *RE* VI A 1 (1936), coll. 816-841; V. Golzio-G. Mancini-V. Pacifici, *Tivoli* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXIII (1937), pp. 943-946; G. Radke, *Aefulae* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 85; B. Conticello, *Tivoli* in *EAA* VII (1966), pp. 887-892; *Lazio,* map opposite p. 376 & p. 377, p. 356; *Atlante* 2, 33 C 3.

[160] The Brancaccio family own the *castello* of S. Gregorio da Sassola; for the castle, cf. *Lazio,* p. 356. My visits there were without result, as were my communications with the house of the family in Rome.

[161] Cf. *Roma e dintorni,* pp. 298-301; plan opposite p. 225 and map III 20; Helbig II^{4}, pp. 749-752.

To Holiest Bona Dea Caelestis, Lucius Paquedius Festus, contractor of Imperial and Public Works, has rebuilt her decayed sanctuary since it was with her help that he has completed the watercourse of the Imperial Claudian aqueduct under Mons Aeflanus, *under the 14th consulship of Emperor Domitianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on the 3rd of July.*

3 July A.D. 88.

CIL: "tabula marmorea. Extabat, cum primum descripta est, in oppido S. Gregorii in aedibus baronalibus; verum non ex agro eius oppidi prodiisse, sed repertam esse *nel territorio di Tivoli verso la terra di San Gregorio nella montagna detta di San Angelo in valle di Fiaccia o vero Arcense* auctor est ANT. DEL. RE (ed)"; next follow variations and other sources. *ILS* give the same provenance, and also in *II* similar data are to be found.

McCrum-Woodhead, p. 60, No. 165.

An important source as regards the provenance of the piece is Nibby, I, pp. 24-27; cf. also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "identificata cioè colla Caelestis, se piuttosto non si debba supporre che *Bona Dea* sia semplicemente un predicato"; p. 1014: "ad aiuto prestato dalla divinità, accenna la lapide, probabilmente di Aefula—follows the text of the inscription—, seppure qui Bona dea non si debba intendere piuttosto come predicato della Caelestis e non vice versa"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (*cum nominibus aliarum dearum*); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 9 and 10; Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* III, pp. 178-179;[162] Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 1-2: Bonae Deae Sanctissimae / Caelesti: *CIL*: "Bonam deam Caelestem dictam cave confundas, quod fecerunt nonnulli, cum Caelesti dea Africana." In *ILS caelesti* (without a capital letter) so that it is evident that Dessau does not see any difficulty, and considers the word an epithet of Bona Dea.

---

[162] "Es liegt im Wesen des Polytheismus, dass sich Verehrung, Bitte und Dank in der Regel nicht an die Gesamtheit der göttlichen Mächte wandte, sondern wie im Heiligenkult an einzelne, und die Wahl der einzelnen Götter war, wie gesagt, teils durch deren Machtsphäre und die ihnen vorzugsweise zugeschriebene Wirksamkeit und ihre Gaben, teils durch lokale und individuelle Gründe bedingt. Die letzteren sind selbstverständlich nicht immer mit Sicherheit nachweisbar. Wenn ein Unternehmer von kaiserlichen und Staatsbauten der "heiligen himmlischen guten Göttin" (bona Dea) dankt, dass er mit ihrer Hilfe die unterirdische Führung eines Arms der Claudischen Wasserleitung vollendet habe, und seinen Dank durch Herstellung einer alten, zerfallenen Kapelle bezeugt, so ist die "Güte Göttin" hier wohl wie öfters als Beschützerin des Orts oder des Baus gedacht ..." Friedländer refers in this context to Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 8 (my Nos. 29, 111, 34, 86, 19, 74), and to *CIL* VI 30.855 (=No. 9).

l. 2: L(ucius) Paquedius Festus: Thus read *CIL, ILS, II,* and Nibby; *CIL* and Nibby also refer, however, to Del Re's reading: PASQVIDIVS.

l. 3-4: redemptor operum Caesar(is) / et puplicorum: Cf. *ILS: Caesaris (vel Caesarianorum); puplicorum* is the reading of both *CIL* and *ILS*. In *II publicorum* is found, on the authority of Del Re and the *Codex Barberini,* XXXIX. For *redemptor* (Lewis and Short, p. 1539)[163] see R. Leonhard, *Redemptor* in *RE* I A 1 (1914), coll. 447-448 (our inscription is mentioned in col. 447); G. Humbert, *Redemptor* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), p. 816.

l. 4: aedem diritam: I.e. *dirutam*. This is the only instance of vulgar *diritus* instead of *dirutus*; vulgar *diruitus* is found elsewhere; cf. Sommer, p. 611.

l. 6: Cf. Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae,* XIII-XIV, pp. 11-12, ed. P. Grimal. Because of the excellent quality of the Aqua Claudia water, the Emperor Alexander Severus was very fond of drinking it; cf. Aelius Lampridius, *Severus Alexander,* XXX 4.

Neither *CIL* nor *ILS* offer any comment on this line, and *II* only: "Aqua Claudia, quae in hoc titulo Augusta appellatur, Romam perducebatur." Cf. *ILS* 218, a triple inscription commemorating the building of the aqueduct in 52/53 and two restorations, one in 71, the other in 80/81.[164] See also G. Humbert-E. Caillemer, *Aqua* in *DA* I-I (1877), pp. 331-334; E. Saglio-C. Thierry-E. Labatut, *Aquaeductus* in *DA* I-I (1877), pp. 336-345; A. W. van Buren, *Wasserleitungen* in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 453-485.

l. 7: sub monte Aeflano: Cf. *CIL* XIV, p. 364.[165] *CIL ad* XIV 3530, l. 7. E. Hübner, *Aefula nicht Aesula* in *Hermes* I (1866), p. 426: Ch. Hülsen, *Aefulae* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 475-476; G. Radke, *Aefulae* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 85.

l. 7-8: consumma/vit: The same word is used by Frontinus, XIII 2.[166]

l. 8: *3 Iul. 88* (*ILS*); *II:*"Alter consul ordinarius a. p. Chr. n. 88, L. Minucius Rufus, omissus."

prope **Tibur-**
Marcellina[167]

71. Heavily damaged slab in ochre-coloured marble. H. (left) 0.215, (right) 0.045; W. (lower part) 0.22; D. 0.035 m. The slab consists of two fragments which together form, more or less, a triangle. The text is written in a simple frame. Found not far from Marcellina in a field called Arce, part of the De Luca estate. The inscription is a fragment of a *lex* of an altar dedicated to Bona Dea.

---

[163] "One who undertakes a thing by way of contract; a contractor, undertaker, purveyor, farmer; synonym: conductor," cf. No. 67, *ad* l. 8.

[164] Apparently, new building activities were necessary approx. 8 years later; cf. the date of our inscription.

[165] *CIL* speaks of S. Gregorio *di* Sassola: this is not correct, cf. *Lazio*, p. 356 and *carta* p. 376.

[166] Lewis and Short, p. 443, state that the word did not come into use before the time of Augustus.

[167] See note 159; cf. also *Roma e dintorni*, p. 613, map p. 609; *Atlante* 2, 33 B 2-3.

Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, depository, Inv. No. 115.643.

II IV 1, 13.

Letter height: 8 mm.

....

....

fasqu[e esto ceterae leges huic arae] / sunto q[uae arae Dianae in Aventino monte] / dictae sunt [Iuppiter Optime Maxime] / tibei signum Bona[e Deae hac lege do dico] / dedicoque uti sies vole[ns propitius populo] / Romano Quiritibus [item domui praedi]/oque med[168] coniugi liberis [gentique meae] / conlegaeque meo si om............. / ad aram redit Ianum Iovemqu[e et Iuno]/nem in aram vino praefatus es[to ....]

Let divine law and the other laws that were issued in regard to the Diana altar on the Aventine be applied to this altar. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in conformity with this law, I present you with a statue of Bona Dea, I dedicate it and declare it consecrated, so that you may be gracious and propitious to the Roman people of the Quirites, and also to my house and my estate, to myself, to my wife, to my children and all my relatives, and to my colleague. If .... returns to the altar let there be a preliminary prayer together with a libation of wine offered to Janus and Jupiter and Juno, facing the altar.

II: "Partem habemus legis arae Bonae Deae dicatae simillimae legi antiquissimae quae scripta Romae in aede Dianae in Aventino fuerat ...[169] Dianae Aventinensis legem celebratissimam fuisse etiam ex lege arae Augusti numini a plebe Narbonensium dicatae (*CIL* XII 4333), itemque ex lege arae Iovis Salonae (*CIL* III 1933). Praeterea leges quibus luci dedicati sunt habemus Luceriae (*CIL* IX 782); Spoletii (*CIL* XI 4766; cf. 4767 = No. 95 below)." See also Wissowa, *RKR,* pp. 472-475; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 2: arae Dianae in Aventino monte]: See Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 39 and note 2; Latte, *RR,* p. 173 and note 1; Th. Birt, *Diana* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 1002-1011, esp. 1004-1005; P. Paris, *Diana* ("Αρτεμις) in *DA* II-II (1892), pp. 130-156, esp. 156.[170]

l. 4: signum: Cf. above, No. 54.

---

[168] Cf. Leumann, pp. 6, 229.

[169] *II* refer to Dionys. Halic. IV 26 and Festus, *s.v. Nesi* (= p. 164 Lindsay).

[170] Paris emphasizes the circumstance that Diana Aventinensis was first of all a goddess of slaves and freedmen. She was an originally Oriental deity and of a political nature, without any relation to the goddess of light.

Territorium Tusculanum-Frascati[171]

72. Sepulchral inscription. H. 0.25; W. 0.20; D. 0.02 m. Found during the building of the railway station of Colonna, "nel comune di Frascati:[172] al chilometro 22, al di quà della Grotta dello stinco,[173] nella località detta Prataporci"(*NS*).

NS 1891, p. 289, No. 3 = *EE* IX 698.

F]laviae .... / [A]thenai[di] / Flavius ... / [r]es Paectu[s] [m]atri suae b[ene] / merenti feci[t] / Marius Alecshn[der] / [et] [M]arius Felix ne[potes?] / [sacer]doti Bonae De[ae] / [qu]ae vicshit a[nnos] / [..] VII d(ies) IXX or(as) / [frate?]r M(arius) Arariusis c[ura/v?]it curae / [..] la.

To Flavia Athenais. Flavius Paectus, freedman of .... (?), *has erected this monument for his worthy mother. So did Marius Alexander and Marius Felix, her grandsons* (?), *for this priestess of Bona Dea. She lived* (?) *years, seven days and nineteen hours. Their (her?) brother* (?) *Marius Arariusis supervised the execution* (?) ... *willingly and from the heart.*

Imperial Age.[174]

D. Marchietti: *Scoperte di oggetti varii nei lavori per la stazione di Colonna, nel comune di Frascati* in *NS* 1891, p. 289, No. 3.

l. 14: [..] la: Possibly: [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) a(nimo).

Ager Albanus-Albano[175]

73. Marble statuette of Bona Dea with inscription on the base. H. of the statuette 0.45 m. Found in the vicinity of the garden of Enrico Franz at Albano, and afterwards placed in that garden. In 1914, however, it had already disappeared. The right forearm was missing when the figure was found. Traces of the serpent, coiling round the right arm and drinking from the bowl in the right hand of the goddess, were visible on the upper part of the right thigh (?). The goddess was seated on a throne, dressed in a chiton girded up under the breast and a mantle. In her left arm she held the cornucopia. The inscription made it possible to indentify the figure as Bona Dea, and subsequently similar representations without inscription.

---

[171] Cf. G. McCracken, *Tusculum* in *RE* VII A 2 (1948), coll. 1463-1491; M. Borda, *Tuscolo* (= *Itinerari* 98), Roma, MCMLVIII; *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 648-656, maps pp. 569 and 664; *Atlante* 2, 33 D 2.

[172] Cf. *Roma e dintorni*, map p. 664.

[173] *Ibidem*: on the map there is question of *Grotte d. Stingo* (on the railway Ciampino-Colonna).

[174] Could the form of the letter *x*, twice written *csh*, be an indication of the date of the inscription? Cagnat^4 (*Différentes formes de la lettre X*) does not give any information in this regard. No more is C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg i/B., 1917, pp. 29-34 (*Sprache und Orthographie*; see esp. p. 33), helpful; cf. also F. Lenormant, *Alphabetum* in *DA* I-I (1877), pp. 188-218, and below, No. 95 (*ad* l. 6).

[175] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Albanus ager, Albanus lacus, Albanus mons* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 1307-1311; R. Almagià, *Albano Laziale*; G. Lugli, *Albano (monte)*; R. Almagià, *Albani (colli)* in *Enc; Ital.* II (1929), pp. 129 and 93-95; F. Castagnoli (?), *Albano* in *EAA* I (1958), pp. 194-196; *Roma e dintorni*, pp. 669-674, map p. 665; *Atlante* 2, 33 E-F 1.

CIL XIV 2251 = *ILS* 3503 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 1.

Ex visu iussu Bonae Deae / sacr(um) / Callistus Rufinae n(ostrae) act(or).

Because of a vision, by order of (the goddess). Dedicated to Bona Dea. Callistus, agent of our Rufina.

Time of the Antonines (Marucchi, Greifenhagen); head: time of Gallienus.[176]

Marucchi, *Bona Dea.*[177] Both *CIL* and *ILS* refer to this study. See also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 10 and 12; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 1. Reinach, *RS* II-I, p. 256, No. 3: Bona Dea is entered here under the heading ABONDANCE and Rome is mentioned as place of origin. G. Lugli, *Le antiche ville dei Colli Albani prima della occupazione Domizianea* in *BullComm* 1914, pp. 251-316 (tav. IX-X); pp. 259-262: *VI. Villa di T. Sergio Gallo*; esp. 261-262.[178] Cagnat-Chapot, pp. 386-387, fig. 196.[179] G. Lugli, *La villa di Domiziano sui Colli Albani,* parte IV: *Monumenti figurativi e decorativi* in *BullComm* 1920, pp. 3-69; p. 60, No. 169 (*Statuetta della Bona Dea*), Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 1; pp. 231-233.[180]

---

[176] Marucchi, p. 228. The conclusion might be that the statuette was still in use (as a religious object?) in the 2nd half of the 3rd cent.

[177] "La piccola statua ... stava da alcuni anni come ornamento di una fontana nel giardino del sig. Enrico Franz in Albano... Fu trovata sotto un cumulo di macerie nei dintorni del giardino suddetto ed ignorasi il luogo preciso della sua primitiva collocazione. È scolpita in marmo greco, alta m. 0,45 ed esprime una matrona seduta, vestita di lunga tunica e sopravveste, e ricoperta da un manto che le si avvolge al braccio sinistro e le ricuopre le ginocchia; le manca gran parte del braccio destro, e con il sinistro regge il cornucopia. La testa, quantunque antica, è però ricomessa e non le appartiene; giacchè la commessura del collo viene a posare sopra la frattura del manto, che gira dietro le spalle; e ciò dimostra che il collo suo proprio doveva essere più stretto. Di più, le forme del volto non indicano una figura ideale, ma un ritratto di una dama romana, che nell'acconciatura del capo presenta molta somiglianza con Salonina consorte dell'imperatore Galieno, e che perciò fu probabilmente ad essa contemporanea. La sedia in cui sta la figura è in forma di cattedra matronale, con il dorsale piano e acuminato, ed i sostegni in forma di balaustri; e posa sopra una base formata apparentemente di due pezzi distinti, il superiore di quali sembra il suppedaneo della cattedra. Vi è incisa la seguente iscrizione: follows the reading as given above. Il simulacro adunque rappresenta senza alcun dubbio la Bona Dea, cosa che probabilmente niuno avrebbe potuto indovinare ove la iscrizione non ce lo avesse a così chiare note indicato; e fu posto, in seguito ad una pretesa visione, da un servo di nome Callisto, agente di una Rufina: per lo stile poi della scultura e pel carattere della iscrizione, che però fu eseguita con trascuranza, possiamo attribuire questo monumento al secondo secolo dell'êra cristiana, e ai tempi incirca dei primi Antonini." Follows a general description of goddess and cult .... P. 236: "Sembra che vi fossero alcune varietà nella sue immagini, e che tavolta le si ponesse uno scettro nella sinistra, e così infatti ce la descrive Macrobio (see ch. II, No. 21 (*67*)); ma la nostra statua, anche per il confronto con le monete di Pesto, è verisimilmente che si offra il bel tipo più consueto di questa latina divinità. Una tale scoperta infine ci fa vedere, che se il concetto della Bona Dea era andato soggetto ad alcune modificazioni nel culto ufficiale, che da un certo tempo in appresso tendeva sempre al sincretismo religioso, si conservava però nel suo primitivo significato nelle campagne, in epoca eziandio abbastanza avvanzata, quale è quella degli Antonini, alla quale spetta probabilmente il simulacro da me scoperto in Albano."

l. 1: Ex visu iussu: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1998 *visus*, II B.[181]

Civitella[182]

74. Dedicatory inscription, "semel tantum descripta est, et quidem male et imperfecte; hoc autem apographum non ipsum habemus, sed ita ut "interpretatus" est "supplevit" Suaresius Vat. 9140 f. 273" (*CIL*).

CIL XIV 3437.

Iulia Athenais mag(istra) / Bonae Deae Sevinae fecit / pavimentum et se[de]s et officinam / tecta extendit et tegulas quae / minus erant de suo reposuit et / aram aeneam q(uo)q(uo) v(ersus) s[edi?]bus p(edum) CXC / et ferro incluso d(?) K(alendis) Iun(iis) / C(aio) Cal[purnio Pis]one [M(arco) Vettio Bola?]no co(n)s(ulibus).

Julia Athenais, magistra *of Bona Dea Sevina, had a pavement laid, benches made, and a workshop built; the roofs extended and the tiles missing supplemented, at her own expense. She also has erected a bronze altar in an area of 190 feet in both directions* (?), *and inlaid with iron. On the 1st of June under the consulship of Gaius Calpurnius Piso and Marcus Vettius Bolanus* (?).

If the reading of the last line is correct the date is the 1st of June A.D. 111 (but see below, *ad* l. 8).

---

[178] Lugli refers to Marucchi's study and states that the statuette does not come from the temple (?) on the estate of T. Sertius Gallus.

[179] "... cette fois la déesse est assise et tient une corne d'abondance. On l'assimilait ainsi à Ops, qui associée à Consus, faisait prospérer les récoltes, et que des monnaies tardives, à la légende Opi divinae, présentent sous des traits tout pareils, sauf que la corne d'abondance est remplacée par deux épis."

[180] Greifenhagen refers to the studies by Marucchi and Lugli, *CIL* and Reinach, rejecting Wissowa's disparaging remarks about the value of the statuette as an instance of a Bona Dea representation (cf. *RKR*, pp. 218-219).

[181] "A thing seen, a sight, appearance, an apparition, a vision."

[182] The places called Civitella are quite numerous, and, in view of the fact that previous sources already suggest several possibilities, a definite decision in favour of one Civitella seems presumptuous.

See besides *CIL* also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea.* p. 1013: "probabilmente anche come divinità locale"; Hey *Bona Dea,* p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR,* p. 218 and notes 6, 8, and 10; Latte, *RR,* p. 230 and note 3.

l. 1: mag(istra): *CIL* writes MAG and comments: "MAG Fabretti, MAGNA SACERDOS Suaresius." See above, No. 27.

l. 2: Bonae Deae Sevinae: This is the *CIL* reading; cf. the commentary: " 'SEVNA vel SEVINAE' Suaresius (sed neutrum ut lectum in lapide, verum pro supplemento), SEVUNAE Fabretti." Eisler, p. 143, mentions and inscription *CIL* XIV 3473 but obviously means this one. Emphasizing the connection between Kore and Bona Dea, he speaks of *Sevina,* suggesting that in this instance the goddess was named after "dem Saatgut, das sie schützen sollte."

l. 3: Thus reads *CIL*, with the comment: "SEDES·ET·OFFICINAM Suar., SE...SS·NARI Fabr."

l. 5: de suo reposuit: "DESVO om., REFECIT (pro REPOSVIT) Suar."

l. 6-7: q(uo)q(uo) v(ersus) s[edi?]bus p(edum) CXC / et ferro incluso: *CIL*: QQ·V·S ... BVS P·CXC / ET FERRO INCLVSO, with the comment: "QQ·V·S Fabr., CV̄ SVIS PEDIBVS Suar., fortasse q(uo)q(uo) v(ersus) s[edi]bus p(edum) CXC et ferro inclus[it]." Cf. Cagnat4, p. 458 (Q·Q·V); pp. 449-450 (P).

l. 7: et: *CIL*: "LI ... (pro ET) Fabr."

d(?) K(alendis) Iun(iis): *CIL* reads D K IVN, with the comment: "D·EVM·K·IVNII Fabr., DICAVIT SACRATVM X IVNII, in margine autem DKALIVN Suar." It seems not improbable that the *D* stands for *dedit* or *dedicavit.*

l. 8: *CIL* reads C CAL ....ONE...........NO, annotating: "dedi exemplum Fabrettii, qui refert ad annum p. C. 111 et consules C. Calpurnium Pisonem et M. Vettium Bolanum;[183] Suaresius sic NERONE·TERT·ET·M·VAL·MESSALLA·CORVINO·COSS (a.p. C. 59)."

Border of LATIUM-SAMNIUM-CAMPANIA **Venafrum-Venafro**[184]

75. Inscription dedicated by a *collegium* of worshippers of Bona Dea Caelestis. The piece was alleged to have been fixed to the wall of the villa of the physician G. B. Della Valle at Venafro but was also mentioned as being at Massa Lucenteforte.[185] Lost (?).

CIL X 4849 (=4608)=*ILS* 3517.

Collegium / cultorum / Bonae Deae / Caelestis.

---

[183] Cf. for C. Calpurnius Piso, *PIR*2 II, pp. 56-57, No. 285; for M. Vettius Bolanus, *PIR*1 III, p. 411, No. 324.

[184] Cf. G. Radke, *Venafrum* in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 668-670; A. La Regina, *Venafro* in *EAA* Suppl. (1973), pp. 894-895; *Campania,* pp. 130-131, *carta* between pp. 128 and 129; *Atlante* 2, 41 B 3-4.

[185] "In massa Lucenteforte (olim Integlia) COTUGNO p. 84" (*CIL*).

The college of worshippers of Bona Dea Caelestis.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL* and *ILS*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "non alla nostra Bona Dea, ma a Caelestis invece va riferito il collegium cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis della lapide ..."; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (*cum nominibus aliarum dearum*); Waltzing III, p. 453, No. 1732: "La déesse Caelestis est appelée ici Bona Dea, comme XIV 3530 (=No. 70). Caelestis est l'Astarté des Phéniciens, patronne de Carthage et surtout honorée en Afrique ...".

Another inscription from Venafro, *CIL* X 4852 = Waltzing III, p. 454, No. 1735, refers to *Cult(ores) Iovis Cae(lestis),* from which it is apparent that Waltzing's identification is not so simple as he suggests. See also Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 9; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 1: See No. 35, *ad* l. 5.
l. 3-4: Cf. above, No. 70.

Border of LATIUM and CAMPANIA **Minturnae-Minturno**[186]

76. Dedication, without any data except *Traiecti ad arcum (CIL)*, *Minturnis (ILS)*.

CIL X 5998 (=4053) = *ILS* 3518.

Bonae Deae sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Martialis.

Dedicated to Bona Dea. Gaius Valerius Martialis, son of Gaius.

Republican (?)—Imperial Age (?).

See, besides *CIL* and *ILS*, Hey, Bona Dea, p. 2071.

l. 1: Bonae Deae: See for the shapes of the A's Cagnat^4, p. 11.
l. 2: Martialis is known from another inscription, found in the ruins of Minturnae in 1849 (on the estate of F. Mazzucco), a dedication to Silvanus, *CIL* X 5999 = *ILS* 3519: *Silvano / sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) / Martialis.*

(77). Statuette in white marble, possibly of Bona Dea. H. 0.23 m. Found on the Tibaldi farm (*masseria*), at a short distance towards the east of the ruins of the theatre of antique Minturnae.[187] A female deity is represented, seated on a simple chair without back and arms. In her left arm the goddess holds the cornucopia. The right forearm is broken off but the usual angle (to hold the *patera*) is still visible. The figure is of extremely poor workmanship.

---

[186] Cf. H. Philipp, *Minturnae* in *RE* XV 2 (1932), coll. 1935-1936; V. Epifanio-A. Maiuri-G. Chierici-Anonymus, *Minturno* in *Enc. Ital.* XXIII (1934), pp. 409-410; A. Maiuri, *Minturno* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 105-107; S. Aurigemma-A. De Santis, *Gaeta-Formia-Minturno* (= *Itinerari* 92), Roma, MCMLXIV^2; *Lazio*, pp. 544-548, *carta* opposite p. 528; *Atlante* 2, 41 D-E 1 (*Minturno*), 41 E 1 (*MINTURNAE*).

NS 1913, pp. 245-246, No. 2, fig. 2.

A. Maiuri, *Rinvenimenti varî* in *NS* 1913, pp. 244-247; pp. 245-246, No. 2 (fig. 2). Maiuri proposes an identification as Bona Dea and at the same time suggests, on the basis of other finds there, the existence of a Bona Dea cult and sanctuary at Minturnae.[188]

REGIO I (CAMPANIA)[189]

Pianura near **Pozzuoli**[190]

78. Dedication without any data but "Pianurae prope Puteolos in coemeterio" (*CIL*).

CIL X 1548.

Bonae D[eae] / sacru[m].

Dedicated to Bona Dea.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4; Dubois, p. 143.[191]

Puteoli-Pozzuoli[192]

79. Marble base. The piece was seen in the workshop of a marble-mason

---

[187] Cf. Aurigemma-De Santis, *o.c.*, p. 43, fig. 6; pp. 46-49 and figg. 7 and 8.

[188] "... È però assai probabile che con questo comune tipo figurativo si volesse rappresentare nel nostro caso una speciale divinità agreste che è oggetto singolare di culto in molte città del Lazio e della Campania, vale a dire la Bona Dea, venerata anche sotto il nome specifico Bona Dea Cereria (see below, No. 112). La statuetta minturnese rassomiglia invero ad una statuetta della Bona Dea rinvenuta ad Albano... (above No. 73) ... di più, dell'esistenza di un culto a Minturno a questa divinità. abbiamo chiara testimonianza nell'iscrizione *CIL* X 5998 (= No. 76). Verosimilmente adunque la nuova statuetta votiva e l'iscrizione già nota sono indizio della presenza di un santuario alla Bona Dea nella città o nell'agro di Minturno."

[189] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Campania*, (1) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1434-1439; G. Radke, *Campania* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 1031-1032; *Campania*.

[190] Cf. *Campania, carta* between pp. 104 and 105; *Atlante* 3, 13 C 4.

[191] "Il est impossible de savoir si la Bona Dea fut amenée de Rome à Pouzzoles, ou si elle y vint par un autre voie. Son culte, originaire de Tarente, propagea-t-il directement de cette ville en Campanie? C'est probable. En tout cas, les inscriptions de Pouzzoles ne permettent pas de trancher la question, car l'une n'est pas datée, et l'autre est de l'année 62 ap. J.-C. On connaît un prêtre de la déesse." In note 6 of the same page, Dubois refers to our inscription and to *CIL* X 1549 (= No. 79).

[192] Cf. Dubois; M. W. Frederiksen, *Puteoli* in *RE* XXIII 2 (1957), coll. 2036-2060; A. Maiuri, *Pozzuoli (Puteoli)* in *EAA* VI (1965), pp. 413-420; G. Radke, *Puteoli* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 1244-1245; *Campania*, pp. 94-96; *Napoli e dintorni*, pp. 330-337, *pianta* opposite p. 336; *Atlante* 3, 13 D 4.

near the entrance of S. Maria Annunziata at Naples.[193] *CIL* mentions that at each side of the text a laurel branch is represented.

CIL X 1549 (=2588).

C(aius) Avillius December / redemptor marmorarius / Bonae Diae / cum Vellia Cinnamide cont(ubernale) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Claudio Aug(usti) l(iberto) / Philades[p]oto sacerdote posita / dedicata VI Kal(endas) Novembris / Q(uinto) Iunio Marullo co(n)s(ule).

Gaius Avillius December, contractor of marble-work, has willingly and justly fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea, together with his "wife", Vellia Cinnamis. The erection and dedication were executed during the Imperial freedman Claudius Philadespotus' term of office as priest, on the 27th of October, under the consulship of Quintus Junius Marullus.

27 October A.D. 62.

See, besides *CIL*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Dubois, p. 143; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

l. 2: See for *redemptor*, above, No. 70, *ad* l. 3-4; for *marmorarius* cf. G. Lafaye, *Marmorarius* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1605-1606, figs. 4835-4836; H. Schroff, *Marmorarius* (2) in *RE* XIV 2 (1930), coll. 1897-1899.

l. 4: cont(ubernale): *CIL* reads *CONT* with *NT* in ligature. Dubois reads *coni.*, the abbreviation for *coniuge*. The *CIL* reading is to be preferred in view of the non-Latin *cognomen* of Vellia. For *contubernalis* see F. Baudry, *Contubernales, Contubernium* in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 1488-1489; Erman, *Serv. vic.*, pp. 399-403; 407; R. Leonhard, *Contubernium* (1) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1164-1165. Lewis and Short, p. 460, *s.v.* (II B) translate: *the husband or wife of a slave.* It is my impression that Vellia Cinnamis is a freedwoman "married" to a freedman (or a freeman?).

l. 6-7: Claudio Aug(usti) l(iberto) / Philades[p]oto: *CIL*: "PHILADESPOTO traditur." Dubois reads *Claudia* instead of *Claudio*. Chantraine, p. 56, mentions this inscription under the heading *Datierte Inschriften von Freigelassenen und Sklaven der Kaiser oder Angehörigen ihres Hauses* for the year 62, but neither in his indices nor elsewhere in his study is further information about this freedman to be found.

sacerdote: Cf. Vaglieri: "Non deve essere stato addetto al culto della Bona dea, ma di altra divinità, nel cui tempio si pose il sacerdote ricordato nella lapide di Puteoli." (?)

l. 7-8: posita / dedicata: In view of the fact that the text is written on a base, the (suppressed) subject of both forms could be *statua.*

---

[193] Cf. *Napoli e dintorni*, pp. 133-134, *pianta* between pp. 302 and 305 (II 24).

l. 9: *CIL*: "Consulem nominat Tacitus ann. 14, 48; cf. de eo Borghesius ..... qui alterius consulis nomen credit periisse." Cf. M. Riba, *Iunius* (92) in *RE* X 1 (1918), col. 1050; *PIR*2 IV, pp. 338-339, No. 769.

Neapolis-Naples[194]

80. Dedicatory inscription, without any data except *in ecclesia S. Ferrantis in hortis (CIL).* Left of the text a farmer is represented having in one hand a basket with fruit, in the other—most probably—a sickle. On the right side is a woman with a full fruit-basket on her head. Under the text, left: *patera*; right: *vas.*

CIL X 4615.

Bonae Deae sac(rum) / Iulius Exuperius / d(edicavit?).

Dedicated to Bona Dea. Julius Exuperius has dedicated this (monument).

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 7; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 4.

Without indication of exact provenance[195]

81. Altar with four deities. On one of the principal sides Vesta with her sacred ass is represented, on the other Bona Dea in the pose known from her statues. The two other sides show Mercury with the ram, and the Genius of the master of the house with cornucopia and bowl, accompanied by a bull. H. 0.50; H. of the reliefs 0.405; W. (lower part) of the reliefs 0.34 × 0.205 m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Magazzino, Inv. No. 147.827.

Claudian (Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 235).

Greifenhagen, p. 228, No. 12; pp. 234-235.[196]

Pompeii-Pompei[197]

(82). Terra-cotta statuette of a seated goddess. H. 0. 145; W. of the base, front: 0.05; back: 0.06; D. of the base 0.08 m. The goddess is seated on a throne with a high back and arms. She is dressed in a chiton with sleeves and a richly draped mantle. She wears a diadem and her hairdress is a chignon. In her left arm she holds the cornucopia, in her right hand a bowl, from which a serpent seems to be drinking—this, however, is not very clear. Traces of the animal, however, may be conjectured from a certain unevenness on the arm of the deity. The figure corresponds completely to the known Bona Dea type. There are traces of colour (red) on head and neck, right arm, bowl and cornucopia, and on the throne.

---

[194] Cf. H. Philipp, *Neapolis* (2) in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), , coll. 2112-2122; A. Maiuri, *Napoli* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 332-339; G. Radke, *Neapolis* (2) in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 30-32; *Napoli e dintorni*; *Atlante* 3, 14 C-D 1.

[195] Cf. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 228: "Aus dem Kunsthandel."

[196] In 1973, my investigations in the Naples museum and depositories were unsuccesful and I did not find the altar.

[197] Cf. A. W. Van Buren, *Pompeii* in *RE* XXI 2 (1952), coll. 1999-2038; A. Maiuri, *Pompeji,* Novara, 1956; *Pompei* (= *Itinerari* 3), Roma, MCMLXII^{10}; *Pompei* in *EAA* VI (1965), pp. 308-356; G. Radke, *Pompeii* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 1020-1022; *Campania*, p. 346; *Napoli e dintorni*, pp. 419-462, *pianta* opposite p. 440; *Atlante* 3, 14 D 3.

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Sala LXXXVII, vitrina XI, Inv. No. 110.339).

Not published (as far as I know).

REGIO II (HIRPINI)[198] **Ducenta**[199]

83. Small, bronze plaquette (opisthographic). H. 0.035; W. 0.082 m; D. minimal.[200].

Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Magazzino Antiquarium A 14 b; Inv. No. 14.001 (3799). Phot. neg. Nos. 10.400 and 10.399 (back).

NS 1887, p. 161 = *EE* VIII 106.

Letter heights: front: l. 1: ca 10; l. 2: 8; l. 3: 5-6; back: l. 1: 9; l. 2: 8-10 mm. (the lettering is rather irregular).

Front:
Deae Bona(e) / cum suis / d(ono) d(at).

Back:
L(ucius) Clovanus / Clarus.

Lucius Clovanus Clarus, together with his family, presents Bona Dea with this.

F. Colonna (Fiorelli) in *NS* 1887, p. 161: *XVII. Ducenta.*[201]

---

[198] Cf. E. Weiss, *Hirpini* in *RE* VIII 2 (1913), coll. 1935-1936; G. Radke, *Hirpini* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), col. 1181.

[199] Cf. *Campania*, p. 112, *carta* between pp. 104 and 105; *Atlante* 3, 13 B 4. Cébeillac mentions Saticula = S. Agata de'Goti as its provenance; cf. above, note 126 (cf. also H. Philipp, *Saticula* in *RE* II A 1 (1921), coll. 61-63).

[200] The plaquette is listed in the *schedario* for the new edition of *CIL* VI (S. Panciera) as bought from the collection Pollare, 6-V-1940. Dr. G. Molosani informed me—1973—that this should be the Collection Polak.

[201] "L'ispettore cav. Ferdinando Colonna riferì, che nello scorno inverno nel comune di Ducenta fu rinvenuta una tabella ansata di bronzo, lunga m. 0.08, larga m. 0.04 (see, however, the dimensions given above), della quale mandò un calco. È opistografo, e vi si legge da una parte:
L CLOVATIVS (This is not correct)

Front:
l. 1: *NA* is written in ligature; cf. the *EE* reading: ***BONΛA***

Back:
l. 1-2: Colonna reads *Clovatius*. In studying the plaquette I found *Clovanus* the only possible reading, however.

REGIO II (APULIA)[202]

Furfane-near **Cirignola**[203]

84. Column with vase for lustral water. "A Cirignola sexto lapide ad ripam Aufidi (the river Ofanto) in ecclesia S. Mariae de ripis altis" (*CIL*).[204]

CIL IX 684 (=638).

Sextilia Accep[t]a / aram Bonae Deae / ex s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendam) c(uravit) e(adem)q(ue) (?) t(itulum?) p(o)s(uit) (?).

Sextilia Accepta had a Bona Dea altar erected at her own expense, and she also set up this inscription (?).

Time of Trajan or of the Antonines (Note the Q; see Cagnat^4, between pp. 4 and 5).

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 3: *CIL* reads the line: EX·S·P·F·C·EQ·T·P·S, without amplification.
ex s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendam) c(uravit): See Cagnat^4, p. 428.
e(adem)q(ue): This might be an acceptable solution of *CIL*'s EQ· Cf. Cagnat^4, p. 426 (E·Q·D·D *eademque dedicavit*).
t(itulum?) p(o)s(uit) (?): Cf. Cagnat^4, p. 467 (T·P *testamento ou titulum posuit*); p. 456 (The various interpretations of P·S or PS, none of which, however, is really satisfying in this case).

CLARVS
e dall'altra:
DEAE BO$\overset{\frown}{NA}$ (sic)
CVM·SVIS
D·D"

[202] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Apuli, Apulia* in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 288-290; G. Radke, *Apuli* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 473.

[203] Cf. *CIL* (*ad* IX 684): "XXVI. Cirignola. Inter Canusium et Herdoniam quae videtur interponi in Peutingerano mansio Furfane (v. p. 26), incidit fere in oppidum quod nunc est Cirignola. Titulos inde vix ullos habemus." E. Weiss, *Furfane* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), col. 307; R.Ciasca, *Cerignola* in *Enc. Ital.* IX (1931), p. 806; *Puglia*, pp. 124-125; *Atlante* 3, 9 D 1.

[204] Cf. *Puglia*, pp. 124-125; *Atlante* 3, 9 E 1.

Luceria-Lucera[205]

85. Sepulchral inscription, without relevant data but *Luceriae* (*CIL*).

CIL IX 805.

D(is) M(anibus) / Lucerini Hermae / Vergiliae Priscae mag(istrae) Bonae [Deae].

To the Departed Souls of Lucerinus Hermes and Vergilia Prisca, magistra *of Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

Except for *D M* the text is written in a rectangular frame.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (with query); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 1: See above, No. 25, *ad* l. 1.
l. 2: *CIL*: "Vir videtur a populo manumissus esse."
l. 3: mag(istrae): See above, No. 27.
Bonae [Deae]: In its commentary *CIL* writes [*deae?*]. The *CIL* reading is BONAE·. From the arrangement of the letters it is clear that not a small part of the inscription is missing. It seems probable that both *Deae* and an epithet of the goddess are to be added.

REGIO IV (SAMNIUM)[206]

prope Alba Fucens-Massa d'Albe[207]

86. Bronze votive tablet. H. 0.08; W. 0.117 m. Found at Massa d'Albe within the territory of ancient Alba Fucens (see drawing in *EE* VIII, 183-p. 45). *NS* mentions that the piece is in the *Museo di antichità albensi.*

NS 1885, p. 484 = *EE* VIII 183 = *ILS* 3510.

Bonae Deae / Arcensi Triumphal(i) / Valeria Amaryllis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

---

[205] Cf. *CIL* IX (1883), pp. 74-75; H. Philipp, *Luceria* in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), coll. 1565-1566; C. Colamonico-G. Lugli-R. Ciasca, *Lucera* in *Enc. Ital.* XII (1934), pp. 575-577; G. Cressedi, *Lucera* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 706-707; G. Radke, *Luceria* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 750; *Puglia,* pp. 237-244, plan 33; *Atlante* 3, 8 B 1.

[206] Cf. H. Philipp, *Samnites* in *RE* I A 2 (1920), coll. 2138-2158; G. Radke, *Samnites* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 1533-1534.

[207] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Alba Fucens* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 1300-1301; G. Bendinelli-A. Jahn Rusconi, *Alba Fucente* in *Enc. Ital.* II (1929), pp. 89-90; V. Cianfarani, *Alba Fucente* in *EAA* I (1958), pp. 192-194; G. Radke, *Alba Fucens* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 231; *Atlante* 2, 34 A-B 3 (*ALBA FUCENS*), 34 A 3 (*Massa d'Albe*).

To Bona Dea Arcensis Triumphalis. Valeria Amaryllis has fulfilled her vow, willingly and from the heart.

Imperial Age.

At each side of the text is a palm.

A. de Nino in *NS* 1885, p. 484 (cf. p. 282: *XI.* MASSA D'ALBE*—territorio dell'antica Alba Fucense*).[208] *ILS* give the same reading as *NS*. See also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 8; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 and note 3.

REGIO IV (MARSI)[209] **Marruvium-Pescina (S. Benedetto)**[210]

87. Marble cippus, whose diameter increases upward resulting in an upside-down broken-off cone. Found at S. Benedetto, part of the *comune* of Pescina, in the territory of antique Marruvium Marsorum. H. 0.40 m. *Avezzani in Museo* (*EE*).

NS 1887, p. 42=*EE* VIII 159.

Bonae / Diae / Aponia / Clara.

To Bona Dea. Aponia Clara.

Imperial Age.

E. Canale Parola (Fiorelli) in *NS* 1887, p. 42 (*IX. S. Benedetto di Pescina (Marruvium)).*[211]

REGIO IV (SAMNIUM)[206] **San Vito**[212]

88. Rectangular votive stone with pediment in non-local limestone. H.

---

[208] "Il conte Cesare Pace, colto e diligente raccoglitore di oggetti antichi, in un ex-convento, a fianco della monumentale chiesa di s. Pietro, tra le rovine di Alba, ha cominciato un Museo di antichità albensi. Chiude la collezione una lastrina di bronzo"—follow the description and reading of our inscription.

[209] Cf. H. Philipp, *Marsi* (1) in *RE* XIV 2 (1930), coll. 1977-1979; G. Radke, *Marsi* (1) in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 1049.

[210] Cf. H. Philipp, *Marsi Marruvini* in *RE* XIV 2 (1930), col. 1980; G. Radke, *Marruvium* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 1046; *Atlante* 2, 34 B 4 (*Pescina; San Benedetto dei Marsi*).

[211] "In s. Benedetto, frazione del comune di Pescina, territorio dell'antica Marruvium Marsorum, fu mostrato da un farmacista al sig. prof. E. Canale Parola, che ne riferì, un cippo marmoreo rotondo, alto m. 0,40, il cui diametro va gradatamente allargandosi verso la sommità, in modo da somigliare ad un cono tronco rovesciato ..." follows the reading as shown above, and: "Il cippo fu trovato presso la casa del sig. Salvatore Traquini."

[212] It is difficult to make a choice since the places called S. Vito are numerous in this part of Italy; possibly S. Vito Romano; cf. *Lazio*, p. 399, *carta* p. 376; *Atlante* 2, 33 D 4.

0.70; W. 0.41; D. 0.37 m. Found on the land of the *cavaliere* d'Amore-Fracassi at San Vito.

NS 1897, p. 439.

Octavia / Lupilla / [B]onae Deae / [a]ediculam et / [a]ram / de suo / d(onum) d(edit).

Octavia Lupilla has at her own expense presented Bona Dea with a shrine and an altar.

Imperial Age.

On both sides of the stone is a shield.

A. de Nino in *NS* 1897, p. 439.[213]

REGIO IV (PAELIGNI)[214]

prope **Sulmo-**
Prezza near **Sulmona**[215]

89. The votive inscription of a temple of Bona Dea. Without data except *Prezzae in ecclesia S. Luciae* (*CIL*).

CIL I² 1793 (=1279)=*CIL* IX 3138.

L(ucius) Statius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Chilo / L(ucius) Pettius C(ai) f(ilius) Pansa / C(aius) Pettius V(ibi) f(ilius) Gemellus / L(ucius) Tattius T(iti) f(ilius) Coxsa / magistri Laverneis / murum caementicium / portam porticum / templum Bonae Deae / pagi decreto faciendu[m] / curarunt probaruntq[ue].

Lucius Statius Chilo, son of Gnaeus, Lucius Pettius Pansa, son of Gaius, Gaius Pettius Gemellus, son of Vibius, and Lucius Tattius Coxsa, son of Titus, magistri *(presidents), have had built for the inhabitants of Laverna* (?): *a quarry-stone wall, a gate, a portico, and a temple of Bona Dea, by decree of the district, and they have (officially) approved of the project.*

2nd half 1st cent. B.C.

---

[213] "Eccoci finalmente alla contrada di San Vito, sul luogo del distrutto casale di Ozzano, menzionata nella citata Bolla di Pasquale II. A San Vito, dunque, nei poderi del sullodato cav. d'Amore-Fracassi, tra gli altri oggetti si rinvenne una interessante lapide votiva alla Bona Dea, di pietra calcare non locale e di forma rettangolare con timpano." Follow the description and reading of the monument. De Nino refers to (my) No. 86 ("rinvenuta nel prossimo territorio di Alba Fucense negli Equi").

[214] Cf. E. Vetter, *Paeligni* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2227-2275; G. Radke, *Paeligni* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), col. 403.

[215] Cf. W. Schur, *Sulmo* (1) in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), coll. 728-729; A. La Regina, *Sulmona* in *EAA* VII (1966), , pp. 555-557; G. Radke, *Sulmo* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), col. 420; *Atlante* 2, 35 B 2-3 (*Sulmona*), 35 B 2 (*Prezza*).

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 7; Latte, *RR*, pp. 230-231.

l. 1: The I of Chilo is written |; cf. l. 5: MAGISTR|; l. 6: CAEMENT|CIVM; l. 9: PAG|; cf. CAGNAT^4, pp. 16-17.

l. 3: Neither in Cagnat^4 (p. 468) nor in A. Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum, Wörterbuch lateinischer und italienischer Abkürzungen*, Leipzig, 1928^2 (p. 519), an acceptable solution for the V as a *praenomen* is to be found. Vibius, however, sometimes occurs as such.[216]

l. 5: Cf. R. Peter, *Damia* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 943-945, esp. 945. Peter suggests an identification Damia-Bona Dea-Laverna. G. Wissowa, *Laverna* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 1917-1918. J.-A. Hild, *Laverna* in *DA* III-II (1918), p. 1000. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 236. H. Philipp, *Lavernae* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), col. 999. Latte, *RR*, p. 139, suggests that the name of the Roman goddess had become a local name. W. Eisenhut, *Laverna* in *DKP 3* (MCMLXIX), col. 523. G. Radke, *Laverneis magistri* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 523.

l. 9: pagi: See J. Toutain, *Pagani, Pagus* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 273-276, who states (p. 276): "Le pagus était administré le plus souvent par des magistri, dont le nombre paraît avoir varié suivant les pays et les époques: nous en trouvons quatre dans le pagus de Lavernae, entre Sulmo et Corfinium (reference to our inscription) ...". E. Kornemann, *Pagus* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2318-2339. H. Volkmann, *Pagus* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 405-406.

l. 10: See above, No. 55, *ad* l. 3.

REGIO V (PICENUM)[217]

Falerio-Fallerone
or **Falerone**[218]

90. Votive tablet. Without any data but *Fallerone in museo* (*CIL*).

CIL IX 5421.

[P]ro [salute] / Atel[li]ae n(ostrae) / Picentina l(iberta) / Bonae Deae v(otum) s(olvit).

---

[216] Cf., however, H. Gundel, *Vibius* in *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), coll. 1948-1949. esp. 1948; Marieluise Deissmann-Merten, *Vibius* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), coll. 1247-1250, esp. 1247; further, M. E. Fernique, *Inscriptions inédites du pays des Marses*, Paris, 1879 (= *Bibl. des Écoles franç; d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. cinquième), p. 3, No. 5; p. 16, No. 49; p. 19, No. 55. From these sources, esp. from Fernique, it is clear that Vibius—and also Vibia—is a *praenomen* not infrequently found in the country of the Marsi, living near the Paeligni, from whose parts comes our inscription.

[217] Cf. W. Brandenstein, *Picenum* in *RE* XX 1 (1941), coll. 1186-1197; G. Radke, *Picenum* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 845-846.

[218] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Falerio* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), col. 1971; G. Annibaldi, *Falerio* in *EAA* III (1960), pp. 570-571; G. Radke, *Falerii* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), col. 504; *Atlante* 2, 22 B 3.

For the welfare of our Atellia. The freedwoman Picentina has fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea.

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

Urbs Salvia-
Urbisaglia near **Macerata**[219]

91. Marble statue. H. 1.05 m. Found at Urbisaglia near Macerata in the Marche province.

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 3.

Time of Trajan (Greifenhagen, p. 242).

This statue of the goddess[220] is, together with the Nîmes statue (No. 136), an instance of a Bona Dea figure of dimensions larger than usual.[221]

REGIO VI (UMBRIA)[222] **Tuder-Todi**[223]

92. Fragmentary dedication in white marble. Found in 1702 "scaricandosi in Todi il pal. d. famiglia Sciugatrosci vicinissimo al monasterio di S. Filippo d. ord. di S. Benedetto ...,[224] li padri non lo vollero concedere, finalmente è sparito" (*CIL*).

CIL XI 4634.

Bonae Deae sac(rum).

Dedicated to Bona Dea.

Besides the above information, in *CIL* the previous sources are cited. See also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071.

---

[219] Cf. E. Ricci-G. Lugli-G. Castellani, *Urbisaglia* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXIV (1937), pp. 779-780; G. Radke, *Urbs Salvia* in *RE* IX A 1 (1961), coll. 997-998; G. Annibaldi, *Urbisaglia* in *EAA* VII (1966), p. 1075; *Marche,* pp. 540-542; *Atlante* 2, 22 A 2 (*Urbisaglia*), 22 A 3 (*URBS SALVIA*).

[220] Cf. Greifenhagen, p. 227, No. 3: "... Catal. de la vente de l'anc. coll. Woodyat, Rome 1912, Nr. 271 Taf. 15;" p. 228: "Aus Urbisaglia (Prov. Marche) stammt eine Figur der ehemaligen Sammlung Woodyat (...) die der Herausgeber des Kataloges "Fortuna-Hygieia" nennt."

[221] H. 1.20; now lost.

[222] Cf. G. Radke, *Umbri* in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 1745-1827; *Umbria.*

[223] *Cf. Marina Emiliani-A. Bertini-Calosso-C. Pietrangeli-G. Colasanti, Todi* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXIII (1937), pp. 963-964; H. Philipp, *Tuder* in *RE* VII A 1 (1939), coll. 771-774; U. Ciotti, *Todi* in *EAA* VII (1966), pp. 893-895; G. Radke, *Tuder* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), col. 994; *Umbria,* pp. 349-358, *pianta* opposite p. 352, *carta* between pp. 176 and 177; *Atlante* 2, 20 F 3-4.

[224] Possibly the church of S. Filippo Benizi (?); cf. *Umbria*, p. 356, *pianta* opposite p. 352.

prope **Tuder-Ilci**[225]

93. Small rectangular base in marble. H. 0.05; W. 0.09; D. 0.08 m. The base was hollowed at the upper side and here stands a fragmentary statuette of a female figure dressed in a richly draped chiton. The head, fastened with a peg, is missing. According to *CIL*, the figure held a round vase in the left hand, but *NS* state: "La statuetta acefala è mancante di braccia." The piece was found together with *CIL* XI 4636 = No. 94.

NS 1881, p. 22 = *CIL* XI 4635 = *ILS* 3494.

Quieta Aties / Pieridis / ministra Bon(a)e Di(a)e / proma(gistra?) pos(u)it d(onum) d(edit).

Quieta, slave of Atia Pieris, ministra *of Bona Dea and acting* magistra (?), *has erected this and given as a present (to the goddess).*

Augustan (*NS*).

L. Leonij-G. F. Gamurrini in *NS* 1881, pp. 21-22 (*XI. TODI*).[226] *CIL* refers to this article, and adds: "Hanc Romae emit Mediolanensis Hamilcar Ancona, qui servat." See also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Latte, *RR*, p. 231 (cf. also p. 230, note 3, where an inscription IX 4635 is mentioned, this one apparently being meant, however).

l. 1: Aties: A mistake, instead of *Atiaes*? For the form with the ending *-aes*, cf. above, No. 44, *ad* l. 7.

l. 3: ministra: Lewis and Short, p. 1146, *s.v. minister* (II B), translate "ministra: a female attendant, maid-servant; a female asistant or minister, at religious worship." Cf. Waltzing I, pp. 422-423.[227]

---

[225] Cf. *Atlante* 2, 20 E 4.

[226] "L'ispettore sig. conte Lorenzo Leonij riferì intorno ad una breve escursione da lui fatta in un campo dell'agro tudertino, colla nota ...: "Nel giorno 16 settembre mi recai in un campo presso Ilci, castello posto su di una collina nella valle del Tevere, a sei chilometri da Todi, in direzione est .... "Nei manoscritti dei cronisti patrii del secolo passato ha letto, che Ilci fu detto da ilex, che vi era un tempio sacro a Fauno ed alla Bona Dea, e che nei contorni erano state trovate delle anticaglie ... "Nel campo trovai a fior di terra dei resti molto slegati di muro, che si profondano qualche metro, e mi fu detto che n'erano stati tolti molti sassi, per porre il terreno a coltura. V'erano altri resti dispersi di muricci, ma che non si possono ricollegare in modo da cavarne una pianta geometrica; chè troppo fu demolito dalla mano dell'uomo, e forse dal fuoco, perchè le pietre ne presentano le tracce .... "Il proprietario conserva presso di sè due iscrizioni, trovate nel campo fra i muricci .... "Le due iscrizioni sopra accennate, vennero trascritte dal commissario cav. G. F. Gamurrini, colle seguenti indicazioni: ... Follow description and reading of the inscription and those of No. 94. ... "Ho rilevato in un'adunanza dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico la singolarità della voce *proma*, della quale viene ad essere arrichito il vocabulario latino, nel significato di *dispensa*, che conteneva gli oggetti del culto, e addetti al ministero di questo tempio della *Bona Dea.*"

[227] Waltzing quotes G. Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins,* II, Paris, 1906^6, p. 294: "Dans les associations qui contiennent des hommes libres et des esclaves, on réserve d'ordinaire à ces derniers une petite part d'autorité dans un ordre inférieur. Les fonction-

Bon(a)e Di(a)e: *NS*: BONEDIE. *CIL*: BONE DIE. *ILS*: Bone die.

l. 4: proma(gistra?): For the *NS* remarks on this word, see above (note 226). *CIL*: "4 agnoscenda esse mihi videbatur verbi proma ea significatio, cui responderet masculinum promus, sed Rossius certum putat intellegendum pro ma(gistra). Quod si est, credibile ipsam Atiam Pieridem magistram Bonae Deae fuisse." *ILS*: "Promae vocabulum similiter hic usurpari ut alibi saepe masculine promi vocabulum putat Gamurrinius et Bormann." Cf. also Waltzing I, p. 404.[228]

94. Small bronze *lamina*. The piece ends at both sides in a dovetail with holes to fasten it as an *ex voto*. Found together with No. 93.

NS 1881, p. 22 = *CIL* XI 4636 = *ILS* 3493.

Septimia Galla / Alennia Sabina / d(ono) d(ederunt) / Petronia Tertulla / Bonae Deae.

Septimia Galla, Alennia Sabina, and Petronia Tertulla have given this present to Bona Dea.

Imperial Age.

The letters D D are to the left and the right of the rest of the text between lines 2 and 3.

L. Leonij-G. F. Gamurrini in *NS* 1881, p. 22—see above, *ad* No. 93. *CIL*: "incisa in una lastretta di bronzo, con i lati a coda di rondine e con i bucchi per essere affissa." *ILS*: "Prope Tuder rep. loco dicto Elci." See also Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Latte, *RR*, p. 230, note 3 (Latte refers to IX 4636, meaning this one).

---

naires libres, appelés magistri, ont sous leurs ordres des fonctionnaires esclaves sous le nom de ministri." Waltzing continues: "Les cochers de Préneste (cisiariei) ont deux ministri esclaves à côté de deux magistri affranchis; dans un collège inconnu de la même ville, il y a quatre [m]inistr[ei] esclaves et quatre magistrei affranchis; dans un collège d'esclaves et d'affranchis impériaux d'Antium, nous trouvons deux magistri affranchis, deux questeurs et deux ministri esclaves. Ces fonctionnaires libres et serviles figurent côte à côte dans les inscriptions; ils administrent ensemble le collège. On ne les trouve que dans les petites corporations professionnelles à l'époque républicaine. A cette même époque, on rencontre aussi des esclaves parmi les magistri et les curateurs (Cf. p. 346)." See. Nos. 44, 113, 130, 133, 134.

[228] Cf. E. Saglio, *Promagistro ou Promagister* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), p. 680; Waltzing I, p. 404: "... Il est possible que ce promagister (in Waltzing's opinion: "des présidents honoraires, hommes riches et influents ") était spécialement chargé de trancher différends entre confrères: soit seul, soit avec d'autres membres, il aurait formé une sorte de tribunal d'honneur ...;" Cagnat[4], p. 456, does not list PROMA, only PRO MAG *promagister*; Lewis and Short, p. 1466, *s.v. promus,* translate (II): "a giver out, distributor of provisions," without giving a female equivalent; p. 1463, *s.v. promagister* (also without a female equivalent), they translate: "one who presides, rules, etc., in the place of another, a vice-president, vice-regent, vice-director."

l. 4: This is both the *CIL* and *ILS* reading. *NS*: BONAE·DEAE. Possibly, the point is misplaced, and the reading should be BONADEAE, as elsewhere BONADIA (?).

prope **Spoletium-Acquajura**[229]

95. The dedicatory inscription of a *lucus* of Bona Dea. Travertine. "Era in Acquajura villaggio in luogo boscoso a 5 miglia circa al Sud-Est di Spoleto in casa del priore D. Alessandro Martinelli, adoperato come attrezzo per pigiare l'uve. Martinelli donavit Vincentio Gismondi doctori. hic Petro Morellio, qui diu habuit Spoleti, tum transtulit in Eggi[230] dove fu adoperato come piede di un desco di pietra sotto una capanna del giardino annesso alla casa di villeggiatura" (*CIL*).

CIL XI 4767 = *ILS* 3492.

Letter heights: *CIL*: "Ex Tiburtino litteris altis fere v. 4 cent. 4½, v. 5 c. 4."[231]

[Lu]cus Bon(a)e De(a)e / dedicatus ut liceat / per masculos rem/undari permit(tente) Pom[p(eia)?] / com[magi]str(a) ara(m) posu(it) / Ren(atia?) Maxim(a) uxsor Umbr[o]/nis p(rimi)p(ilaris) posit(am?) in vac[uo] / suo.

A sacred grove has been dedicated to Bona Dea. In order that it may be cleansed again by members of the male sex, Renatia Maxima, wife of Umbro, ex-primipilar, has erected this altar, with the approval of the joint magistra *Pompeia. She had it erected on her empty land.*

For the date the form *uxsor* may be an indication (see below).

See besides *CIL*[232] and *ILS*[233], Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Richter, pp. 16-17, No. 53;[234] Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 2; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 4.

l. 1: [Lu]cus: Thus read all sources. Dessau writes *lucus*, with a small *l*. Is it his intention to indicate that the word is not the beginning of the text?. Cf.

---

[229] Cf. *Umbria*, pp. 268-292 (*Spoleto e dintorni*); *pianta* opposite p. 272, *carta* between pp. 176 and 177; *Atlante* 2, 21 F 2.

[230] Cf. *Umbria*, p. 289, *carta* between pp. 176 and 177; *Atlante* 2, 21 F 2.

[231] Why *CIL* mentions only the letter heights of these two lines is not clear to me.

[232] The *CIL* transcription: "Lu]cus bon(a)e de(a)e dedicatus, ut liceat per masculos remundari, permit(tente) Pom[p(..)] com[magi]str(a), ara(m) posu(it) Ren(..ia) Maxim(a) uxsor Umbr[o]nis p(rimi)p(ilaris); posit(a) in va[cuo] suo."

[233] The *ILS* reading: "[lu]cus Bone dee / dedicatus, ut liceat / per masculos rem/undari, permit. Pom.. / com[magi]str., ara. posu. / Ren. Maxim. uxsor Umbr[o]nis p.p.. posit. in va[cuo] suo."

[234] Richter copies these readings, with a few, minor differences of punctuation.

H. Thédenat, *Lucus* (Ἄλσος) in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1351-1356.[235] Gagé, *Matronalia*, pp. 78-79.

Bon(a)e De(a)e: Thus all sources (BONE DEE).

l. 2: dedicatus: Cf. Thédenat, p. 1356; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 469-470.

l. 3-4: per masculos rem/undari: For *remundo* cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1564, who translate: *to cleanse again,* and refer to the only place the verb is found according to them: Maffei, *Museum Veronense* 146. Regarding the need for express permission for males to enter the sacred precinct of the goddess, cf. the literary sources, which repeatedly emphasize the exclusion of men from the Bona Dea cult.

l. 4: permit(tente) Pom[p(eia)?]: *CIL*: "ex. certo fuit M." *ILS*: "Permittente Pompeia?"

l. 5: com[magi]str(a): *CIL*: "5 post CO verisimilius est fuisse M quam N, tum post sparium quattuor fere litterarum cognoscitur SI⊥⅃IRA, ut credibile sit fabrum incidere voluisse STR·ARA." *ILS*: *commagistra (?).* Cf. Waltzing I, pp. 383-405, esp. p. 388,[236] and p. 338.

l. 6: Ren(atia?) Maxim(a): *CIL*: Ren(..ia) Maxim(a); *ILS*: *Ren. Max.*

uxsor: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 2017, *s.v. X, x*: "... By mere graphic variation, one of the constituent sounds of x is often expressed in inscriptions (but not the earliest ...) by an additional c or s". See also above, No. 72, where x is twice written *csh.*

l. 6-7: Umbr[o]/nis p(rimi)p(ilaris): Cf. R. Cagnat, *Primipilus, Primipilaris* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), p. 647: "Ils (i.e. the primipilares) formaient une classe à part que les auteur désignent sous le nom de numerus ... Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'ils avaient le rang de chevalier romain, dont leur pension leur assurait largement le cens."

l. 7: in vac[uo]: *CIL*: "7 ex. videtur esse vestigium litterae rotundae—Supplementum va[cuo] proposuit Mommsen intellegens profanum." *ILS*: "Supplevit Mommsen intellegens de loco profano." Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1951, *s.v. vacuus,* b. Subst. "vacuum: an empty space, an open or vacant place."

Pisaurum-Pesaro[237]

96. Small, round base in sandstone. *Pisauri in museo Olivieriano* (*CIL*).[238]

---

[235] Thédenat, p. 1353, refers to *un bois à Spolète*; cf. ch. II, No. 4 (*32*) (Propertius).

[236] "Il est rare qu'un collège n'ait qu'un seul président .... Entre eux, ils s'appelaient commagistri ou collègues. Schiess fait observer que là où il y en a plus de deux, on ne rencontre pas d'autres fonctionnaires, et il suppose avec assez de vraisemblance que les magistri formaient alors, comme les quatuorviri des municipes, un collège qui se partageait les diverses fonctions."

[237] Cf. E. Ricci-B. Molajoli-P. Romanelli, *Pesaro* in *Enc. Ital.* XXVI (1935), pp. 917-922; G. Annibaldi, *Pesaro* in *EAA* VI (1965), pp. 88-89; I. Zicàri, *Pisaurum* in *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), coll. 1092-1098; G. Radke, *Pisaurum* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), col. 868; *Marche,* pp. 167-190, *pianta* 29; *Atlante* 2, 7 C 3.

[238] Via Mazzo No. 96, Museo-biblioteca Oliveriani; cf. *Marche*, p. 167, *pianta* 29, 2-3 D; *Italy,* Hachette World Guides, Paris, 1965, p. 464.

CIL I^2 2126 (=1426)=*CIL* XI 6304=*ILLRP* 58.

Fannia L(uci) f(ilia) Nasulei / Bonae Deae dat.

Fannia, daughter of Lucius Nasuleius, gives this to Bona Dea.

2nd half 1st cent. B.C.

See, besides the sources referred to above, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071: Latte, *RR*, p. 230, note 3 (Latte refers to *CIL* I^2 2186, but obviously means this inscription).

Ostra-Ostra Vetere
(formerly **Montenovo**)[239]

97. Bronze plaquette. Found January 1636 by the ploughman Bartolomeo Polonio "in ruderibus nel Monte Bonino intorno a due miglia distante verso il vento upocecias." The piece was mentioned as being in the house of the "gonfaloniere capitan Pier Leone Amati" (*CIL*).

CIL XI 6185.

Bonae Deae d(onum) d(edit) / Rufellia L(uci) l(iberta) / Tych(e) mag(istra).

Rufellia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, magistra, *has given this present to Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL*, Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6.

l. 3: mag(istra): See above, No. 27 (In all probability, the *magistra* mentioned in No. 27=*CIL* VI 2238, from Rome, was also called Tyche).

REGIO VII (ETRURIA) [240] **Pisae-Pisa**[241]

98. Small altar in grey stone, *possibilmente da S. Giuliano.*[242] H. 0.165; W. 0.10; of the architrave 0.11, of the plinth 0.105; D. 0.08 m. Found in the alley called *Vicolo del Tidi*, near the Piazzetta S. Margherita.[243] Formerly in the South Arcade of the Campo Santo.

---

[239] Cf. H. Philipp, *Ostra* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), col. 1672; G. Annibaldi, *Ostra* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 796-797; *Marche,* pp. 319-320; *Atlante* 2, 14 B-C 1 (*Ostra*), 13 C 4 (*Ostra Antica; Ostra Vetere*).

[240] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Etruria* in *RE* VI 1 (1907), coll. 720-724; G. Körte-F. Skutsch, *Etrusker, ibidem,* coll. 730-806; Taylor, *Etruria*: G. Radke, *Etruria* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 382-383; *Toscana.*

[241] Cf. A. Mori-M. Marangoni-F. Arnaldi-A. Solari-G. B. Picotti, *Pisa* in *Enc. Ital.* XXVII (1935), pp. 392-405; Luisa Banti, *Pisae* in *RE* XX 2 (1950), coll. 1756-1772; P. E. Arias, *Pisa* in *EAA* VI (1965), pp. 193-195; G. Radke, *Pisae* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 867-868; *Toscana,* pp. 117-160; plan p. 857; *Atlante* 2, 9 A 2; see also Taylor, *Etruria*, pp. 217-223 (16. *Pisae and Luca*).

[242] Information by the staff of the Campo Santo at Pisa. I surmise that S. Guiliano Terme is meant, cf. *Atlante* 2, 9 A 2.

Pisa, Campo Santo, depository, Inv. ant. 1. U—Inv. mod. No. 147.

CIL XI 1413 = *II* VII 1, 1.

Letter heights: l. 1: 14; l. 2: : 14; l. 3: *ca.* 10 (the lettering of this line is rather irregular); l. 4: 10 mm.

Sulpicia / C(ai) lib(erta) / Saturnina / B(onae) D(eae) d(ono) d(edit).

Sulpicia Saturnina, freedwoman of Gaius, has presented Bona Dea with this (small altar).

2nd half 1st cent. A.D. (*II*).

Cf. *CIL* and *II* with the previous sources, and R. Papini, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia, PISA*, ser, I, Fasc. II, Pars II, Roma (1914), p. 110, No. 199.[244] Taylor, *Etruria,* pp. 218-219.[245]

Sutrium-Sutri[246]

99. Marble slab, without data except *Sutri in aedibus Flacchi* (*CIL*).

CIL XI 3243 = *ILS* 3509.

Letter heights: l. 1: 0.06; l. 2: 0.04; l. 3: 0.04 m.

D(ecimus) Rupilius L(uci) [f(ilius)] O[uf(entina)?] / Bonae Deae Regi[nae] / Triumphali v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

Decimus Rupilius, son of Lucius, of the tribus Oufentina (?), *has fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea Regina Triumphalis, willingly and justly.*

Early 1st cent. A.D. (?—see below, Cagnat4).

See, besides *CIL* and *ILS*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "forse per identificazione con Iside, che ha gli stessi epiteti nella lapide C. VI 355."[247] Hey,

---

[243] The site is not to be found on the plan, *Toscana*, p. 857, neither are the two names in the register, pp. 858-859.

[244] Papini lists the known inscriptions but fragmentarily: SULPICIA C. LIB. SATURNINA, "L'inventario del 1833 afferma che "fu levata di sopra a una porta di una rimessa nella strada che dalla Piazza S. Margherita conduce lung'Arno"."

[245] (Under the heading *MINOR CULTS*) "Dedications, which do not indicate an official cult, are preserved for CERES (*CIL* XI 1414). ... FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA (*CIL* XI 1415). ...BONA DEA (reference to our inscription)."

[246] Cf. H. Philipp, *Sutrium* in *RE* IV A 1 (1932), coll. 995-996; Maria Modigliani-P. Sestieri-I. C. Gavini-G. Colasanti, *Sutri* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXIII (1937), p. 31; G. Cressedi, *Sutri* in *EAA* VII (1966), p. 573; *Lazio,* pp. 163-165, *carta* opposite p. 112; *Atlante* 2, 26 F 2.

[247] *CIL* VI 355: Cn Domitius Cn. f. Firmus / sacerdos / Isidi Triumphali / basim ...; cf. Malaise, *Inventaire*, p. 116, No. 15.

Bona Dea, p. 2071 (*cum nominibus aliarum dearum: i. Isidi?*). Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 9; Latte, *RR*, p. 231.

l. 1: *CIL*: "1. ex. inter L et O est vestigium litterae erasae, quam mihi constabat fuisse F aut E; probabilius videtur fuisse quod proposuit Zangemeister L. [f.] O[uf.], quam L[e]o." *ILS*: o..., without further comment. Cf. Cagnat4, p. 448.

l. 2-3: Bonae Deae Regi[nae] / Triumphali: *CIL*: "Garrucius nimis acute cognomina deae orta esse conicit a cognomine Rupilii alicuius Regis (cf. Horat. sat. 1, 7)[248] et ex triumpho P. Rupilii consulis acto a.u.c. 623.[249] Observavit Zangemeister Iunonem reginam notam esse, Isidi autem et cognomen Reginae et Triumphalis (vol. VI n. 355) tribui." The latter *I* of *Triumphali* is twice as high as the other letters of this line, which could be an indication for the date; cf. Cagnat4, pp. 16-17.[250]

Vetus Urbs (?)-
Viterbo[251]

100. Small base in *peperino, trovata in Paliano* (*CIL*).[252] Without further relevant data.

CIL XI 2996.

Bon(ae) De/ae Aug(ustae) / Valeria / Victori/na d(onum) d(edit).

Valeria Victorina has given this as a present to Bona Dea Augusta.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *ILS*, Taylor, *Etruria*, p. 104.[253]

l. 3-5: Valeria / Victori/na: This is the *CIL* reading. Taylor: *Valeria Victoria.*

---

[248] Horace, *Sermones*, I vii 1: "Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum," and *passim* in the same poem.

[249] *Cos.* 132 B.C. (=A.U.C. 622); cf. Broughton I, pp. 497-498.

[250] "Dans les textes les plus anciens, la lettre I se représente sous la forme d'une haste verticale sans pied ni tête; mais ces deux appendices se remarquent déjà, sur quelques inscriptions, au commencement du Ier siècle. Le I dépassant la ligne, qui était depuis l'époque de Sylla un équivalent de la diphthongue ei, perdit bientôt cette signification et devint simplement un signe d'écriture, sans rapport avec la valeur de la voyelle; on le rencontre aussi bien au génitif DIVI, qu'au datif CAESARI, qu'à l'ablatif COMITI|S, et à l'accusatif SAECVLAR|S. On le trouve également dans des mots comme |MP, |N, où on ne peut l'expliquer en aucune manière. Ce n'est donc là qu'une habitude graphique."

[251] Cf. Taylor, *Etruria*, pp. 103-104 (*Sorrinenses-Viterbo*); *Lazio*, pp. 192-222, *pianta* opposite p. 192, *carta* between pp. 112 and 113; *Atlante* 2, 26 D 1-2.

[252] Cf. *Lazio*, p. 400, *carta* between pp. 376 and 377; *Atlante* 2, 33 E 4.

[253] "Perhaps from this community (i.e. *Vetus Urbs*, cf. p. 103 and note 251 above) comes a dedication to the goddess (2996):" follows the reading as shown above but for *Victoria*.

Forum Clodii-
near Bracciano[254]

101. Marble plaquette. The text gives instructions how to celebrate the birthday of Divine Augustus, that of the Emperor Tiberius, and of Augusta (Livia), and regulations for these birthdays, all applying to the inhabitants of a *vicus* in the territory of Forum Clodii, named after Bona Dea and distinguished from the town proper, whose inhabitants were defined as *Claudienses urbani* (cf. *CIL* XI 3310a). The inscription comes from that place, and seems to have travelled quite a lot (cf. *CIL*).

Florence, Palazzo Ridolfi, 13 via Maggio (?).[255]

CIL XI 3303 = *ILS* 154.

Ti(berio) Caesare tert(ium) Germanico Caesare iter(um) co(n)s(ulibus) / Cn(aeo) Acceio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Rufo Lutatio T(ito) Petillio P(ubli) f(ilio) Qui(rina) IIvir(is) / decreta / aediculam et statuás hás hostiam dedicationi victimae natali Aug(usti) VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) duae quae p(er)p(etuo) / inmolari adsueta[e] sunt ad aram quae Numini Augusto dedic(ata) est VIIII et VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) / inmolentur ..... item natali Ti(beri) Caesaris perpetue acturi decuriones / et populus cenarent ..... quam inpensam Q(uinto) Cascell[i]o Labeone / in perpetuo(m) pollicenti ut gratiae agerentur munificentiae eius ..... eoque / natali ut quotannis vitulus inmolaretur / et ut natalibus Augusti et Ti(beri) Caesarum priusquam ad vescendum / decuriones irent thure et vino Genii eorum ad epulandum ara / Numinis Augusti invitarentur / ara(m) Numini Augusto pecunia nostra faciendam curavimus ludos / ex idibus Augustis diebus sex p(ecunia) n(ostra) faciendos curavimus / natali Augustae mulsum et crustlum mulieribus vicanis ad / Bonam Deam pecunia nostra dedimus / item dedicatione statuarum Caesarum et Augustae mulsum et crustla / pecunia nostra decurionib(us) et populo dedimus perpetuoque eius die / dedicationis daturo(s) nos testati sumus quem diem quo frequentior quod/annis sit servabimus VI Idus Martias qua die / Ti(berius) Caesar Pontif(ex) Maximus felicissime est creatus.

Under the third consulship of Tiberius Caesar and the second consulship of Germanicus Caesar, under the duumvirate of Gnaeus Acceius Rufus Lutatius, son of Gnaeus, of the tribus Arnensis, *and of Titus Petillius, son of Publius, of the* tribus Quirina, *the decree has been issued: This shrine and these statues,*

---

[254] Cf. *CIL* XI (1901), p. 502; E. Weiss, *Forum Clodi* (1) in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 65-66; G. Maetzke, *Forum Clodii* in *EAA* III (1960), pp. 727-728; G. Radke, *Forum* (1) in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 601-603 (602: *Forum Clodi*); *Lazio*, pp. 150-158, esp. p. 155, *carta* between pp. 96 and 97; *Atlante* 2, 31 A 4; see also Taylor, *Etruria*, pp. 132-137.

[255] According to both *CIL* and *ILS* the monument is in Florence. When visiting the palazzo Ridolfi there, the family appeared to be *al mare*, and though the servants were as kind as to show me round I was unable to find the piece.

a sacrificial animal for the dedication. That two victims, such as always used to be sacrificed, be sacrificed on the birthday of Augustus, 24 September, on the altar consecrated to the Divinity of the Imperial House, on 23 and 24 September --- Furthermore, that on the birthday of the Emperor Tiberius the members of the municipal Senate—under the obligation to always do so—and the people banquet --- Quintus Cascellius promises to incur the expense, and this for ever, so that gratitude may be shown to his munificence --- and that on that birthday annually a bull-calf be sacrificed, and that on the birthdays of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, before the members of the municipal Senate sit down to dinner, the Tutelar Deities of the Emperors be invited, with incense and wine, to dine at the altar of the Divinity of the Imperial House. At our own expense we have had the altar to the Divinity of the Imperial House built; we have had the public games organized, at our own expense, from 13 August for six days; on the birthday of the Empress we have treated the women of the Bona Dea quarter to mead and cakes, at our own expense; moreover: on the occasion of the dedication of the statues of the Emperors and the Empress, we have treated the members of the municipal Senate and the people to mead and cakes, at our own expense, and we have solemnly declared to do so for ever on the day of that dedication. So that that day annually might be celebrated by more people (?), we shall reserve 10 March, on which day the Emperor Tiberius most auspiciously was created High Pontiff.

A.D. 18.

See, besides *CIL* with the previous sources and *ILS*, Taylor, *Etruria*, pp. 132-137 (FORUM CLODI); Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 209-210; 212; 215; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 224, note 132.

l. 1: Thus *CIL* and *ILS*. Taylor suggests a lacuna by the transcription *Co(n)s[ulibus]*. All sources agree on the date, A.D. 18.

l. 2: Arn(ensi): The *CIL* transcription is *Arn(ensis)*; *ILS*: *Arn(iensi)*; Taylor: *Arn(ensi)*.Cf. J. W. Kubitschek, *Arnensis* in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 1204-1205; 1205: "Die seltenere Nebenform Arniensis ..."; V. Chapot, *Tribus* in *DA* V (n.d.), pp. 423-430, esp. 426, for the orthography of the name: "... Arnensis (parfois Arniensis)."

IIvir(is): Cf. No. 55, *ad* l. 1.

l. 4: aediculam et statuás hás hostiam dedicationi: Cf. Taylor, p. 134: "The obscure phrases aediculam et statuas has and hostiam dedicationi are probably the opening words of chapters of the decree that are not quoted. The statues must be those of the Caesars and Augusta (Livia) referred to later." (Cf. *CIL*: "Quae vv. 4-12 incisa sunt, ita videntur ex decreto decurionum excerpta esse ut multa vel omitterentur vel breviarentur, maxime, ut monuit

Mommsen, verbis *aediculam et statuas has* et *hostiam dedicationi* rubricae solae capitum exprimerentur").

l. 11: Genii eorum: *CIL*: "cernitur in lapide GEN | IOS EORVM, scilicet, cum incisum esset GENIOS, correctum est in GENI |."

l. 13-21: *CIL*: "Quae sunt vv. 13-21 adiecerunt duoviri".

l. 15: Piccaluga, *l.c.*, referring to the decree that the women on the birthday of the Empress shall be treated to mead and cakes, thinks it a "parallelismo, questo, assai notevole, specie se si tien conto del fatto che nel giorno del loro compleanno le donne sacrificavano di norma alla iuno."

mulsum et crustlum: Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1170, *s.v. mulceo*, II B 2: "mulsum (sc. vinum); honey-wine, mead, i.e. wine mixed or made with honey;" p. 485, *s.v. crustulum*: "small pastry, confectionery.

l. 15-16: mulieribus vicanis ad / Bonam Deam: Cf. above, No. 67, *ad* l. 5 (*Bonadiensium*). The word *vicanis* makes an interpretation easier. Cf. Taylor, pp. 132-133.[256]

Horta (Hortanum?)-Orte[257]

101'. Altar in travertine. H. 0.73; W. 0.39; D. 0.365; base 0.48 × 0.48 m. "Rinvenuta alcuni anni fa, durante lavori agricoli, in un punto non precisabile dell'area di Seripola. Mancante della parte superiore del tronco e del coronamento; scalpellata in più parti e molto corrosa; sulla fronte lo zoccolo è tagliato a filo del listello inferiore. --- La base è costituita da uno zoccolo sormontato da una modanatura, che si compone di due listelli sulla fronte e continua sulle facce laterali col solo listello inferiore. Sulla faccia laterale destra una patera umbilicata a bassorilievo: la sinistra (apparentemente rilavorata) è liscia; quella posteriore grezza. Tracce di lavorazione a gradina. Sulla fronte iscrizione su quattro righe, lacunosa e mancante della parte iniziale" (Nardi).

Nardi 59.

Letter heights: 35, 35, 45, 45 mm.

...... / [B]onae Deae / [I]siacae spir[ae] / impe(rio) / d(onum) d(edit).

---

[256] "... Within the territory of Forum Clodi there was a vicus ad Bonam Deam (3303), the inhabitants of which (or vicani) were distinguished from those who dwelt within the city limits (Claudienses urbani, 3310a)." Under the heading BONA DEA, Taylor states, p. 133: "The vicus ad Bonam Deam must have taken its name from a shrine or temple of the goddess who was elsewhere honored in vici or pagi." In note 1, she refers to (my) Nos. 113 and 89, and to *Ostia*, p. 28 (see above, *ad* No. 67). Under the heading CULT OF THE EMPERORS, pp. 133-137, she refers to the inscription in question as "The most important document of the imperial cult as practised in municipalities during the reign of Tiberius ...."

[257] Cf. *Lazio*, pp. 230-231, *carta* between pp. 224 and 225; *Atlante* 2, 26 C 3.

(?) *has given this as a present to Bona Dea, by order of the sodality named Isiaca.*

Imperial Age.

l. 3: Nardi reads [I]SIACAE SPIR[A] and considers *Isiacae* an epithet of Bona Dea, *spira* the subject of *d. d.*[258] I suggest the reading as shown above: the subject a name (now lost) in line 1, and *Isiacae spirae* attributive to *imperio.*

For *spira* see above, No. 24.[259]

Lucus Feroniae-Church of S. Antimo near Nazzano[260]

102. Inscription recording the dedication of a silver mirror to the goddess. From the church of S. Antimo near Nazzano. Lost.

CIL XI 3866.

[..]lia Proc[ula] / Annia Veneri[a] / magis(trae) Bonae [Deae] / specul(um) arg(enteum) p(ondo) [..] / [eade]m (?) dedicavit / [Anto]nino Aug(usto) / co(n)s(ule).

... Procula and Annia Veneria, magistrae *of Bona Dea, have presented (the goddess) with a silver mirror* (?), *weighing .... She also* (?) *has dedicated ..., under the consulship of the Emperor Antoninus.*

A.D. 138 (see below, *ad.* l. 7).

---

[258] "L'iscrizione, purtroppo mutila, costituisce un'ulteriore testimonianza delle connessioni fra il culto bacchico e quello delle divinità egizie, del resto ampiamente documentate nel clima di sincretismo filosofico-religioso affermatosi soprattutto sotto gli Antonini e i Severi.—Il soggetto dedicante è una *spira*, forse la più diffusa associazione del culto di Bacco, soprattutto in Italia, e il cui carattere rimane ancora per molti versi oscuro.—Abbastanza indefinito anche il carattere della *Bona Dea*, spesso identificata con varie divinità, e qui appellata *Isiaca*. Il termine sembra infatti da riferire alla divinità, sebbene non risulti mai attestato con tale valore, indicando, nelle non numerose iscrizioni in cui compare, quasi esclusivamente i sacerdoti o le sacerdotesse d'Iside o comunque gli iniziati al culto. E probabile che in questa Bona Dea *Isiaca* sia da vedere la stessa Iside. Considerandone anche il carattere di protettrice della navigazione, potrebbe forse avere un particolare significato il luogo in cui l'ara è stata rinvenuta, certo legato anche all'attività fluviale del Tevere.—La formula *impe(rio),* posta in evidenza al centro della penultima riga, sta ad indicare che il dono da parte della *spira* è avvenuto per volontà o intervento della divinità stessa."

[259] I do not consider my solution completely satisfactory but think a *spira Isiaca,* with the inherent difficulties, to be preferred to a *Bona Dea Isiaca,* which would be a strange phenomenon in the nomenclature of both Bona Dea and Isis.

[260] Cf. *CIL* XI (1901), pp. 569-571 ("LXXI. CAPENA tribu Stellatina. LVCVS FERONIAE tribu Voltinia (Morlupo. Rignano. Nazzano")); Ch. Hülsen, *Capena* in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1505-1506; G. Bendinelli, *Capena* in *Enc. Ital.* VIII (1930), p. 834; L. Rochetti, *Capena* in *EAA* II (1959), pp. 309-320; G. Radke, *Capena* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 1041; *Lazio*, pp. 248-252, *carta* between pp. 112 and 113; *Atlante* 2, 32 A 3 (*Capena; Lucus Feroniae*), 27 F 1 (*Nazzano*); see also Lily Ross Taylor, *The Site of Lucus Feroniae* in *JRS* X (1920), pp. 29-36: *Etruria*, pp. 47-59 (*Lucus Feroniae*).

See, besides *CIL*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014: "Tra le cose dedicate sono nominate a preferenza, come di solito, edicole ed are. Ad oggetti di culto accennano solo poche lapidi" (follow as instances No. 115, this inscription, and No. 69); Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 6; Taylor, *Etruria,* p. 56.

l. 3: *CIL*: "Lege 3 magis(trae) Bonae [deae]." See above, No. 27.

l. 4: Thus *CIL*. Taylor suggests a lacuna between *Bonae* (l. 3) and *p(ondo).*

l. 5: [eade]m (?): *CIL*: "fortasse fuit [*eade*]*m*." Taylor reads *.a ... dedicavit.*

l. 6-7: *CIL*: "ANTONINO Tom. supplens, recte ut videtur." COS occupies a central position in l. 7, and the line seems to be undamaged. Antoninus was *consul ordinarius* for the first time in 120, but then the title *Augustus* was not yet his. In 139 he was Emperor and consul for the second time. So I suggest A.D. 138 as the date of this inscription. Cf. Cagnat^4, p. 197; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius,* erster Band: *Historisch-politische Darstellungen*, Prag, MCMXXXVI (Reprint New York 1975), p. 62.

The following Nos. 103, (104), (105), (106), all seem to be dedications to *Bona Dea Sepernas* and come from the same place as No. 102. Since only No. 103 shows part of the usual appellation of the goddess the other Nos. are put inside brackets.

103. Opisthographic inscription, "nella parte rovescia a caratteri grandi bellissimi, Nazzani in eccl. S. Anthimi" (*CIL*).
Nazzano, Church of S. Antimo (?).

CIL XI 3867.

Bona[e Deae(?).

Dedicated to Bona Dea (?).

CIL: ".... De Rossi cogitavit de Bona[e deae". Hey, *Bona Dea* p. 2071; Taylor, , *Etruria,* p. 56: "To the same goddess (i.e. Bona Dea) are probably to be assigned five fragmentary inscriptions all of which seem once to have been in the church of S. Antimo.[261] One of them consists simply of a word Bona which in connection with the occurrence of magistrae in another is probably to be interpreted as a reference to Bona Dea."

---

[261] Note 69: "3867-80, 7765. 3867 and 3868 are still in the church. 3869, 3870 and 7765 are now in the monastery of S. Paul outside the walls of Rome, but the first two inscriptions are known to have come from Nazzano, and 3870 certainly and 3869 probably were in the church of S. Antimo."

(104). Three fragments of a dedication. Without any data except "Nazzani in eccl. S. Anthimi" (*CIL*).

Nazzano, Church of S. Antimo (?).

CIL XI 3868.

.... / [Bonae Deae (?) Se]pernati / [et] Numini e/ius ded(icavit) VIII Kal(endas) Ian(uarias) / Imp(eratore) Dom(ino) n(ostro) Alexan/dro Aug(usto) co(n)s(ule) / curam agen(tibus) T(ito) [Flavio?] / [For]tunato C[.......] / [.......]o qui et Diom[edes?] / et T(ito) Memmi[o quaesto?]/ribus pec(unia).

(The dedicant) *has dedicated to Bona Dea (?) Sepernas and her Divine Will on 25 December, under the consulship of the Emperor, Our Lord, His Majesty Alexander, Titus Flavius* (?) *Fortunatus and* (.......) *being presidents, and* (.....) *Diomedes and Titus Memmius treasurers* (?), *at the expense of* (?).

A.D. 222.

CIL ad 3867-3870: "Tituli n. 3867-3870 fortasse omnes dedicati erant Bonae deae Sepernati; nomen autem Sepernas esse ethnicon, scilicet vici vel pagi alicuius, probabiliter statuit Rossius."[262]

Taylor, *Etruria*, p. 56: "In four of the inscriptions is found a proper name Seperna, Sepernati (from a probable nominative Sepernas) which may be a local epithet of Bona Dea, who very readily absorbed other titles. But the meaning of the epithet which does not occur elsewhere remains a mystery. There is little support for the view of De Rossi who believed that civitas Sepernatium was the name of the settlement at S. Antimo. Aside from the unlikelihood that the name of a site of such importance should have left no other record, there are, as we have seen, strong reasons for placing Lucus Feroniae at S. Antimo.[263]

l. 1: There are traces of one, possibly two letters.
l. 3-4: e/ius ded(icavit): *CIL*: "Traditur 4b IV ƨVSY."
l. 5: *CIL*: "Traditur 5 b ex DOλ, a ∧ ...." n(ostro) is written N̄.
l. 5-6: For the date, A.D. 222, cf. Cagnat^4, p. 213.
l. 7: *CIL*: "Traditur 7 b CVRλMA, a C'', c∖AM·AGEN·T, ut videatur qui delineavit litteras, quarum vestigia cognovit, supplevisse ... Adscripsi aliquot supplementa quae proposuit Rossius."
l. 8: C[.......]: Possibly the *praenomen* (Caius) and lost *nomen* of the second *curam agens.*

---

[262] "Eiusdem fortasse radicis Bücheler monuit esse nomen Dalmatiae, memoratum a Plinio, n. h. 3, 142 (petunt ... Separi) et Ptolemaeo 3, 16, 5 (Σιπαροῦντον)."

[263] Cf. Lily Ross Taylor, *The Site of Lucus Feroniae* in *JRS* X (1920), pp. 29-36.

l. 10: *CIL* reads: ET·T MEMMIO. curato, adding: "potest fuisse etiam [quaesto]ribus."
T(ito) Memmi[o: It seems probable that the *cognomen* of T. Memmius is lost.

(105). Fragment of a marble slab. Found at Nazzano.
Rome. S. Paolo fuori le Mura (?).

CIL XI 3869.

Letter heights: l. 1-2: 2; l. 3: ca 1.5 cm.

[S]epernati / [ma]gistra / [..]a de suo refe[cit].

To Sepernas. The magistra .... *has rebuilt* (...), *at her own expense.*

CIL: "... Rep. Nazzani; iam est in monasterio S. Pauli extra muros PALM. Ibi adhuc."

l. 2: See above, No. 27.

l. 3: [..]a: *CIL* suggests letter rests before A.

(106). Fragment of a marble slab. "Nazzani in ecclesia S. Anthimi, iam in coenobio S. Pauli extra muros PALMIERI. Ibi adhuc" (*CIL*).
Rome, S. Paolo fuori le Mura (?).

CIL XI 3870.

Letter heights: 2 or 2½ cm.

[..]epote di/[..] Seperna / [..]rum.

..... *Seperna* .....

See, besides *CIL*, Taylor, *Etruria*, p. 56, note 69.

l. 1-2: *CIL*: "Lacunas vv. 1.2 ex. significat Cost. non recte."
l. 1: *CIL*: " EP OTE·DI ego, EP OTI·DI Palm., ʃ POTI·TI Henzen ex ectypo, Γ·OTTEIDI... Cost."
l. 2: *CIL*: "incisum est S C PERNA, non SIPERNA quod exhibent Cost. Palm."
l. 3: *CIL*: "ORVM Henzen ex ectypo,—RVM Palm., secundum extypum videtur esse—RVM—; RVM Cost."

REGIO VIII (CISPADANA) [264]

Forum Cornelii-Imola[265]

---

[264] Cf. H. Philipp, *Padus* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2178-2202.
[265] Cf. E. Weiss, *Forum Corneli* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 66-67; R. Galli, *Imola* in *Enc. Ital.*

107. Altar in the form of a short column. H. 1.05 m. The column has an outlet at either side. A rectangular plinth forms the base, a circular wreath the top. In the wreath, corresponding with one of the sides of the plinth, is a plaquette of a parallelepipedal form on which the inscription was written. The material is Histrian stone.

NS 1926, p. 40.

Letter heights: l. 1: 20; l. 2: 25-27 mm.

B(onae) D(eae) d(edit) / Sergia C(ai) f(ilia) Fabia Marcellina.

Sergia Fabia Marcellina, daughter of Gaius, has given this (altar) to Bona Dea.

2nd cent. A.D. (*NS*).

A. Negrioli in *NS* 1926, p. 40. One of two inscriptions found in the town centre,[266] the other being a dedication (Negrioli, pp. 40-41): *P. Sextilius / Theptus / v(otum) s(olvit) / Sanctissim(is) / Faunib(us) / c(um) s(uis).* This inscription also dates from the 2nd cent., and since it was found in the same place as the Bona Dea altar gives useful information about the relation Bona Dea-Faunus.

l. 1: B(onae) D(eae): For the form of the B, cf. Negrioli (quoted in note 266).

REGIO X (VENETIA ET HISTRIA)[267]

Aquileia-Aquileia[268]

XVIII (1933), pp. 899-901; G. A. Mansuelli, *Imolà* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 121-122; G. Radke, *Forum* (1) in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 601-603 (602: *Forum Corneli*); *Emilia-Romagna*, pp. 579-587, *pianta* opposite p. 664, *carta* between pp. 576 and 577; *Atlante* 1, 57 F 3.

[266] "Altro scavo profondo in altra località della città (il giardino della Birreria Pasetti, di proprietà del. sig. geom. Nullo Gardelli) mise in luce un enorme scarico di pietrisco d'età romana, in mezzo al quale si rinvennero due monumentini in pietra d'Istria inscritti." Follow the description and reading of our inscription. Negrioli continues: "È da rilevare che nella faccia superiore detta ara mostra una cavità cilindrica (diam. m. 0.38) che scende fino a 28 centimetri di profondità, e che intorno a detta cavità girano un listello, con sei tacche quadrangolari equidistanti, e un canaletto; canaletto e tacche dovevano servire per incastrare e fissare un coperchio a chiusura del cavo cilindrico. In detta ara, nella cui iscrizione le due prime lettere sono da interpretare BONAE DEAE, sono da rilevare la forma a colonetta, piuttosto rara del monumento, e la grafia del B della prima riga."

[267] Cf. E. Weiss, *Histria* in *RE* VIII 2 (1913), coll. 2111-2116; F. Von Duhn-F. Messerschmidt, *Italische Gräberkunde* II, Heidelberg, 1939, pp. 10-160 (*Die Veneter*); *Veneto; Friúli-Venezia Giulia.*

[268] Cf. *CIL* V 1 (1872), pp. 78-84; Ch. Hülsen, *Aquileia* (1) in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 318-320; Calderini, esp. ch. II: *La Religione*; pp. 118-122 (*Bona Dea*); Valnea Scrinari, *Aquileia* in *EAA* I (1958), pp. 511-520; G. Radke, *Aquileia* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 478-479;Valnea Scrinari, *Guida di Aquileia*, Milano, 1970²; G. Brusin, *Aquileia e Grado, Guida breve,* Padova, 1973 (Decima edizione riveduta a cura di Dina Dalla Barba Brusin); *Friúli-Venezia Giulia,* pp. 283-305,

108. Dedicatory inscription. *Aquileiae apud Capodaglium (CIL)*. The last line, with the name of the dedicant (?), is missing.

CIL V 756 = Calderini No. 1.

Bonae / Deae Aug(ustae) / sacrum / .....

Dedicated to Bona Dea Augusta.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL* and Calderini, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 4; Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 30.

109. Slab in grey Histrian stone. H. 0.48; W. 1.275 m; D. cannot be measured as the slab has been fixed to the wall. The piece is somewhat damaged at the upper part. It was formerly in the church of S. Stefano.[269] Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, in the wall "AQUILEIA", without Reg. No.

CIL V 757 = *ILS* 4894 = Calderini No. 9.

Letter heights: l. 1: 55; l. 2-3: 50; l. 4-5: 45 mm.

Aninia M(arci) f(ilia) Magna et / Seia Ionis et Cornelia Ephyre / magistrae B(onae) D(eae) / porticum restituerunt et / aediculam Fonionis.

Aninia Magna, daughter of Marcus, and Seia Ionis and Cornelia Ephyre, magistrae *of Bona Dea, have rebuilt the portico, and the shrine of Fonio.*

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, *ILS*, and Calderini, p. 119, No. 9, also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "A relazione del suo (i.e. Bona Dea's) culto con quello di Fauno non accennano forse che due iscrizioni di Aquileja, qualora con Fauno si debba identificare il Fonio menzionatovi"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, , *RKR*, p. 218 and note 4; Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 27, note 1; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155.

l. 1: Aninia: *CIL* enumerates a series of variations, but without any doubt *Aninia* is the correct reading.

l. 2: Seia Ionis: Another dedication erected by Seia Ionis is known from Aquileia: *CIL* V 758 = *ILS* 4895 = Calderini No. 10; it comes from the same

---

pianta opposite p. 288, *carta* between pp. 304 and 305; *Atlante* 1, 36 B 2; cf. also Sticotti. *Epigrafi*, p. 244.

[269] This church to the North of Aquileia has long since disappeared. The piece was also mentioned as being in the ruins of the same church, or in the house of Dr. S Zanini, afterwards the property of Zandonati.

place as the Bona Dea inscription (cf. *CIL*: "extra Aquileiam nell'angolo di una casa verso ponente posta presso S. Stefano CAPODAGLIO"), reading: Fonioni / sac(rum) / Seia Ionis / mag(istra) / d(onum) d(edit).

Cornelia Ephyre: *CIL*: "CORNELIA PHYRE Guerra, CORNELIA EPHIRAE Zand." The correct reading is *Cornelia Ephyre.*

l. 3: magistrae: See above, No. 27.

l. 4: porticum: Cf. Calderini, p. 120: "Non c'è dubbio che un tempio alla Bona dea esistesse in Aquileia come ci attestano sicuramente due iscrizioni (Nos. 4 and 5 of Calderini's list, below Nos. 112 and 113), tempio circondato probabilmente di un portico (n. 9) e contenente una *aedicula* di Fonione (n. 9) e un'ara delle Parche (n. 6 = below No. 115)."

l. 5: Fonionis: See H. Steuding, *Fonio* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), col. 1496;[270] M. Ihm, *Fonio* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), col. 2838;[271] Calderini, p. 121;[272] Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 27.[273]

110. Dedicatory inscription. "Origine opinor Aquileiensis ... Hodie desideratur" (*CIL*).

CIL V 759 = *ILS* 3497 = Calderini No. 2.

Auribus / B(onae) D(eae) d(edit) / Petrusia / Proba / magistra / Galgesti / Hermerot(i).

To the ears of Bona Dea. The magistra *Petrusia Proba has given this for Galgestis Hermeros.*

Imperial Age.

---

[270] Steuding only has to impart that Fonio is a deity worshipped at Aquileia, and refers to our inscription and to *CIL* V 758 (cf. *ad* l. 2). He states that since the dedications were made by *magistrae* of Bona Dea we may assume that Fonio, like Fones (plur.), is but a variant of the name Faunus.

[271] Ihm emphasizes the importance of the Bona Dea cult at Aquileia and the goddess's relations with Fonio. He rejects Steuding's theory that Fonio be a variant of Faunus.

[272] "Per quanto riguarda Fonio siamo anche più poveri di informazioni, perchè le uniche citazioni, in cui appare il nome di questo dio sono le Aquileiesi, da cui peraltro risulta che il suo culto riservato a una speciale *aedicula* era ospitato nel tempio stesso della Bona dea e coltivato dalle stesse *magistrae*, come vedremo."

[273] "Tra gli antichissimi numi indigeti del Lazio due particolarmente continuarono ad avere culto popolare in Aquileia, Fauno et Fauna, non però con il loro primo nome italico, scomparso dall'uso, ma con l'appellativo Silvano per l'uno e con l'epiteto e l'invocazione Bona Dea per l'altra, i quali furono in voga durante tutta l'antichità. --- *Faunus* è sopravissuto nella voce *Fonio*? Lo farebbe supporre l'affinità dei due culti per il fatto che in Aquileia si hanno dediche fatte a Fonione da sacerdotesse della Bona Dea (references to *CIL* V 757 and 758, and to R. Paribeni, *Fonio* in *DE*). D'altra parte vi si oppone il rito dei due culti, rigorosamente maschile l'uno e femminile l'altro, così che in codesto problematico Fonio, documentato soltanto in Aquileia, dovremo piuttosto ravvisare una divinità indigena preromana, come Beleno, Timavo e altre, la quale avrà avuto un'edicola accanto o entro un santuario della Bona Dea."

CIL: "... Quam Gudius proposuit interpretationem: auribus B(onae) d(eae) d(edit), eam commendant tituli qui sequuntur, nec in hac cogitare licet de Beleno deo propter sacerdotem feminam. Ceterum etsi inaures deabus non ita raro dedicantur (...), tamen haec eiusmodi dedicationis forma adhuc quod sciam sine exemplo est nec satis certa." Calderini, p. 120: "Un epiteto *aurita* si potrebbe imaginare sull'analogia di *oclata*, che si trova in altra iscrizione, per l'epigrafe dedicatoria *auribus Bonae deae*, che allude al potere salutare di questa divinità nei riguardi delle malattie auricolari; un esempio analogo di dedicazione *Auribus Aesculapii et Hygiae* e un rilievo votivo di Arelate in cui sono rappresentate orecchie (see below, No. 130) assicurano la retta interpretazione dell'epigrafe che stiamo studiando." Richter, p. 16, No. 52. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 1, 4, and 6. Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014: "Curiosa è la dedicazione .... probabilmente si saranno donati degli orecchini." Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 30-31: "Da ultimo la dedica di un'altra magistra *Auribus Bonae Deae,* interpretata dubitativamente dal Mommsen nel senso di un dono di orecchini offerto alla dea, simboleggia piuttosto la speranza che la divinità porga orecchio alla preghiera e esaudisca il voto della supplice." Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

l. 1: See, besides the above information, No. 130 (= *CIL* XII 654), an altar dedicated to Bona Dea and decorated with a pair of ears with ear-rings, and No. (131) (= *CIL* XII 656). Cf. Turcan, pp. 57-58, planche XI. Cf. also an elegiac distich from Epidaurus (*CIL* III Suppl. 7266 = 3853: AURES DUAE): *Cutius has auris Gallus tibi voverat olim / Phoebigena et posuit sanus ab auriculis.*
l. 5: magistra: See above, No. 27.
l. 6-7: All sources read *Hermerot.*

111. Fragmentary dedicatory inscription. *Pietra di Aurisina*, grey stone. H. 0.375; W. 0.58; D. 0.16 m. These are the dimensions of the fragment seen by me. The inscription stands in a frame ending to the left in a dovetail with a flower in the middle.

Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Inv. No. 2002.

CIL V 760 = Calderini No. 3.

Letter heights: l. 1: 55; l. 2: 40-45; l. 3: 38; l. 4: 35 mm.

The *CIL* reading, on the authority of the older sources—three fragments, of which only the left part remained:

Augustae B[onae Deae?] / Castrensi ex [......] / Feronia Libani lib(erta) [........] / Ti(berius) Claudius Stephan[us lib(ertus)].

The present fragment:

Augus...... / Castre...... / Feronia Li...... / Ti Claudiu......

To Bona Dea Castrensis. Because of ..., Feronia, freedwoman of Libanius, Tiberius Claudius Stephanus, freedman.

Claudian-Neronian (?).

See, besides *CIL* and Calderini, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 4 and 8.

l. 1-2: Augus[tae Bonae Deae?] / Castre[nsi]: *CIL*: "Turrius refert ad Iuliam Domnam matrem castrorum." Calderini, p. 120:" *Castrensis* ripete un' epiteto che si trova pure in territorio romano, e che riconnette il culto di questa divinità alla società militare." Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 29: "Un'altra dedica alla stessa Augusta Bona Dea, ma con l'epiteto Castrensis, ci ricorda il parallelo di un'arula votiva tergestina a Silvano Castrense;" see Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, pp. 243-245.[274]
ex [..........]: *ex testamento*? *ex voto*? *ex voto posuerunt*? For the possible interpretations of *ex* + lacuna, cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 427-428.
l. 3: It is possible that an *et* at the end of the line is lost.
l. 4: *CIL* and Calderini read: *Ti. Claudius Stephan*[*i. lib.*]; the nominative *Stephanus* rather than the name of a *patronus* of Greek origin in the genitive seems probable to me, the name being that of an Imperial freedman.

112. The dedication of an *aedes. Aquileiae in ecclesia maiore* (*CIL*), *presso la Basilica* (Calderini), not found there by me.

CIL V 761 = *ILS* 3499 = Calderini No. 4.

Augustae Bonae Deae / Cereri[a]e sacrum / [....]ystis l(iberta) T[y]che aedem / [....]i de pecunia sua fecit / Faustus Barbonius IIIIvir d(e)d(icavit).

Dedicated to Augusta Bona Dea Cereria. Tyche, freedwoman of ......, has built the temple at her own expense, the Quattuorvir *Faustus Barbonius has dedicated it.*

Augustan (?).

---

[274] Speaking of Silvanus Castrensis, Sticotti states: "Il predicato Castrensis non può derivare che da *castrum*: onde, in contrapposto a Silvanus Silvester oppure ad altro Silvano privato e domestico, si può statuire un Silvano patrono del castello ... In Aquileia accanto ad una *Bona Dea Pagana* (below, No. 113), protettrice di un qualche pago aquileiese, si ha memoria di una *Bona Dea Castrensis,* protettrice, secondo il nostro avviso, del castrum o del campidoglio aquileiese, la quale senz'altro ricorda il culto urbano della *Bona Dea Castrensis* (above, No. 29) e della *Bona Dea Castrensis Fontana* (cf. note 4: "Io leggo così l'iscrizione n. 70 del VI vol. del Corpus e interpreto: Bona Dea protettrice della fonte o delle fonti sul colle capitolino" (but see above, No. 34))" ... Another Bona Dea Castrensis, unknown to Sticotti, is found above in No. 39.

See, besides CIL, ILS, and Calderini, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, , *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 4 and 7; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3; Panciera, *Aquileia*, p. 6, note 23.

l. 1-2: *CIL*: "CERERIE—Augusta bona dea Cereria non videtur diversa esse a Bona dea pagana tituli sequentis (=No. 113); composuit recte Orellius cum Bona dea agresti tituli sui 1521 (=No. 44). Etiam mater deum magna Cereria n. 796 recte huc referetur."[275] In *ILS* the same reference. Calderini, p. 120: "L'epiteto di Cereria richiama la Bona dea Agrestis di una iscrizione romana (No. 44), e ricollega il culto di essa a quello della divinità della terra." Eisler, p. 143. Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 28, where he speaks of a silver *phiala* found at Aquileia and now at Vienna (cf. below, No. 115, *ad* l. 4), on which, supposedly, Claudius is represented, sacrificing to the goddess Ceres, suggests: "in questa figura ci pare adombrata l'imperatrice Livia, alla quale si attaglierebbe il titolo di Augusta Bona Dea Cereria dell'iscrizione aquileiese."

l. 3: T[y]che: *CIL* and *ILS*: "TICHE traditur."

l. 4: d(e)d(icavit): This is only one of the possible interpretations of D.D. Cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 421-422. *ILS*: "Fortasse non integra fuit in fine."

113. Two dedications which allegedly stood on the same stone. One of these refers to the building of an *aedes*. Mentioned as being in Aquileia (where I did not find them).

CIL V 762 = *ILS* 3498 = Calderini No. 5.

A

Bonae Deae Paganae / Rufria C(ai) f(ilia) Festa / Caesilia Q(uinti) l(iberta) Scylace / magistrae / d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua).

B

Decidia L(uci) f(ilia) Pauli[na] / et Pupia L(uci) l(iberta) Peregrin[a] / ministrae / Bonae Deae / aedem fecerunt / d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua).

To Bona Dea Pagana, Rufria Festa, daughter of Gaius, and Caesilia Scylace, freedwoman of Quintus, magistrae, *at their expense.*

Decidia Paulina, daughter of Lucius, and Pupia Peregrina, freedwoman of Lucius, ministrae, *have built a temple of Bona Dea at their expense.*

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, *ILS*, and Calderini (who reads the two texts as one; but cf. twice *d.p.s.*), Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013: "protettrice di un pago"; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (*Paganae* or *pagaiae*); Wissowa, , *RKR*, p. 218 and notes 4, 6, and 7; Latte, *RR*, p. 230, note 3; Panciera, *Aquileia*, p. 6, note 23.

---

[275] *CIL* V 796: M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) / Cereriae v(otum) s(olvit) Fruticia / Thymele / M(arci) Statini Dori. Cf. *CCCA* IV, p. 92, No. 220.

A

l. 1: *CIL*: "praemittunt VALERIVS·PROB Bell. San. Vat.

Bonae Deae Paganae: *CIL*: BONAE·DEAE·PAGAIAE Red. Bell. San. BONAE·FAGANAI Ramb., BONAE·PAGANAE Spor. Capod." *ILS*: "pagaiae pars codicum per quos apographa illa ad nos pervenerunt." Calderini, p. 120: "Pagana la riporta al concetto di un'altra iscrizione di Laverna in cui i magistri Laverneis dichiarano di innalzare un tempio alla Bona dea pagi" (See above, No. 89; *pagi* in this text, however, is to be joined to *decreto,* not to *Bonae Deae*). Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 29-30: "Diversa è invece la Bona Dea Pagana, cioè protettrice di qualche sobborgo dell'agro aquileiese, diversa per l'appellativo, affatto opposto a quello di Castrense, e diversa anche perchè, come risulta chiaramente dal testo epigrafico, essa aveva un proprio santuario, aedes, costruito a spese di due magistre e di due ministre del collegio sacerdotale della Bona Dea, delle quali una, Paulina figlia di Lucio Decidio, appartenente alla famiglia donatrice della patera argentea sopra ricordata" (Cf. also below, No. 115, l. 1: *Decidia Egloge*).

l. 2: *CIL*: "RVFIA Red."

l. 3: *CIL*: "SCYLACE Red. Bell. San. Cap., SCILACE Vat., SCYLACI Ramb."

l. 4: See above, No. 27.

B

l. 1: *CIL*: "L·F·APVLEIA Red., L·F·PAVLIA Bell. San. ... L·F·PARTIA Vat., LEP PAVLI [ ] Ramb., PAVLI (om. L·F) Spor., L///PAVLI/// Capod." Cf. Sticotti, above, A *ad* l. 1.

l. 2: et: *CIL*: "De pro ET Red."

Peregrin[a]: *CIL*: "PERGERINA Red. Bell. San. Vat., PEREGRIN// Ramb. Spor. Capod."

l. 3: See above, No. 93, *ad* l. 3.

l. 4: *CIL*: "SIBI pro DEAE Ramb."

114. Inscription without any data except for *Aquileiae*.

CIL V 847.

M(?) B(onae) D(eae) d(ono) d(at).

M....... gives this as a present to Bona Dea.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071: Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 4; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 155, note 2.

M(?): *M* might be the abbreviation of *magistra*; cf. Cagnat^4, p. 443; Calza, *l.c.*, refers to this inscription (in a note) when stating: "V'è notizia anche di un collegium Bonae Deae da iscrizioni urbane e italiane."

115. Altar in grey, Histrian stone. Damaged at the lower part, where the plinth may be missing. At the upper part it ends in a cornice with a horn-shaped erection. H. 0.705; W. 0.355; (W. of the cornice 0.45); D. 0.325 (D. of the cornice 0.43 m). The altar was found *ca.* 1830 in the vicinity of the church of S. Stefano to the North of Aquileia. Formerly in the Villa Cassis.

Aquileiae, Museo Archeologico, Sala IV, Reg. No. 427.

CIL V 8242 = *ILS* 3769 = Calderini No. 6.

Letter heights: l. 1: 37-39; l. 2: 34; l. 3: 30; l. 4: 28; l. 5: 23-27 mm.

Decidia Egloge / aram Parcabus / et Bonae Deae / phialam arg(enteam) p(ondo) I S— / dono dedit.

Decidia Egloge has presented the Parcae with an altar, and Bona Dea with a silver dish weighing one pound and seven ounces.

Imperial Age.

CIL: "MAJONICA descripsit (Guida 78 n. 89). GREGORUTTI n. 40 (cf. p. 248) (= C. Gregorutti, *Le antiche lapidi di Aquileia*, Trieste, 1877, p. 17, No. 40, and p. 248)." *ILS*: "Aquileiae." Calderini: "S. Stefano." Cf. also Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (Hey refers to *CIL* XI 8242, apparently meaning this inscription, however); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 4.

l. 1: Both *CIL* and Calderini read *Ecloge.* The correct reading, however, is *Egloge* (so *ILS*).

For *Decidia,* cf. above. No. 113.

l. 2: Parcabus: Cf. Calderini, p. 121.[276]

l. 4: *CIL* explains: "phialam arg(enti) p(ondo) I u(nciarum) VII." *ILS*: "Intellege: phialam argenteam pondo librae unius et dimidiae et unciae." Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 28: "... infine è ricordata l'offerta di una patera, phiala, argentea, del peso di poco più di mezzo chilogramma, da parte di una devota."[277]

---

[276] "Le Parche sono anch'esse collegate secondo l'iscr. n. 6 al culto della *Bona dea*, con esempio anche qui unico tra quanti sono noti finora. Per giustificare un tale collegamento non c'è che richiamare la etimologia sostenuta da Varrone: *Parcae* da *parere* (note 3: reference to Gellius, *Noctes Aticae* III 16 10: "Parca ... immutata una littera, a partu nominata", and to *ML* I 793) e farne perciò delle dee, sia pure del destino, ma in special modo del destino che s'inizia, cioè delle nascite."

[277] Cf. also C. Gregorutti, *Le antiche lapidi di Aquileia*, Trieste, 1877, p. 17, No. 40, and p. 248: "Le fiale votive in Grecia avevano comunemente lo stesso peso --: uno dei tanti piatti votivi per le libazioni o per le abluzioni, che si portavano in dono e si consacravano nei tesori dei santuari e di cui un magnifico esemplare a dorature uscì dal suolo di Aquileia, nel fondo Cassis a Monastero e che, donato dal proprietario nel 1825 all'imperatore d'Austria, è esposto nel museo di storia e d'arte a Vienna (fig. 1). Vi è rappresentato, nello stile dei grandi cammei imperiali, un principe della famiglia giulio-claudia, forse lo stesso imperatore Claudio, in figura dell'eroe

116. Fragmentary inscription. *Grado* (Calderini).

BJÖI I (1898), p. 137, No. 56 = Calderini No. 7.

Calderini reads:

nome del dio	*dedicanti*	*altre indicazioni*
[B]onae Deae	...dai...	[fe]c[e]runt [vot]o suscepto

Having made a vow to Bona Dea .... have built ...

1st cent. A.D.

(117). Dedication, probably to Bona Dea. Seen at Aquileia, either in the portico of the church of S. Felice or in the church itself (*CIL*).

CIL V 814 = Calderini No. 8.

Leuce Anspaniae l(iberta) / Occusia Venusta / mag(istrae?) / Deae Obsequenti d(ederunt).

Leuce, freedwoman of Anspania, and (?) *Occusia Venusta,* magistrae, *have given this to the Gracious Goddess.*

Imperial Age.

Besides the above information, *CIL* gives the older sources.

Calderini reads:

nome del dio	*dedicanti*	*altre indicazioni*
....	Leuce	deae
ma è probab.	Anspaniae	obsequenti d.
la Bona dea	l.	
	Occusia	
	Venusta	
	mag(istra?)	

l. 3: Calderini reads *ma(gistra?),* thus suggesting that only Occusia Venusta holds this office, or that there is question of one woman only. It seems more probable that two women are concerned, both *magistrae.* See above, No. 27.

l. 4: Deae Obsequenti: Cf. Plautus, *Rudens* I v 3: *bonam atque opsequentem deam.*

Trittolemo, che, assistito da tre bambini, forse Britannico, Nerone e Ottavia, sta sacrificando alla dea Cerere: in questa figura ci pare adombrata l'imperatrice Livia, alla quale si attaglierebbe il titulo di *Augusta Bona Dea Cereria* dell'iscrizione aquileiese (above, No. 112)." About weight definitions, cf. Marquardt, *RSt* II, p. 49.

118. Cippus or altar in *pietra di Aurisina*. The upper part is lost and the base heavily damaged. H. (front): 0.60; (back): 0.655; W. 0.27; D. 0.18; W. of the base: 0.415; D of the base: 0.315 m.

Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Reg. No. 1654.

Calderini, p. 100, No. 57 (under the heading *Belenus*).

Letter heights: 5 cm (both lines).

... / L(uci) l(ibertus) ? Sopilys / B(onae) D(eae).

... *Sopilys, freedman of Lucius* (?), *to Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

The inscription is registered in the museum under the heading *Belenus,* on the argumentation that the dedicant is a man. However, this would hardly be an exception in the series of Bona Dea dedications, as may be seen from the material here compiled. Another reason to interpret the abbreviation as Bona Dea is the circumstance that on the back of the monuments is a dedication to Valetudo.

Calderini, who also gives the older sources, reads:

nome del dio	*dedicanti*	*altre indicazioni*
B(eleno), *nel*	L.	d.
verso della	Pinn[i]u[s]	
epigrafe c'è	L. l.	
una dedica alla	Sop(h)ilus	
Valetudo.		

Cagnat^4, p. 413, interprets the abbreviation *B.D.* as *Bona Dea* only. Cf. also G. Wissowa, *Belenus* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 755-756; M. Ihm, *Belenus* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 199-201.

l. 2: The correct reading is as shown above. Calderini's reading gives the impression that two inscriptions have been confused (?).

119. Altar in *pietra di Aurisina*. H. 0.925; W. 0.24; D. 0.18; cornice: W. 0.32; D. 0.235; erection: W. 0.245; D. 0.175; base: W. 0.32; D. 0.245 m. The altar consists of three fragments. The text is in a double frame.

Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Reg. No. 1200.

Calderini, p. 98, No. 38 (under the heading *Belenus*).

Letter heights (the lettering is of extremely bad quality): l. 1: 35-40; l. 2: 40-45; l. 3: 30-40; l. 4: 40; l. 5: *ca.* 35 (it is very difficult, if not impossible, to exactly measure this line as this part of the altar is damaged); l. 6: 43-45 mm.

B(onae) D(eae) / L(ucius) Aur(elius) / Pisin/nus / Aug(usti) l(ibertus) / d(ono) d(edit).

Lucius Aurelius Pisinnus, Imperial freedman, has given this (altar) as a present to Bona Dea.

2nd cent. A.D.[278]

The inscription is registered in the museum under the heading *Belenus* (cf. above, No. 118). Calderini, also giving the previous source, reads:

nome del dio	*dedicanti*	*altre indicazioni*
B(eleno)	L.	d.d.
d(eo)	Aur(elius)	
	Pisin/nus	
	Aug(usti)	
	lib(ertus)	

l. 5: l(ibertus): not lib(ertus) (Calderini).

119'. A dedication to Bona Dea from Aquileia, also seen at Venice.

CIL V 743 = Calderini, p. 96, No. 11 (under the heading *Belenus*).

M(arcus) Hostilius / Auctus / VIvir / B(onae) D(eae) s(acrum).

Marcus Hostilius Auctus, VIvir. *Dedicated to Bona Dea.*

Imperial Age.

CIL and Calderini supply the older sources.
Calderini reads:

nome del dio	*dedicanti*	*altre indicazioni*
B(eleno)	M. Hostilius	
d(eo)	Auctus VIvir	

For the arguments to attribute this inscription to Bona Dea, see above, Nos. 118-119.

l. 1-3: *CIL* writes IIIIII. Cf. Calderini, p. 180, No. 35.

(120). Fragment in grey, Histrian stone. H. 0.18; W. 0.11 m; D. cannot be measured as the fragment is fixed to the wall.

---

[278] An indication for the date is the form of the L in l. 5, written L; Cagnat^4, p. 18: "La forme L, où la barre horizontale s'étend au-dessous de la ligne, se rencontre de bonne heure sur les actes, et à partir du IIe siècle sur les monuments." The form of the letters D in ll. 1 and 6 might be another indication for the date: ϸ. Cagnat^4, p. 13: " ϸ se rencontre à partir du IIe siècle." And it is possible that the *nomen* Aurelius is a third indication.

Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, in the wall "AQUILEIA", without Reg. No.

(Not published, as far as I know).

Letter heights: 7 cm.

Bo[nae Deae (?).

To Bona Dea (?).

A dot is visible between B and O, it is impossible to decide, however, whether there is question of the stone being damaged or whether it is an intentional punctuation mark, though the former possibility seemed more probably to me when studying the piece.

121. Bronze statuette of Bona Dea. H. 0.13 m. The goddess is represented seated on a throne, in her left arm the cornucopia, in her right a bowl. One serpent is coiled around the cornucopia, while two others, coiled around her right arm, feed from the bowl. The statuette was fished up out of the Grado waters and its origin most probably is Aquileia.

Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Museo, Reg. No. 2475.

> Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 33-34, fig. 2 (col. 30).
>
> Sticotti: "Non sono numerose nè di gran pregio artistico le figurazioni sinora conosciute della Bona Dea. Ne presento qui una, inedita, del Museo di Trieste (fig. 2), la quale essendo stata pescata nelle acque di Grado è ammissibile che provenga da Aquileia. È una figurina di bronzo, della massima altezza di 13 centimetri: la dea è rappresentata assisa con cornucopia e patera in atto di nutrire tre serpenti. Pure dalla laguna di Grado fu tratta anno or sono da un pescatore chioggiotto e portata al Museo di Trieste, dove è esposta accanto all'altra, una statuina enea di un Lare danzante (fig. 3): forse ambedue ornavano il larario di qualche casa aquileiese."

As *Igea* the statuette is listed in: Città di Bologna, VI Mostra Biennale d'Arte Antica, 1964, *Arte e Civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia,* Catalogo I (Tavole), tav. LXXXIII, I 173.

Nesactium-Vizače[279]

122. Fragment of an altar in Histrian limestone. Found "nei pressi di

---

[279] Cf. *CIL* V 1 (1872), p. 2; P. Sticotti, *Nesazio* in *Enc. Ital.* XXIV (1934), p. 676; M. Fluss, *Nesactium* in *RE* XVII 1 (1936), coll. 65-68; Bruna Forlati Tamaro, *Nesazio* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 429-430; J. Szilágyi, *Nesactium* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 77-78; *Friúli-Venezia Giulia,* p. 401, *carta* between pp. 416 and 417; *Atlante* 1, 38 E 4.

Nesazio, nel burrone verso nord" (Sticotti). H. 0.20; W. 0.31; D. 0.11 m. Pula, Arheološki Musej Istre, depositories, Reg. No. 5862.[280]

II X 1, 657.

Letter heights: H. of the *hastae* 8-11; D. of the letters 2 mm.

Bona[e] / Deae.

To Bona Dea.

2nd. cent. A.D.

Sticotti, *Epigrafi,* p. 245.[281] *II* refer to Sticotti and Calderini.[282]

l. 2: Sticotti: "... con una dedica in nome di un Optatus o di una Optata." *II*: "[Op]tat[us] vel [Op]tat[a] Sticotti haud recte puto."

Tergeste-Trieste[283]

123. In the excavations of the Bona Dea sanctuary, in 1910, between the Corso and the Via S. Caterina were found, besides the dedication (below, No. (124)), fragments of three basins (*labellum*) together with a small column in sandstone. The first basin is in Histrian limestone.[284] Diam. 0.68 m; B. of the rim 3-3.5 cm; H. of the basin 0.18 m. Partly supplemented. It is not impossible that basin and column belong together. The inscription is on the rim. Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, depositories, without Reg. No.

II X 4, 1.

Letter heights: 2-3 cm (The lettering is rather irregular).

---

[280] Mr. Boris Baćić of the Pula museum, in a letter to the author, 17-IV-1973: "...Die jetzige Inventarnummer ist 5862, die vorige war 390 und nicht 395, wie in I.I. geschrieben ist. Das Denkmal befindet sich im Museumdepot in Pula. Material ist istrianischer Kalkstein. Die Dimensionen des Denkmals und der Buchstaben sind auf der beigelegten Skizze geschrieben. Jetzige Dicke des Fragments ist 11 cm, aber die Steinplatte war vorher dicker. Hastenlänge 8-11 mm, Tiefe der Buchstaben 2 mm."

[281] "Al culto di *Bona Dea* potrebbe riferirsi il sequente frammento rinvenuto nel 1901 nei pressi di Nesazio, nel burrone verso nord, con una dedica in nome di un *Optatus* o di una *Optata.* Sarebbe l'unico documento di questo genere conosciuto in Istria (cf., however, below, the monuments from Trieste)."

[282] "... Cultus Bonae Deae Aquileiae titulis plurimis comprobatur; in Histria tamen adhuc non innotuerat, praeter Tergeste (...)."

[283] Cf. *CIL* V 1 (1872), pp. 53-55; H. Philipp, *Tergeste* in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 722-723; P. Landini-Bruna Forlati Tamaro-F. Forlati-A. Tamaro-G. Braun, *Trieste* in *Enc. Ital.* XXXIV (1937), pp. 327-334; M. Mirabella Roberti, *Trieste* in *EAA* VII (1966), pp. 982-983; G. Radke, *Tergeste* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), col. 605; *Friúli-Venezia Giulia,* pp. 309-370, *pianta* between pp. 336 and 337, *carta* opposite p. 352; *Atlante* 1, 37 C 2-3.

[284] Cf. Hilgers, p. 199, No. 201 (LABELLUM), pp. 199-201 (LABRUM); cf. also *CIL* XIV 2215 (from Nemi), in all probability a dedication to Isis; among the many gifts, in ll. 18-19 is mentioned *labellum marmoreum cum / columella* (Malaise, *Inventaire*, pp. 63-64).

Barbia L(uci) l(iberta) Stadium B(onae) D(eae) merito.

Barbia Stadium, freedwoman of Lucius, (has fulfulled her vow?) to Bona Dea, justly.

2nd cent. A.D.

See, besides *II*, Scrinari, *Trieste.* p. 74.[285]

Barbia: The name Barbia is also found on a similar fragment from Trieste, now in the Archeological Museum, *II* X 4, 2: *Barbia* [....]. Cf. Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, pp. 302-304;[286] Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 34.[287]
Stadium: "Stadium cognomen Graecum mulieris diminutivum generis neutri, ut e.g. Venuleia ... Psycharium ..,[288] et Mutia Philematium."[289]

(124). The dedicatory inscription (probably) of the temple of Bona Dea.

---

[285] "Per la dedicazione e la datazione di quest'ultimo (i.e. of the Bona Dea sanctuary) ci aiutano gli oggetti rinvenuti nel luogo: : 1) tre conche di pietra calcare locale, aventi le prime due incisa su l'orlo una dedica alla Bona Dea da parte della liberta Barbia; esse erano incastrate in appositi sostegni a guisa di colonnette, ritrovati insieme ai *labella*. Il complesso di una colonna con un *labellum* era alto m. 0.90. Un tipo affine di *labrum* è stato trovato anche in una villa romana di Nabresina (see below, No. 125). I caratteri epigrafici ci riportano al secondo sec. d. Cr., ma perchè altri documenti ci segnalano l'esistenza del santuario già in epoca augustea possiamo ritenere i *labella* offerte votive posteriori."

[286] Sticotti refers to a "frammento di piramide collo specchio incorniciato, nel tempio d'Augusto. Pare inedita. È dedicato agli Dei Mani di Barbia Argia—*Dis / Man(i)b(us) / Barbiae / [A]rgiae*—... I non pochi Barbii della nostra regione discendono per avventura da quel Barbio Fulvio Emiliano, pretore, edile del plebe e governatore provinciale, ricordato in una lapide aquileiese (*CIL* V 864). A Trieste oltre alla grande lapide collettiva, la quale, segata in due, serve da stipiti alla porta maggiore del duomo S. Giusto (*CIL* V 579), appartengono a questa gente le iscrizioni n. 576-578; a Pola il n. 134, scoperta, secondo una postilla del Gregorutti al Corpus, nel 1858 al Zaro, vicino all'antico teatro, ed ora al tempio d'Augusto; il n. 135, veduto dal Gregorutti nel 1846, ora al tempio d'Augusto; il n. 136, copiato in tempi lontani a noi e non veduto poi nè dal Carli nè dal Kandler, nè dal Mommsen, è un sarcofago marmoreo, che ritrovai nella Stanzia Fragiacomo a Fasana; di Villanova presso Verteneglio il n. 412, iscrizione votiva ora nel Museo Maffeiano di Verona; di Cittanova l'iscrizione di un seviro (Pais, supp. n. 32), trovata nel 1875 presso l'episcopio (Carlo De Franceschi nelle "Indicazioni" del Kandler, prima della pag. 263)."

[287] "Da Aquileia il culto della *Bona Dea* fu importato, come già supposi, a Tergeste, dove abbiamo avuto la fortuna di scoprire nel 1910 un suo santuario, situato fuori delle mura augustee, con avanzi delle murature dell'area sacra di forma quadrata e delle tre celle del sacello, delle colonne in cotto intonacato del portico, con la lapide di fondazione e con resti di tre conche votive di pietra, ossia di tre labri su columelle per le sacre abluzioni: due di questi bacini portano incisa sull'orlo la dedica alla Bona Dea da parta di una o di due liberte della famiglia tergestina dei Barbii oriunda da Aquileia."

[288] In *II* reference is made to *Sticotti, Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, XVIII (1895), p. 92.* This information, however, is not correct and the inscription is not to be found there; cf. *CIL* VI 28.505: Venuleia / (mulieris) l(iberta) / Psyc(h)arium.

[289] In *II* reference is made to *NS* 1910, p. 249: not correct. One *Fulvia Philematium*, however, is to be found in *NS* 1925, p. 52.

The text is on the upper side of a block in local, grey stone in the form of a capital. H. 0.38; W. 0.74; D. 0.22 m. Found together with No. 123.

Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, without Reg. No.

II X 4, 3.

Letter heights: l. 1: 5.5-6; l. 2: 5-5.8; l. 3: 4.5-5; l. 4: 3.5-4 cm.

L(ucius) Apisius T(iti) f(ilius) / T(itus) Arruntius L(uci) f(ilius) / (duo)vir(i) ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) ex / p(ecunia) p(ublica) faciundum coera(vere).

Lucius Apisius, son of Titus, and Titus Arruntius, son of Lucius, duoviri, *have seen to these building activities, by decree of the municipal Senate and at the public expense.*

Early 1st cent. A.D. (*II*).

See, besides *II,* Scrinari, *Trieste,* pp. 74-75.[290]

l. 1: The same man is known from a sepulchral inscription, *CIL* V 549, now in the Orto Lapidario at Trieste, without Reg. No. : *L(ucius) Apisius T(iti) f(ilius) Pupus*[291] *(duo)vir*; on another fragment, exactly fitting and in fact joined to this piece: *Apisi.*

l. 3: (duo)vir(i): (duo) is written II; cf. the sepulchral inscription of L. Apisius, where (duo) is written ~~II~~.[292] Cf. above, No. 55, *ad* l. 1.

l. 4: coera(vere): *II* read *coerav(ere),* which is not correct.

Staranzaro[293]

124'. Inscription on a rectangular stone slab, found in *vano C* of the excavations at Staranzaro,[294] together with a stone block of similar dimensions (0.59 × 0.60 × 0.09 m) without inscription and with a hole in the middle of the upper side. H. 0.57; W. 0.57; D. 0.09 m. The slab was tooled and inscribed in two different periods. The text is on a side. In all probability, the slab was used as the base of a basin (*labrum*).

Scrinari, *Staranzaro,* coll. 37-40.

---

[290] (Cf. the text quoted *ad* No. 123, and) "... 2) un'iscrizione appartenente per il tipo delle lettere, la mancanza dei cognomi nell'onomastica dei personaggi, il tenore delle formule, ai primi anni dell'Impero. Il primo personaggio è conosciuto pure da un'epigrafe sepolcrale (*CIL* V 549: see *ad* l. 1), il secondo invece non è noto. È probabile che ad essi sia stata affidata la cura dell'erezione del tempietto, data la corrispondenza del luogo del trovamento dell'iscrizione e dei caratteri epigrafici con il tipo e la technica dell'edificio."

[291] Cf. Cagnat^{4}, p. 46.

[292] Cf. Cagnat^{4}, p. 30.

[293] Cf. *Atlante* 1, 36 B 3.

[294] Cf. Scrinari (see below), figg. 1, 5, 6.

B(onae) D(eae) v(ovit) Peticia L(uci) l(iberta) Ar(riana?).

Peticia Arriana (?), *freedwoman of Lucius, has vowed this to Bona Dea.*

(On the later surface is *Nigeli*, scratched as a graffito).

1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D. (Scrinari, col. 38) or end 1st cent. A.D.

Scrinari, *l.c.*[295]

Nigeli: Nigelli.[296]

Campo di Mezzo-near **Aurisina**[297]

125. Fragment of a small basin,[298] similar to No. 123 and the fragment *II* X 4, 2 (cf. *ad* No. 123). H. 0.118; W. 0.429; B. of the rim: 0.0375 m. Found in the village of Campo di Mezzo near Aurisina, in the ruins of a Roman villa in 1892. Puschi, who found the piece, bought it and brought it to the Trieste Museum.[299]

---

[295] Col. 29: "In via del tutto fortuita è avvenuta la scoperta di un pavimento musivo nella zona di Staranzaro (Monfalcone) a Nord Ovest dell'abitato, nella proprietà della Chiesa Parocchiale" ...—col. 38—"iscrizione su pietra. Come i muri anche la pietra dimostra d'essere stata rielaborata ed incisa in due periodi diversi; il tipo è quello di un frammento di piattaforma quadrangolare (57 x 57 x 0,09) che sul fianco reca l'epigrafe: B. D. V. PETICIA LL AR e sulla superficie la più tarda scritta NIGELI, quasi appena graffita. La pietra è stata rinvenuta nel vano C insieme ad un'altra ancora in sito, priva di iscrizione, ma di proporzioni circa analoghe (59 x 57 x 0,09), con foro centrale in superficie. — Allo stato attuale dello scavo ... è possibile dedurre solo quanto segue: ci troviamo di fronte ad un edificio la cui origine, per tipi di strutture e di pavimenti, può essere posta al confine tra il I secolo avanti Cristo ed il I secolo dopo Cristo, che si sviluppa con ampliamenti in pianta e pavimentazioni a mosaico geometrico bianco-nero verso il II secolo dopo Cristo, ..." — col. 39 ... "Ma l'iscrizione trovata in C apre una possibilità nuova d'interpretazione: non potrebbe essere stato adibito ad un certo momento a sacello, a sala di culto privato o pubblico? Potrebbe esserlo stato qualora nell'iscrizione la sigla B. D. V. fosse leggibile sicuramente come B(ONAE) D(EAE) V(OTUM) interpretando la pietra come basamento di un elemento (labrum?) offerta da PETICIA, probabile liberta di un Lucio, di cognome AR(RIANA?) quale voto alla Bona Dea, divinità molto nota ed onorata nella nostra"—col. 40—"regione (cfr. il sacello di Trieste ed il culto nell'Istria e nell'Aquileiese) specialmente dalle donne proprio se liberte. In questo caso non meraviglierebbero in C la soglia a Nord, in pietra, rifinita, alta, con i fori laterali per i cardini dei battenti della porta, nè le speciali suddivisioni del vano orientale che potrebbero essere considerate dei depositi d'offerte o dei secreti recessi di culto (alla Bona Dea si associavano spesso altre divinità), nè qualche traccia di transenna forse riconoscibile tra il pavimento in cotto ed il tessellato, lungo la loro sutura, sempre perfetta e stringente, nella zona settentrionale, nè il basamento in pietro in sito sul lato meridionale. Ma per convalidare la nostra ipotesi dobbiamo ancora attendere finchè la terra ci avrà aperto ogni suo segreto. Notiamo intanto che la gens PETICIA è bene conosciuta nella X regio Venetia e Histria attraverso varie iscrizioni rinvenute in luoghi diversi (*CIL* V 190, 2255, 1977, 1232, 1329) a buona prova della diffusione della Famiglia nell'area."

[296] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1206, *s.v. Nigellus.*

[297] Cf. *Friúli-Venezia Giulia*, pp. 351-352; *Atlante* 1, 37 B 2; Scrinari, *Trieste*, p. 74, mentions a *villa romana di Nabresina,* apparently referring to the same place.

[298] *II* X 4, 2, *Barbia*, also comes from Trieste.

[299] In 1973, I have in vain tried to find the piece in the Museum: no wonder, as the museum was then being reorganized.

II X 4, 306.

[...] Ursa B(onae) D(eae) [...].

... Ursa to Bona Dea ...

Imperial Age.

Cf., besides *II*, Scrinari, *Trieste*, pp. 74-75; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3.

(Italy)[300]

126. Statuette of Bona Dea in Luna marble. According to the former owner it came from Italy. Supplemented are neck and head together with the cloak draped around them and the upper part of the throne. The restoration is stylistically unjustifiable.[301] H. 0.256 m.

Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität, Reg. No. B. 77.

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 5.

Time of the Antonines.

Greifenhagen, *l.c.:* part of the serpent is visible, and traces on the arm suggest the cornucopia; pp. 228, 231, 232, 241, and 242.

DALMATIA

LIBURNIA[302]

Cissa-Časka
(Isle of Pag)[303]

127. Altar in limestone. H. 1.22; W. 0.71; D. 0.68 m. "Rep. a. 1955 in vico Časka-Cissa in vinea medici R. Palčič; extat ib." (Šašel).

Šašel No. 260 = *AE* 1964, p. 111, No. 270.

Letter heights: 35-40 mm.

B(onae) Ḍ(eae) Ḍom(inae) Ḥeiaẹ Ạ[ug(ustae)] / Triumphali terrae / marisq(ue) Ḍominatric[i] / Conseṛṿatrici / mentiuṃque bo[n]arum / ac remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti / [C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f̣(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisonịs neptis / d(onum) d(edit).

---

[300] Dr. Christiane Grunwald of the Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn in a letter, 24-X-1972, to the author: "Das Stück stammt nach Angaben des Vorbesitzers aus Italien."

[301] Elimination of the additions is intended (1972).

[302] Cf. B. Saria, *Dalmatia* in *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956), coll. 21-59; J. Szilágyi, *Dalmatae, -ia* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 1364-1368; G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Mit einem Beitrag von A. Mócsy), Budapest, 1965; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*; H. Philipp, *Liburni* in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), col. 145; M. Fluss, *Liburni* in *RE* Suppl. V (1931), coll. 582-593; *Liburnia, ibidem, col. 593*; G. Neumann, *Liburni* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 628.

[303] Cf. Wilkes, *o.c.*, pp. 199-200; 487-492 (Appendix XII: *The Foundation of Liburnian Cities*); map opposite p. 572.

Calpurnia, daughter of the augur *Lucius Piso and granddaughter of Gnaeus Piso, has given this (altar) as a present to Bona Dea Domina Heia Augusta Triumphalis, the Mistress of land and sea, the Protectress, the Mistress of wisdom and medicine, the Goddess of right judgement.*

1st cent. A.D.

Šašel, [304] pp. 90-91, No. 260. The reading is as shown above.
AE 1964, p. 111, No. 270, has the same reading as Šašel, except for l. 5: Šašel: *bo[n]arum; AE: bo[na]rum.*

l. 1: Šašel: "aliquot litterae legi non possunt; b.b. dom. et mu[n] Šonje."[305]
l. 2: Triumphali: Šašel: "2 Adjectivum epitheton deae est;" references to (my) Nos 86 and 99.
terrae: "gen. obi., qui sequitur, ad versum insequentem pertinet."[306]
l. 3: Ḍominatric[i]: Šašel: "3 Expectaremus dominatric[i et], tamen spatium non permittet."
l. 4: Šašel: "4 Conservatrix ut cognomen Bonae deae adhuc non innotuit.[307]
l. 5: Šašel: "5 Notis fabulis ad Bonam deam pertinentibus illustratur. Men(tis) divi Me[nt]o[ri] (d)arum Šonje."
l. 6: Šašel: "Non solum corporis sed etiam animi...[308] [L]acrim(a)e diorum potenti(is) Šonje."
l. 7: Šašel: "7 ex. i-longa." Cf. Cagnat4, p. 22.
l. 8: Šašel: "8 L. Calpurnius Piso augur:" Šašel refers to *PIR*2 II, pp. 67-68, No. 290, stating: "filia eius hic primum memoratur, nam eadem ac Calpurnia (L. Nonii) Asprenatis (uxor) L. (Calpurnii) Pisonis [filia], *CIL* VI

---

[304] Cf. A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Iugoslaviae* in *Latomus* XXIII (1964), pp. 324-329.

[305] "Bona dea, cuius cultus cum mysteriis coniunctus erat, inter antiquissimas Italiae deas annumeranda est. Romae, ubi templum in Aventino habebat (...), feminae nobiles eam colebant, praecipua vero religione passim in Italia a plebe culta erat. Nota est etiam Nesactii (...: cf. above, No. 122). Saepe bona dea cognomen dearum est, quae aliquo munere eius fungebantur (e.g. Juno, Caelestis, Venus Cnidia ...). Si recte Heia, quae dea adhuc solum in titulis Histricis Polae et Nesactii invenitur (...), in iscriptione nostra ambae deae adaequatae sunt."

[306] "Cultus Bonae deae coniunctus erat cum natura, de coniunctione cum Terra, cf. Macr. sat. 1, 12, 21 eandem esse Bonam deam et Terram (see ch. II, No. *67*). Cf. etiam cognomina Bonae deae: agrestis (No. 44), lucifera (No. 22), nutrix (No. 23), pagana (No. 113)."

[307] "Saepe autem id cognomen habent deae: Caelestis (at cf. *CIL* XIV 3530— = No. 70— Bona dea sanctissima Caelestis), Diana, Fortuna (at cf. *CIL* III 10400— = No. 128—Fortun. conservatrici et Bonae deae Iunoni), Isis, Iuno, Luna, Magna mater, Matres, Minerva. Hic ad versum insequentem pertinere videtur."

[308] "Plura de coniunctione Bonae deae cum medicina, praecipue cum dea Hygia vide Myth. lex. I 791 s. (= Peter, *Bona Dea*)."

1371, nobis esse non videtur.[309] Duas aras Cissae inventas, quas etiam Calpurnia dedicaverat, P. Sticotti, Serta Hoffilleriana, 1940, 179 ss. publici iuris fecit.''
AE: ''D'après deux textes (AE 1949, 199) et un nouveau texte trouvé en 1955, dans l'île de Pag, à Časka (CISSA), surgit dans l'histoire une fille jusqu'ici inconnue de L. Calpurnius Piso, augure et sénateur mort en 24 apr. J.C.''
l. 9: For Cn. Calpurnius Piso, see *PIR*² II, pp. 57-58, No. 286.

PANNONIA

PANNONIA INFERIOR[310]

Aquincum-Budapest, 3rd district[311]

128. Stone block. H. 0.83; W. 0.38; D. 0.24 m. Found at Alt-Ofen, Szent-Endreergasse, during the building of the house No. 34.[312]
Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Reg. No. 168.1881.

CIL III 10.394 = *ILS* 3516.

Bonae Deae / et Panthaeo / Dian(a)e Silvana/bus / C(aius) Iul(ius) Valens / praef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) / .... / P(iae) F(idelis) ex voto.

To Bona Dea and Panthaeus, to Diana and the Silvanae. Gaius Julius Valens, quartermaster of the Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis. *Pursuant to a vow.*

After Hadrian, or after Septimius Severus (? See below *ad* l. 6).

See besides *CIL* with the older sources, and *ILS*, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014;[313] Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071.[314]

---

[309] *CIL* VI 1371: Calpurniae Asprenatis / L. Pisonis [f.] matri L. Noni / Asprenatis et Asprenatis Cal/purni Ser[r]ani et Asprenatis / Calpurni Torquati. Cf. the *CIL* comments *ad* 1370 and 1371, and *PIR*² II, p. 77, No. 323.

[310] Cf. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia* in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 516-776, esp. 612-653 (*Das Heer*) and 728-750 (*Religion*); A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia, A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London and Boston (1974) (*The Provinces of the Roman Empire*); *non vidi....* L. Barkoczi e.a., *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns (RIU)* I-III, Budapest (1981).

[311] Cf. W. Tomaschek. *Aquincum* in *RE* II 1 (1895), col. 333; J. Szilágyi, *Aquincum*, Budapest/Berlin, 1956 (translation by Tilda Alpáry), pp. 107-114, esp. p. 108; D. Adamesteanu, *Aquincum* in *EAA* I (1958), pp. 520-522; J. Szilágyi, *Aquincum* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 480-481; *Aquincum* in *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), coll. 61-131.

[312] For the Szentendrei ut, cf. Szilágyi in *RE, l.c.,* plan opposite coll. 79-80.

[313] ''Non mancano le dedicazioni fatte soltanto da uomini, ma è da notarsi, che questi appaiono quasi sempre di umilissima condizione, servi o liberti (references to -my- Nos. 2, 5, 15, 4, 34, 13, 73). Una volta il dedicante è un prefetto legionario (...), ma i nomi delle divinità, con cui Bona dea si accompagna, cioè *Pantheus* e le *Silvanae*, mostrano che forse si vi dovrà intendere un'altra dea.''

[314] Dr. Ferenc Fülep, director of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, in a letter to the author, 13-XI-

l. 1: NAE of *Bonae* and AE of *Deae* are written in ligature: NÆ and Æ.

l. 2: The O is much smaller than the other letters of this line and is half-way up, as is also the case with the last A of the next l.

l. 3: Dian(a)e: NE is written in ligature: NE.

l. 3-4: Silvana/bus: VA is written in ligature: VA; the last A is much smaller than the other letters and is half-way up. See R. Peter, *Silvanus* in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 824-877, esp. 869-872; in 871 our inscription is mentioned.

l. 6: praef(ectus): *CIL*: "PRAEF in lapide fuisse videtur, non PRAEP quod legit Diener." The title *praefectus legionis* is only found after Septimius Severus, according to R. Cagnat, *Legio* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1047-1093, esp. 1054; but cf. also A. von Domaszewski-B. Dobson, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Köln 1967^{2} (= *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher*, Band 14), p. 120 and pp. XXXI-XXXII; for the date of the inscription could also be an indication: Von Domaszewski, *Rel.*, p. 58, No. 119 (= *CIL* VIII 2638), and note 250, where Von Domaszewski reaches the conclusion that *praefectus legionis* is an abbreviated title, used since Hadrian. Cf. the list in *ILS* III 1, p. 496.

leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis): The I of *Adi* is much smaller than the other letters of the l.[315] For the occurrence of the legion in epigraphy, cf. *ILS* III 1, p. 448.

l. 7: *ILS*: "Erasum agnomen legioni in honorem imperatoris impositum." For the *agnomina* of the *leg. II Adi.*, cf. *ILS* III 1, p. 448.

l. 8: P(iae) F(idelis): Cf. *Ibidem.*

129. Dedicatory inscription. Found "Ad Alt-Ofen in ipso Danuvio unweit der Schiffswerfte; nunc Pestini in museo" (*CIL*).

CIL III 10.400 (= 3507, cf. p. 1041, and *EE* II 649).

Fortun(ae) Con/servatrici / et Bon(a)e D/eae Iuno/ni Aelia T/heodora / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

1972, gives the following bibliography: *Archeológiai Értesitő* 1882, 65; *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* VII 87; *Budapest Régiségei* 6/1882/124.

[315] *Adiutrix* is a title of two Roman, Imperial legions. The addition is not, as *Victrix* with some names of legions, a name of honour, and does not mean *helping,* as *Adiutrix* as an epithet of Fortuna, but *substitute.* Both legions were given this name, by which they were distinguished from the others, because of their original composition: the formations of the years 68 and 70, contained no Roman citizens but foreign fleet crew, who only on discharge obtained the *civitas.* So, they were originally second-rate legions, but afterwards they were given equal status with the others, and *Adiutrix* lost its restrictive meaning. Cf. C. Cichorius, *Adiutrix* (2) in *RE* I 1 (1893), col. 366. Under Trajan (but cf. Mócsy, *Pannonia, l.c.,* coll. 627-629, 631), Aquincum became the base of the *Legio II Adiutrix,* joined by a civilian settlement; cf. Tomaschek, *Aquincum, l.c.,* col. 333; Wilkes, *Dalmatia,* p. 117 (cf. p. 134), p. 119 (cf. pp. 134 and 266), p. 275; J. J. Wilkes, *A Note on the Mutiny of the Pannonian Legions in A.D. 14* in *The Classical Quarterly,* New Series, vol. XIII (1963), pp. 268-271.

Aelia Theodora has fulfilled her vow to Fortuna Conservatrix and Bona Dea Juno, willingly and justly.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*,[316] Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071 (*cum nominibus aliarum dearum*); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 ("und in einer Reihe von Beispielen ist sogar Bona dea einfach als Attribut zu dem Namen einer andren Gottheit hinzugetreten"); Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 224, note 132.

GALLIA

GALLIA NARBONENSIS[317] **Arelate-Arles**[318]

130. Altar in white marble, with base and architrave, whose volutes are broken off. H. of the whole monument 1.39; architrave: 0.697 × 0.60, H. 0.26; principal part; 0.60 × 0.50, H. 0.89; base: 0.73 × 0.61, H. 0.24 m. The altar was found in a cistern in 1758, during the building of the porch of the main entrance of the church of Notre-Dame-La-Major at Arles.[319] The front of the altar is decorated with a wreath of oak-leaves with fluttering ribbons; in the wreath there are two ears with earrings.[320] On the right side is a sacrificial jug decorated with a laurel (?) branch with very big berries,[321] on the left side a dish with a small beardless head with horns in the middle of a rosette.[322] The back of the altar is unworked. The upper part of the cornice shows traces of clamps (four), one of which still has its leaden fastening. The text is over the wreath.

Arles, Musée Lapidaire d'Art Païen, Reg. No. P. 548.

---

[316] *CIL* III (1902), p. 1041, refers to an earlier reading by Rómer (who was the first to publish the monument, *arch. közl.* 7, 1868, p. 193), which reading, however, offers anything but a sensible interpretation.

[317] Cf. B. Niese, *Galli* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 610-639; E. Weiss, *Gallia, ibidem,* coll. 639-666; M. Leglay, *Gallia* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 679-681.

[318] Cf. M. Ihm, *Arelate* (1) in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 633-635; F. Benoît, *Arles* in *EAA* I (1958), pp. 663-665; P. Wuilleumier, *Arelate* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 525; *Provence-Côte d'Azur,* pp. 281-297, plan opposite p. 288.

[319] Cf. Provence-Côte d'Azur, plan opposite p. 288 (D 2); Millin (see below), p. 506, note 5: "Cet autel a été trouvé, au mois de juillet 1758, dans l'emplacement de l'église de la Major; ce qui fait présumer que c'est là qu'on avoit bâti le temple de Cybèle."

[320] Cf. above, No. 110 *ad* l. 1; below, No. (131), *ad* l. 4; No. 133.

[321] M. Rouquette of the Arles Museum proposes "un rameau de laurier portant ses baies." Millin, p. 506: "une branche d'olivier." The form of the leaves is not a determining factor. The dimensions of the fruit provide a possible motive for choosing Millin's suggestion.

[322] Both *CIL* and *ILS* speak of a *caput virile,* M. J.-M. Rouquette, Conservateur des Musées d'Arles, however, in a letter to the author, 21-XI-1972, calls it "une petite tête imberbe au visage féminin." It is extremely difficult to decide whether the head is male or female, but the type indicates a deity belonging to the group Silvanus-Pan-Faunus-Fauna.

CIL XII 654 = *ILS* 3496.

Letter heights: l. 1: 38; l. 2: 32; l. 3: 25 mm.

Bonae Deae / Caiena Priscae lib(erta) Attice / ministra.

To Bona Dea. The ministra *Caiena Attice, freedwoman of Prisca.*

2nd quarter of 1st cent. A.D.[323].

See, besides *CIL* and *ILS*,[324] A.-L. Millin, *Voyage dans les départements du Midi de la France,* Tome III, Paris, MDCCCVIII, pp. 505-507, pl. XXVIII;[325] Vaglieri, *Bona Dea* p. 1014;[326] Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa,

---

[323] *CIL*: "Litteris saeculi primi;" Millin, p. 507: "Le goût pur de cet autel et des ornemens, l'élégante concision de l'inscription, la belle forme des lettres, peuvent faire présumer qu'il a été fait avant le IIIe siècle"; Hermann (see below): "Nach dem Stil des Reliefs augusteisch, allenfalls claudisch."

[324] *CIL*: "... Arelate rep. a. 1758 in fundamentis ecclesiae Maioris" (Cf. the information by M. Rouquette: "*Provenance*: Découvert en 1758 dans une citerne de 8 m^2 enduite de ciment, mise au jour en construisant le tambour de la porte d'entrée de l'Eglise Notre-Dame-La-Major d'ARLES"); *CIL* refers to V 759 (= No. 110) and to III 986, a dedication to the ears of Aesculapius and Hygia. *ILS* imitate the *CIL* description.

[325] "L'autel à la bonne déesse figuré pl. XXVIII, No. 6, est un des monuments les plus curieux de cette collection: il est d'une bonne proportion; sa face est décorée d'une couronne de chêne élégamment attachée avec des bandelettes, et qui renferme deux oreilles ornées de pendans. Au côté gauche de l'autel, il y a une patère décorée d'oves qui se réunissent à un centre commun, dans lequel on voit une tête de Jupiter Ammon; à droite est le vase que les antiquaires appellent préféricule, et qui servoit à contenir l'eau lustrale; il est d'une forme élégante, orné d'oves, d'une bordure en forme de vagues, et d'une branche d'olivier. Les enroulemens que l'on remarque ordinairement sur les autels, sont un peu dégradés sur celui-ci. Au dessus de la couronne on lit cette inscription:

BONAE·DEAE
CAIENA·PRISCAE·LIB·ATTICE
MINISTRA

A la bonne déesse, Caïena Attice, affranchie de Prisca, et ministre de la déesse.—Les nombreux tauroboles que l'on trouve dans la Gaule, prouvent combien le culte de Cybèle, nommée la bonne déesse, y étoit répandu. Caïena, esclave d'origine grecque, appelée Attice avant qu'elle eût été affranchie par Prisca, a reçu le nom de famille de sa patronne, et c'est pourquoi elle s'appelle Caïena: le titre de ministra qu'elle prend ici, prouve que l'on rendoit à Arles un culte à Cybèle, et qu'elle y avoit une prêtresse que des ministrae (cf. note 1: C'étoient des prêtresses d'un rang inférieur) aidoient dans ses fonctions.—Les deux oreilles ornées de pendans sont ce qui exerce le plus l'imagination des antiquaires. On ne sauroit donner une explication certaine de cette offrande, puisqu'on peut lui assigner plusieurs motifs. On a des exemples d'oreilles d'argent offertes à Minerve pour la remercier de quelque guérison de l'organe de l'ouïe (GRUTER MLXVIII 1): d'autres inscriptions font mention de pendans d'oreilles donnés à des divinités (ORSATO, Monumenta Patavina); on en paroit principalement les statues de Vénus: notre inscription peut avoir rapport à une circonstance de ce genre; mais, s'il faut émettre une opinion, je crois que les oreilles placées sur cet autel signifient combien la bonne déesse est accessible aux prières et aux voeux des mortels, et combien Caïena Prisca (*sic!*), qui dessert son temple, desire qu'elle écoute les siens. Les pendans n'ont d'autre objet que d'ajouter à l'élégance de ce symbole, qui est d'ailleurs ici d'une parfaite exécution. Le goût pur de cet autel et de ses ornemens, l'élégante concision de l'inscription, la belle forme des lettres, peuvent faire présumer qu'il a été fait avant le IIIe siècle."

[326] "Curiosa è la dedicazione *Auribus B(onae) D(eae)* della iscrizione di Aquileia C. V 759 (= No. 110): probabilmente si saranno donati degli orecchini; anche nella lapide di Arelate C. XII 654 (...) havvi un'anaglife così descritta"—follows the *CIL* description.

RKR, p. 218 and notes 6 and 11; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3; Hermann, *Röm. Götteralt.*, p. 94, No. 27;[327] Turcan, p. 58.[328]

---

[327] Hermann refers to Espérandieu I, 137; Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, pp. 236-237; Weinreich, pp. 53-54, stating, after the description of the altar: "Der in Glanum gefundene, den Ohren der Bona Dea geweihte Altar (see No. 133), der diesem sehr ähnlich ist, beweist die Richtigkeit der von Weinreich, Greifenhagen u.a. vertretenen Meinung, dass die Ohren in dem Eichenkranz bildlicher Ausdruck dafür sind, dass die Gottheit die Bitten der Dedikanten erhört. Eine Deutung als Dankeszeichen für die Heilung eines Ohrenleidens ist auf diesen beiden Altären ausgeschlossen..."

[328] "Plus curieux est le monument dédié par Caiena Atticè, *ministra* de la Bonne Déesse, et décoré de deux oreilles.—Ce même titre de *ministra* fut porté par une Loreia Pia qui, à Glanum, consacra un autel "aux oreilles" d'une déesse honorée dans un petit sanctuaire d'où proviennent plusieurs témoignages du culte attidien (cf. p. 60 of Turcan's study). On peut se demander si les cultes de Cybèle et de Bona Dea n'avaient pas fusionné à Arles comme à Glanum. Un texte de Juvénal (I ii 82-90 = ch. II, No. *50*, cf. Turcan, p. 58, note 3) donne à penser qu'on les confondait à Rome même au début du IIe siècle. ap. J.-C. Plutarque dans la *Vie de César* identifie Bona Dea avec la Mida des Phrygiens. Mida est de fait le nom de la "mère" en phrygien (cf. Turcan, p. 58, notes 4 and 5); c'est aussi la Misa de l'Hymne orphique, XLII,6 (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI 92-93: "ad regem duxere Midan, cui Thracius Orpheus / orgia tradiderat cum Cecropio Eumolpo"). Ce syncrétisme n'était sans doute pas inconnu des milieux d'Arles et de la région." Cf. the same suggestion by Millin, quoted above, note 325. In his very informative and helpful letter, M. Rouquette cites the following bibliography:

— *Lettres de Gérouin, prieur de Fourques à Calvet*—Bibliothèque d'Avignon, ms 2369, folio 127 et 129 (11 et 12 août 1758).

— *Lettres de M. de Molin à Calvet*—Bibliothèque d'Avignon, ms 2369, folio 292 et 360 (17 août et 25 mars 1764).

— *Lettres de Séguier à d'Orbessan*—Bibliothèque de Nîmes, ms 129 No. 3 (cf. Millin, p. 505, note 1).

— Registre du Conseil de Ville—1758 dans *Annales d'Arles* de Ch. Reynaud II, p. 232.

— Veran (Pierre)—*Dissertation sur un autel de la Bonne Déesse*—Bibliothèque d'Arles ms 719.

— Veran (Pierre)—*Ebauche d'un dialogue sur l'histoire d'Arles*—Bibliothèque d'Arles ms 773 p. 27.

— Dumont (Père)—*Description des anciens monuments d'Arles publiée* par Noble La Lauziere—Recueil No. 2 et planche II.

— Milin (A-L)—*Voyage dans les départements du Midi de la France*—Tome III p. 505 et planche XXVIII (cf. above, note 325).

Statistique des Bouches-du-Rhône—Tome II p. 439 et Pl. XXIV.

— Clair (Honoré)—*Les monuments d'Arles*—1837—p. 218.

— Estrangin (J-J)—*Etudes Archéologiques*—Aix 1838—p. 122.

— Estrangin (J-J)—*Description de la ville d'Arles antique*—1845—p. 196.

— Jacquemin—*Guide du voyageur dans Arles—1835—p. 296.*

CIL XII 654.

Lettres sur les Antiquités d'Arles par le Chevalier de Gaillard. Publiées dans le Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Vieuil Arles—4^0 année n^0 4 Avril 1907, p. 263.

— Lovatelli—*L'antico culto di Bona Dea in Roma*—in "Scritti Vari" p. 39 (Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli, *Bona Dea*).

— Espérandieu—*Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*—I, No. 137 II p. 452 IX p. 101.

— Constans (Léopold-Albert)—*Arles antique*—Paris 1921, p. 128 et 350.

— Lannois—*L'Autel auriculaire du Musée d'Arles*—in "Lyon médical" No. 18 25 sept. 1921—p. 843. LIII^0 année—Tome CXXX.

— F. Benoît—*Forma Orbis Romani*—BdR. P. 145 No. 22b.

— F. Benoît—*Le Musée Lapidaire d'Arles*—1936—reproduit p. 27.

— F. Benoît—*Le symbolisme dans les sanctuaires de la Gaule*—Coll. Latomus—Volume 105—1970—p. 59 et 63.

l. 3: See above, No. 93, *ad* l. 3.

(131). Slab in fine-grained white marble. D. 0.027; dimensions of the fragment: 0.27 × 0.225 m. The inscription was written in a frame forming a margin of 30 mm. (Traces are visible at the upper part and at the right side between l. 1 and 2). Found in the excavations of the theatre of Arles.[329]
Arles, Musée Lapidaire d'Art Païen, Reg. No. P. 78.

CIL XII 656.

Letter heights: l. 1: 42; l. 2-4: 34 mm.

[Fo]rtunae / [A]relaten(si) / [Nem?]ausen(si) / [au]ribus / [Bonae Deae?].[330]

To Fortuna of Arles and Nîmes. To the ears of Bona Dea (?).

CIL refers to (my) Nos. 130 and 129.[331]

l. 4: See above, Nos. 110 and 130; below, No. 133.

Apta Iulia-
Apt (Vaugines)[332]

132. Small altar. Found at Vaugines near Apt, *quartier du Fontenil*, on a site called *La Melle* (*CIL*).
Cucuron, Collection Deydier.[333]

CIL XII 5830.

Bonae / Deae / Cornelia / L(uci) f(ilia) Gratilla / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

---

[329] Cf. *Provence-Côte d'Azur*, plan opposite p. 288 (C-D 2-3).

[330] M. Rouquette calls the monument an "inscription à la Fortune Arlésienne," reading:
forTVNAE
arELATEN
(nem?)AVSEN
auRIBVS
There are, however, traces visible both of the R of *Fortunae* and that of *Arelatensi*.

[331] In a letter to the author, M. Rouquette cites this bibliography:
— Veran (Jean-Didier)—*Inscriptions d'Arles*—1828. Ms. 742 de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Arles. No. 229, 4
CIL XII 656.
Constans (Léopold-Albert)—*Arles Antique*—1921, p. 130.
Benoît (Fernand)—*Forma Orbis Romani*—BdR. p. 135. No. V, 1.

[332] Cf. J. B. Keune, *Apt* in *RE* Suppl. III (1918), coll. 135-136; K. Ziegler, *Apta Iulia* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 468: *Provence-Côte d'Azur*, pp. 204-206, plan opposite p. 206 (*Apt*); p. 217 (*Vaugines*).

[333] Cf. Clerc, p. 533, No. 77, plate XXXII.

Cornelia Gratilla, daughter of Lucius, has fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea, willingly and justly.

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 11; Latte, *RR*, p. 230 and note 3; Clerc, p. 533, No. 77, planche XXXII.

l. 3-4: *CIL*: "4 in. aut C. aut L." Clerc reads *L(ucii)*. The damaged letter in the *CIL* reading can only be an L. NE of Cornelia is written in ligature: NE.

Glanum-St.-Rémy-de-Provence[334]

133. Altar in limestone. H. 1.19; W. 0.43; D. 0.33 m. Found in the excavations of Glanum in 1937, in a room of the *insula* west of the street of the Baths. Small *pulvini* with rosettes form the top of the altar, which stands on a brick base, 1.24 × 0.90 m. A small bronze dome is supposed to have stood on top; traces of the fastenings are visible in the four corners of the upper surface. The front shows a wreath of oak- or laurel leaves, in which stand two ears divided by ribbons crossing over a globe and fluttering down from the wreath.

Glanum, Inv. No. 2852.

AE 1946, 153 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 18.

On the cornice:

Auribus.

Over the wreath:

Loreia Pia / ministra.

To the ears --- The ministra *Loreia Pia.*

1st or 2nd cent. A.D. (Rolland); 2nd cent. A.D. (Hermann).

Inscriptions de Glanum No. 18 (p. 176, fig. 8);[335] Hermann, *Röm. Göt-*

---

[334] Cf. M. Ihm, *Glanum* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), , coll. 1380-1381; *Inscriptions de Glanum*; Rolland, *Fouilles* I and II; H. Rolland, *Glanum* in *EAA* III (1960), pp. 947-951; Picard, *Glanum*; M. Leglay, *Glanum* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), col. 806; *Provence-Côte d'Azur*, pp. 253-254.

[335] "Autel en pierre tendre avec base et couronnement à volutes, trouvé dans les fouilles de Glanum, en 1937, dans une chambre de l'*insula* ouest de la rue des thermes. Haut. 1 m. 19; larg. 0,43; ép. 0,33. A Glanum (Inv. 2852). (Fig. 8)—Sur la face antérieure du monument, une large couronne de chêne (see below, however) avec longs lemnisques entoure un disque légèrement convexe, divisé en quatre compartiments par deux rubans passés en sautoir, dans les cantons latéraux deux oreilles opposées. Inscription sur la moulure supérieure et sur le cippe, au-dessus de la couronne. Le momument d'une excellente exécution présente une étroite parenté avec un bel autel

teralt., p. 137, No. 63;[336] Turcan, pp. 60-61;[337] See also Picard, *Glanum,* p. 182 and fig. 3.

l. 1: See above, Nos. 110, 130, (131).
l. 2: Rolland: *Loreia / pia / ministra; AE* and Hermann: *Loreia Pie.*
l. 3: See above, No. 93, *ad* l. 3.

134. Big sacrificial table in local limestone, with mouldings on the four sides. H. 0.14; W. 0.95; D. 0.60 m. Found together with No. 133 in 1937. The text is on one of the long sides.

Glanum, Inv. No. 2853.

AE 1946, 154 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 19.

Attia Musa Dom(i)nae ministra posuit.

The ministra *Attia Musa has erected this in hounour of the Mistress.*

1st or 2nd cent. A.D.

---

de marbre, conservé au Musée d'Arles, dédié à la Bonne Déesse (above, No. 130).

AVRIBVS
LOREIA PIA
MINISTRA

Beaux caractères du Ier ou IIe siècle.—Auribus / Loreia / pia / ministra (this is not correct). Une dédicace aux oreilles de la Bonne Déesse était déjà connue à Arles (above, No. 130; Rolland refers also in his note to the dedication from Aquileia, No. 110). Le culte de cette divinité paraît avoir possédé, à Glanum, un petit sanctuaire aménagé dans le péristyle d'une construction hellénistique; là existe une salle vraisemblablement hypèthre, entourée d'une banquette et renfermant un massif de maçonnerie orienté (1 m. 20 × 0 m. 90) ayant dû servir d'autel, et auprès duquel ont été découvertes les deux inscriptions suivantes dédiées également à la Bonne Déesse.—See below, Nos. 134 and 135—P. de Brun, Les dieux de Glano, suppl. p. 12 (cf. P. de Brun, *Promenade archéologique dans les ruines de Glanum,* Marseille, 1942, p. 49)." Cf. also: Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum* I, p. 97 fig. 78 & p. 98 (*Portiques VII-Marché?,* pp. 92-98): "La destination de celle-ci est clairement indiquée par la présence de l'autel aussi que par les objets qui ont été découverts en cet endroit: il s'agit d'un petit sanctuaire de la Bonne Déesse. Dans son enceinte se trouvait le bel autel (Inv. 2852) dédié aux oreilles (*auribus*) de la déesse par sa pieuse (cf. Rolland's reading *pia,* not *Pia*) servante Loreia (fig. 78), monument vraisemblablement du Ier siècle, inspiré d'un autel de marbre trouvé à Arles ..."

[336] "... Die Verwandtschaft mit dem bekannten Altar der Bona Dea in Arles ist offenbar, Rolland neigt zu einer Datierung ins erste Jahrhundert n. Chr. Die Qualität ist wesentlich geringer als die des Altares in Arles, die teigische zeichnerische Wiedergabe des Kranzes sowie die Form der Pulvini machen eine Datierung ins zweite Jahrhundert wahrscheinlicher."

[337] La sphère où la déesse a les deux pieds posés (sur le premier fragment—Cybele seated on a lion, her feet on a globe, discussed by Turcan, p. 60), peut être rapprochée de celle qui figure cerclée dans une couronne de laurier sur l'autel dédié par Loreia Pia aux "oreilles" (*auribus*) de la Bonne Déesse. Les oreilles sont sculptées dans deux des compartiments formés par les deux rubans croisés sur la boule. Sur d'autres représentations de la sphère, les deux rubans figurent les deux cercles de l'équateur et de l'écliptique croisés sur le Cosmos. Ce motif signifie la souveraineté universelle de la déesse, qu'elle porte le nom de Cybèle ou de Bona Dea. On a conjecturé que l'autel de Loreia Pia était surmonté d'un petit dôme en bronze dont les supports ont laissé des traces aux quatre coins supérieurs ..."

Inscriptions de Glanum No. 19 (p. 176, fig. 8);[338] *AE* 1946, p. 45, No. 154;[339] Turcan, p. 61.

Attia Musa: Rolland: "Les Attii figurent sur de nombreuses inscriptions de Nîmes (reference to P. de Brun, *Les dieux de Glano,* suppl., p. 10)."
Dom(i)nae: Cf. above, No. 127.
ministra: See above, No. 93, *ad* l. 3.

135. Pedestal in limestone. Same provenance as Nos. 133 and 134, but of a later date. Three holes in the upper surface were meant for the legs of a tripod. H. 0.13; W. 0.33; D. 0.29 m.
Glanum, Inv. No. 2854.

AE 1946, 155 = *Inscriptions de Glanum* No. 20.

Vicinia Euty/chia Bon(a)e Dea(e).

Vinicia Eutychia to Bona Dea.

3rd cent. A.D. (? Rolland).

Inscriptions de Glanum No. 20 (pp. 176-177, fig. 8);[340] *AE* 1946, p. 45, No. 155.

l. 1-2: Vinicia Euty/chia: Rolland: "Les Vinicii sont déjà représentés en Narbonnaise."[341]

Nemausus-Nîmes[342]

136. Marble statue of Bona Dea. H. *ca.* 1.20 m. Found at Nîmes in 1662. Lost.

Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 2.

The goddess is represented seated on a *cathedra* without back or arms, clad in a long chiton and mantle, on her head a diadem. In the left arm she holds the cornucopia, and a serpent coiling around her right arm feeds from a bowl, which is missing together with the hand..

---

[338] After the description and reading of the monument, Rolland continues: "La découverte de ce monument à côté des Nos. 18 et 30 (= Nos. 133 et 135) permet de voir dans la Dame (*Dom(i)na*), dont Attia Musa était la servante, la *Bona Dea* ..." See also Rolland, *Fouilles* I, p. 97, fig. 78, and p. 98.

[339] The *AE* reading *Attia Musa Domnae / (?) ministra posuit* is not correct.

[340] After the description and reading, Rolland states: "Bons caractères, peut-être du IIIe siècle ..." See also Rolland, *Fouilles* I, p. 97, fig. 78, and p. 98.

[341] Rolland refers to *CIL* XII 2733, 2735, etc. This is not correct for 2733; 2735 reads: *D.M. / M. Vinici / Volt. Iuliani.* There is also reference to P. De Brun, *Les dieux de Glano*, suppl., p. 13.

[342] Cf. E. Linckenheld, *Nemausus* (2) in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 2288-2310; F. Benoît, *Nîmes* in *EAA* V (1963), pp. 497-499; M. Leglay, *Nemausus* (2) in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), col. 44-45.

[343] "Verschollen. Gefunden 1622 in Nîmes. Höhe etwa 1,20 m. E. Espérandieu 3, 2648. Reinach, RS. 4, 177, 8.—Abb. 1 (p. 229)."

Greifenhagen, p. 227, No. 2;[343] cf. pp. 234 and 242.[344]

BRITANNIA

BRITANNIA INFERIOR[345]

Cilurnum-Chesters (Northd.)[346]

136'. "Altar, 19×41 in. (1/12), with die heavily scored by ploughing; on left side patera, on right jug. Found in 1891 in digging holes for shrubs beside the drive west of The Chesters, about 1/4 mile west of Chesters fort. Now in Chesters Museum. Drawn by R. G. C(ollingwood), 1925" (*RIB*).

RIB 1448.

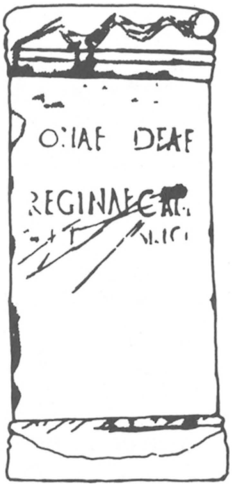


Fig. 5
(After *RIB*, p. 467, No. 1448)

---

[344] "Kein sicherer Beweis lässt sich für die bereits früher von mir vermutete Ergänzung (Text zu EA 4240) einer anderen Statuette in Nîmes erbringen (EA 1412, Höhe 0,51 m), und die Möglichkeit, eine verwandte Gottheit mit dem Füllhorn allein oder einem zweiten unbestimmten Attribut anzunehmen, besteht durchaus. Bermerkt sei aber doch, dass die Bona Dea gerade in Nîmes bezeugt ist (No. 2) ... Die meisten dieser Marmorstatuetten bleiben unter einem halben Meter, nur zwei sind etwas grösser als ein Meter (No. 2: 1,20 m; No. 3: 1,05 m = No. 91)."

[345] Cf. E. Hübner, *Britanni* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 858-879; S. Frere, *Britannia, a History of Roman Britain,* London, 1969³ (*History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire*).

[346] Cf. E. Hübner, *Cilurnum* in *RE* III 2 (1899), col. 2546; Frere, *o.c.*, see index *s.v. Chesters.*

[B]onae Deae / Reginae Cae[l/esti.

To Bona Dea Regina Caelestis.

Time of Hadrian (or later).

The older sources are found in *RIB.*

l. 2-3: Reginae Cae[l]esti: Cf. Nos. 70, 75 (*Caelestis*) and 99 (*Regina*).

AFRICA

NUMIDIA[347] **Zarai-Zraia**[348]

137. Dedicary inscription. H. 0.50; W. 0.22 m.

CIL VIII 4509.

Letter heights: 40 mm.

Bon(a)e De[(a)e] / sac(rum) Iulius M/artis aram / votum / quot pro/misit red(didit) / l(ibens) a(nimo) s(ua) [p(ecunia)].

Dedicated to Bona Dea. Julius has fulfilled the vow which he had made, willingly and with all his heart, and he has at his own expense erected this Mars altar.

Imperial Age.

See besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 11.

l. 2-3: M/artis aram: AM is written in ligature.

l. 6: red(didit): *CIL* reads *RED (?)*; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 2014, *s.v. votum.*

l. 7: *CIL*: "Infractum non esse, sed litteras si quae ibi fuerunt evanuisse, fortasse praeter litteras *l.a.s.* nihil umquam in eo scriptum fuisse adnotavit Wilmanns in re praesenti." Should this be the correct interpretation then the last line would read *l(ibens) a(nimo) s(olvit),* not very probable because of *red(didit)* in l. 6 (Cagnat[4], p. 459 does not interpret RED in this way).

---

[347] Cf. H. V. Windberg, *Numidia* in *RE* XVII 2 (1937), coll. 1343-1397; G. C. Susini, *Numidia* in *EAA* V (1963), p. 585; H. Volkmann, *Numidia* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), coll. 197-199; *Die Numider, Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara,* herausgegeben von H. G. Horn und C. B. Rüger, Köln-Bonn (1979) (Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Ausstellung 29.11.1979-29.2.1980).

[348] Cf. M. Leglay, *Zarai* in *RE* IX A 2 (1967), coll. 2315-2316; M. Leglay, *Zarai* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), coll. 1457-1458.

Sila-Bordj el Ksar[349]

138. Inscription written in a circle on a stone pedestal.

AE 1906, 92 = *ILA* II 2, 6863.

Bon(a)e Deae / Augus(tae) sacr/um.

Dedicated to Bona Dea Augusta.

Imperial Age.

AE 1906, p. 29, No. 92, refers to *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Constantine,* XXXIX (1905), p. 220. "A Sila. Inscription gravée dans un cercle, sur un piédestal de pierre." Reading as shown above.

Lambaesis-Lambèse-Tazzût[350]

138'. Altar in white limestone. Found 30 m to the northeast of the temple of Aesculapius and Hygieia,[351] and probably originating from this temple.

AE 1960, 107.

Bonae De/ae ❦ / Petroni/us Iustus / leg(atus) ❦ Aug(usti) pr(o) / pr(aetore) recipera/ta salute.

To Bona Dea. Petronius Justus, Imperial governor (of the province) with the rank of praetor. For the recovery of his health.

After 232-235 (cf. *AE,* p. 34, No. 107: "Le légat de Numidie date des dernières années de Sévère Alexandre, entre 232 et 235").

AE 1960, p. 34, No. 107; reference to *Bonner Jahrbücher* 158 (1958), pp. 123-124 --- "Lambaesis (Lambèse): A trente mètres au nord-est du temple d'Esculape. Autel de calcaire blanc. — Reading as shown above — Peut-être l'autel vient-il du temple voisin voué à Esculape et à Hygie, à laquelle la Bona Dea a été assimilée sous l'Empire."

139. The dedication of an altar. Without relevant data.

CIL VIII 10.765.

---

[349] Cf. *CIL* VIII 1 (1881), p. 564 (*XLIV. SILA (prope mosceam Sidi-el-Abassi)*); H. Dessau, *Sila* (2) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), col. 2550; M. Leglay, *Sila* (2) in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), col. 188.

[350] Cf. *CIL* VIII 1 (1881), pp. 283-285 (*XII. CASTRA ET CIVITAS LAMBAESIS (Lambèse; apud barbaros Tazzût sive Tezzulet)*); H. Dessau, *Lambaesis* in *RE* XII 1 (1925), coll. 539-541; P. Romanelli, *Lambesi* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 460-462; M. Leglay, *Lambaese* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 463.

[351] Cf. Romanelli, *Lambesi* (cf. note 350), p. 462, fig. 540.

Bon(a)e Daee / Aug(ustae) Caecili/us Vincen/tius cum Va/leria Matr/ona aram de / suo fecerunt / et d(edicaverunt).

Caecilius Vincentius has, together with Valeria Matrona, built this altar at their own expense, and dedicated it to Bona Dea Augusta.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL*, Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 11.

l. 8: d(edicaverunt): or *d(ederunt). CIL* only reads D. Cf. Cagnat^4, p. 421.

PROVINCIA BYZACENA[352] **Mactaris-Hr. Makter**[353]

140. Altar. H. 0.60; W. 0.31 m. Found at Hr Makter in a small sanctuary between the Circus and the Arch of Trajan.[354]

EE VII 66 = *CIL* VIII 11.795.

Bon(a)e Deae / August(ae) sacr(um) / Iulia Casta Fe/licitas votum / solvit l(ibens) a(nimo).

Dedicated to Bona Dea Augusta. Julia Casta Felicitas has fulfilled her vow, willingly and with all her heart.

Imperial Age.

See, besides *CIL* with the older sources, Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1013; Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 11; R. Mowat in *Bulletin Épigraphique,* tome IV (1884), p. 142 (*Société nationale des antiquaires de France,* 18 juin).[355]

---

[352] Cf. H. Dessau, *Byzacium* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1114-1116; M. Leglay, *Byzacium* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), col. 979.

[353] Cf. *CIL* VIII Suppl. (1891), p. 1219, besides *CIL* VIII 1 (1881), p. 79; H. Dessau, *Mactaris* in *RE* XIV 1 (1930), col. 199; Ch. Picard, *Mactar* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 759-760; M. Leglay, *Mactaris* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), coll. 858-859; *Tunisie*, pp. 247-251.

[354] Cf. *Tunisie*, plan p. 248.

[355] "M. de Villefosse communique, de la part de M. Letaille, diverses antiquités recueillies à Makteur (Tunisie), entr'autres deux inscriptions, l'une BONA DEAE / AVGVST·SACR / IVLIA·CASTA·FE/LICITAS·VOTVM / SOLVIT·L·A; l'autre, M·M ET / I P·AVG; au lieu de P il y a sans doute un R, M(atri) M(agnae) et I(unoni) R(eginae) Aug(ustae). Deux semelles en plomp, de 21 centimètres de long étaient encastrées dans le dallage sur lequel étaient posées ces inscriptions votives; M. Flouest les compare à des objets en forme de pieds chaussés, découverts aux sources de la Seine. M. Gaidoz cite à ce propos des jambes votives en bronze, au British Museum, et rappelle la défense faite par les conciles de déposer des *pedum simulacra* dans les carrefours." Cf. also note 3: "Ces semelles ne nous paraissent pas avoir eu une destination votive; elles marquaient sans doute la place où la dévot, ou plutôt le dévote, devait poser les pieds pendant le sacrifice." Cf. also *CIL* VIII 11.797: M(atri) M(agnae) et / I(ano) P(atri) Aug(usto).

MAURETANIA CAESARENSIS[356] **Auzia-Aumale**
(or **Gorfa Uled Selama**)[357]

141. Two fragments of a dedication. H. 0.49; D. 0.30; W. of the right fragment 0.70 m. Found in 1883 by Choisnet either in the excavations at Gorfa Uled Selama or at Sûk el-Khemis in the territory of Auzia.

EE V 1299 = *CIL* VIII 20.747.

Letter heights: 50 mm.

Deae [Bonae V]aletudini Sanc(tae) / L(ucius) Cass[ius Restu]tus ex dec(urione) vet(eranus) / fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) col(oniae) [et Clo]dia Luciosa (uxor) eius / templ[um cum orna]mentis sua pecu/nia fece[runt dedica]veruntque et / reip(ublicae) do[no deder]unt pr(ovinciae) CLXXXXVI.

To Bona Dea Valetudo Sancta. Lucius Cassius Restutus, former decurio *and priest for life of the colony, and his wife Clodia Luciosa have built this temple with its furnishings at their own expense and dedicated it, and given as a present to the community; in the year 196 of the province.*

A.D. 235 (*CIL*; cf. Cagnat^4, p. 454: *PR: provinciae (anno, en Maurétanie).*

Cf., besides *CIL*,[358] Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014;[359] Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218 and note 1; cf. note 9; E. Masqueray, *Lettre à M. Tissot sur la Ghorfa des Aouled Selama. M. Choisnet à Tatilti* in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine,* Quatrième Année (1885), tome III, pp. 110-121.[360]

---

[356] Cf. St. Weinstock, *Mauretania* in *RE* XIV 2 (1930), coll. 2344-2386; G. C. Susini, *Mauretania* in *EAA* IV (1961), pp. 930-932; H. Volkmann, *Mauretania* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), coll. 1091-1095.

[357] Cf. *CIL* VIII 2 (1881), p. 769 (*VI. AUZIA (olim indigenis Sur Roslan, nunc Gallis Aumale)*); H. Dessau, *Auzia* in *RE* II 2 (1896), coll. 2623-2624; M. Leglay, *Auzia* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), col. 784; Masqueray's letter, cited below.

[358] "... fragmenta duo eiusdem lapidis alta m. 0,49, crassa m. 0,30 (fragmentum dextrum latum m. 0,70), litt. 0,05. Gorfa Uled Selama rep. fossionibus institutis a Choisnet anno 1883 (cum idem eodem fere tempore effossionibus temptaverit etiam rudera territorii Auziensis dicta Sûk el-Khemis, non satis distinxit has diversas fossiones is qui de iis rettulit *bulletin trim. des antiq. afr.* 2 p. 308, unde nos quoque locum et huius inscriptionis et aliarum una repertarum non recte indicavimus Eph. V n. 1299 seq.) ..."

[359] "... per identificazione delle due divinità o Bona dea è solamente usato come predicato, cf. Hygia."

[360] "... Ce L. Cassius Restutus qui avait, de concert avec sa femme Luciosa, fait bâtir un temple en 235, était peut-être un compagnon d'armes de Gargilius, le père (Cf. Masqueray, pp. 111-113); il était devenu, comme lui, flamine perpétuel et patron de la colonie. Je n'ai pas hésité à restituer son nom après avoir comparé cette inscription avec la longue inscription d'Aumale (*CIL* VIII 9052; cf. below, note 362) consacrée à leur parents par les enfants de "L. Cassius Restutus, vétéran, ex décurion, et de Clodia Luciosa, sa femme." Ce sont évidemment les mêmes personnages des deux côtés. L. Cassius Restutus paraît avoir joui d'une assez belle fortune, puisque, d'après ce dernier document que Willmans a si heureusement déchiffré, il avait constitué une rente afin que les jeux fussent célébrés tous les ans à Auzia en son honneur."

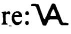
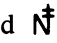
l. 1: Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 308, note 10.[361]

l. 2: *CIL*: "L. Cassius Restutus, ex decurione veteranus, et Clodia Luciosa uxor eius, iidem sunt ad quorum monumentum pertinuit titulus Auziensis supra n. 9052.[362] Itaque hunc quoque titulum vere Auziensem esse colligi potest."

l. 3: fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus): *CIL* reads FL·PP; cf. Cagnat4, p. 430.

Ċlo]dia Luciosa: DI is written in ligature: .

l. 4: orna]mentis: NTI is written in ligature: .

l. 4-5: sua pecu/nia: VA and NI are written in ligature:  and . The V of *pecunia* is much smaller than the other letters of the text and is written .

l. 5: dedica/veruntque: NT in ligature: .

et: written: .

---

[361] "Vereinzelt kommt im gleichen Sinne (i.e. as Salus) auch eine Göttin Valetudo vor, so auf den Inschriften *CIL* III 5149. 7279. V 6415. VIII 9610. 20747. IX 3812f. XI 6112 und als Beischrift einer Hygieia-darstellung auf dem Revers der Denare des M'. Acilius Glabrio (...), deren Vorderseite einen bekränzten Frauenkopf mit der Beischrift *Salutis* zeigt. Der Name findet sich auch bei Mart. Cap. I 55, die Existenz eines Heiligtums der Valetudo auf dem Capitol hat JORDAN, Topogr. I 2 S. 46 mit Unrecht aus Petron. 88 gefolgert." A Valetudo sanctuary is known at Glanum (St.-Rémy-de-Provence), Cf. Rolland, *Valetudo* and *Fouilles* II, pp. 98-106 and plan VIII.

[362] *CIL* VIII 9052: [L. Cass]io Restuto veterano ex decurione et / [Clod]iae Luciosae eius Cassi Rogatus et Satur[ni]nus parentibus (etc.).

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERARY SOURCES

1. CICERO

When it comes to giving information about Bona Dea in classical literature Cicero is our most exhaustive source. Numerous references to the goddess both in his letters and in his other writings date from the period 61 to 44 B.C. Yet while it is definitely not the case that Cicero is the author who provides the most information about the mythology and the cult of Bona Dea, it is a fact that in his works the goddess and particulars of her myths and worship recur regularly. These references to Bona Dea are to be traced back to two episodes in Cicero's (political) life. In the crucial days of the Catilinarian conspiracy under Cicero's consulship 63 B.C., a miracle takes place during the Bona Dea festival in Cicero's house: the altar flame suddenly leaps up from the embers. This is at once interpreted as a sign from Heaven that the consul's course of action is the right one, and Cicero acts as he has meant to from the outset. In December 62 B.C. the Clodius scandal occurs: P. Clodius Pulcher, disguised as a female harper, enters Caesar's house where this year the Bona Dea festival is being celebrated, allegedly with the object of meeting his mistress Pompeia, Caesar's wife. In the subsequent trial for sacrilege Cicero appears as a witness for the prosecution, in consequence of which he brings down upon himself Clodius' enmity. Clodius' death ten years later, near a Bona Dea shrine, closes this episode at last.[1]

---

[1] Because of the abundance of both ancient literature and modern works concerning Cicero, the writing of a biography of the statesman and author seems superfluous in this context. Comments, however, on the date and tenor of each quoted passage may be termed relevant. As for the ancient literature, Cicero's writings, especially his letters, are the most important sources. As for the modern works, suffice it to cite the following: Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 403-404 (bibliography up to 1927); M. Gelzer-W. Kroll-R. Philippson-K. Büchner, *Tullius* (No. 29) in *RE* VII A 1 (1939), coll. 827-1274; P. Boyancé, *Études sur l'humanisme cicéronien,* Bruxelles, 1970 (= *Collection Latomus,* vol. 121), pp. 36-73 (II. *Travaux récents sur Cicéron*: 1939-1958); K. Büchner, *Cicero, M. Tullius* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 1174-1186 (1185-1186: bibliography up to 1964); Gelzer, *Cicero*; see also: T. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte,* Darmstadt, 1973 (6th ed. after the 3rd ed. 1912 and the 4th ed. 1929); B. Kytzler, *Ciceros literarische Leistung,* Darmstadt, 1973 (*Wege der Forschung,* Band CCXL), pp. 515-519 (bibliography); some more recent special studies are: *Ciceroniana, Hommages à Kazimierz Kumaniecki,* publiés par Alain Michel et Raoul Verdière, Leiden, 1975 (*Roma Aeterna* IX); T. N. Mitchell, *Cicero, The Ascending Years,* New Haven and London, 1979; M. Wistrand, *Cicero Imperator, Studies in Cicero's Correspondence 51-47 B.C.* (Göteborg, 1979) (= *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* XLI).

Epistulae ad Atticum

The correspondence between Cicero and his friend Atticus is of a markedly personal nature, and consequently the letters do not contain any important information about Bona Dea and her cult; what they do contain are, as it were, personal notes on Cicero's references elsewhere. The *political* attitude towards the State religion is in the letters illustrated by a *personal* comment on a crime against that same religion[2]

> *Cicero's Letters to Atticus,* edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Volume I: 68-59 B.C., 1-45 (Books I and II), Cambridge, 1965 (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 3)

1. Ad Atticum I xii 3 p. 132

In this first letter which mentions the Clodius scandal there is as yet no proof of Cicero's later indignation, although it concerns an event that took place as recently as a month before. The remark *rem esse insigni infamia* refers to the general feelings about the affair, and not to Cicero's own. It may be assumed that with the words *quod te moleste ferre certo scio* he ascribes his own feelings to Atticus but the expression is not such as to reveal intense indignation.

Scr. Romae Kal. Ian. an. 61

P. Clodium Appi f. credo te audisse cum veste muliebri deprehensum domi C. Caesaris cum sacrificium pro populo fieret, eumque per manus servulae servatum et eductum; rem esse insigni infamia, quod te moleste ferre certo scio.[3]

---

[2] As we can read in Atticus' biography by Cornelius Nepos (*ca.* 99-24 B.C.; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 351-361; 329; 475; 479-480) Atticus most carefully kept most of Cicero's letters. Nepos saw the collection at Atticus' house, and was convinced of the importance of the letters to contemporary history. They had not yet been published, and also afterwards Atticus hardly thought of publication because of the very personal nature of the correspondence and the wide offence it was sure to give. Quite a long time was to pass before these letters could be shown to the public. Asconius did not know of their existence when writing his commentary on Cicero's orations (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 479-480). By Seneca, however, they are cited (*Ad Lucilium* XVI 97 4; XIX—XX 118 1) so that the date of the publication may be *ca.* A.D. 60 (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 480). For the relation Cicero-Atticus and the *fata epistularum,* see also Shackleton Bailey I, pp. 3-59 and 59-76.

[3] Cf. also the editions: *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae,* vol. II: *Epistulae ad Atticum,* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Ludovicus Claude Purser, pars prior, libri I-VIII, Oxonii (1903/1958): I xii 3 (without pagination): *cum pro populo fieret.* The same reading is to be found in: *Cicero in twenty eight Volumes,* XXII, *Letters to Atticus,* books I-VI, with an English Translation by E. O. Winstedt, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXX (1912), p. 30. Cf. Shackleton Bailey I, p. 300.

Rome, 1 January 61

I suppose that you have heard that P. Clodius, son of Appius, dressed up as a woman was caught in Caesar's house when the sacrifice for the people was being offered there; that he owes his safe escape to a servant girl; that the affair created an enormous scandal. I am sure that you think this a disgraceful thing.[4]

2. Ad Atticum I xiii 3 pp. 136-138

And as the Clodius scandal is shaping it begins to show also political aspects besides the fact that it has been established that Clodius' venture was a case of sacrilege. In this letter Cicero gives not only more details than in the previous one but at the same time expresses his own alarm at the affair.

Scr. Romae vi Kal. Febr. an. 61

credo enim te audisse, cum apud Caesarem pro populo fieret, venisse eo muliebri vestitu virum, idque sacrificium cum virgines instaurassent, mentionem a Q. Cornificio[5] in senatu factam (is fuit princeps, ne tu forte aliquem nostrum putes); postea rem ex senatus consulto ad virgines atque pontifices relatam idque ab iis nefas esse decretum; deinde ex senatus consulto consules rogationem promulgasse; uxori Caesarem nuntium remisisse. in hac causa Piso amicitia P. Clodi ductus[6] operam dat ut ea rogatio quam ipse fert, et fert ex senatus consulto et de religione, antiquetur. Messalla vehementer adhuc agit <et> severe.[7] boni viri precibus Clodi removentur a causa, operae comparantur. nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgei fuissemus,[8] cottidie demitigamur. instat et urget Cato.[9] quid multa? vereor ne haec †iniecta† a bonis defensa ab improbis magnorum rei publicae malorum causa sit.[10]

Rome, 25 January 61

I suppose you have heard that, when at Caesar's house the sacrifice for the people was being offered, a man in women's clothes got in; that, after the Vestals had celebrated the ceremony anew, the matter was raised in the Senate by Q. Cornificius (he was the first to give his view lest you should think it was one of us), whereupon by a decree of the Senate it was referred to the Vestals and the College of Pontiffs, who pronounced the occurrence a sacrilege. Then by a decree of the Senate the Consuls promulgated a bill. Caesar notified his wife of his decision to divorce her. Under the circumstances Piso out of friendship for P. Clodius tries his hardest to have the bill rejected, the bill he introduces himself and under a decree of the Senate and concerning a matter of religion. So far Messalla's attitude has been severe and uncompromising. The respectable citizens are prevailed upon by Clodius to leave the matter alone, and bodies of armed men are being organized. I myself, who was a true Lycurgus at one time, am becoming more lenient every day. Cato is pressing for action all the time. But enough. I fear that on account of the lack of interest shown by the respectable people and on account of the support of the mob this situation may harm the state considerably.[11]

---

[4] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, pp. 299-300.

[5] Tribune of the People in 69 B.C., Praetor *ca.* 66, candidate for the consulship in 63; cf. G. Wissowa, *Cornificius* (7) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 1624; Broughton II, pp. 132, 152; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 67.

[6] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, *cos.* 58 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Calpurnius* (90) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1387-1390; Broughton II, pp. 179, 193.

[7] M. Valerius Messalla Niger, *cos.* 61 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Valerius* (266) in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 162-165; Broughton II, pp. 162, 178; Schanz-Hosius I, p. 400; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 68.

[8] I.e. *inflexibly severe*; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1090, *s.v. Lycurgei.*

[9] M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis) had been Tribune of the People in 62 B.C.; cf. F. Miltner (-W. H. Gross), *Porcius* (16) in *RE* XXII 1 (1953), coll. 168-213; Broughton II, pp. 174-175, 221-222.

[10] Cf. Purser (see note 3): *agit severe; neglecta a bonis.* Thus also Winstedt (see note 3).

3. *Ad Atticum* I xiv 1-2 (cf. 5) p. 140

In a more general description of the situation in Rome, which for some time has been determined by the presence of Pompey, there is also mention of the development of the Bona Dea scandal. Pompey had already felt obliged to give his opinion about the affair in a *contio,* and he has now done the same in the Senate.[12]

Scr. Romae Id. Febr. an. 61

Prima contio Pompei qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea: non iucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis. itaque frigebat. tum Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus pl. Fufius[13] in contionem producit Pompeium. res agebatur in circo Flaminio, et erat in eo ipso loco illo die nundinarum πανήγυρις. quaesivit ex eo placeretne ei iudices a praetore legi, quo consilio idem praetor uteretur. id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum. tum Pompeius μάλ'ἀριστόκρατικῶς locutus est senatusque auctoritatem sibi omnibus in rebus maximi videri semperque visam esse respondit, et id multis verbis.

Postea Messalla consul in senatu de Pompeio quaesivit quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret. locutus ita est in senatu ut omnia illius ordinis consulta γενικῶς laudaret, mihique, ut adsedit, dixit se putare satis ab se [et]iam de istis rebus esse responsum.[14]

Rome, 13 February 61

What Pompey's first speech was like, I already let you know: without hope for the poor, without interest for the scum of the nation, for the rich without charm, for the respectable people not satisfactory. Therefore it had a cool reception. Prompted by Consul Piso a most irresponsible Tribune of the People, Fufius, then invited Pompey to address the Assembly. It took place in the Flaminian Circus where on that day and in that same place the weekly market holiday was being celebrated. Fufius asked him whether he thought it right for a jury whose advice was going to be acted upon by a Praetor to be empanelled by the same Praetor. For this was the procedure as decided upon by the Senate in the Clodius sacrilege case. Pompey then spoke as a true aristocrat and replied that under all circumstances the Senate's authority was and had always been of paramount importance to him—with great verbosity too.

---

[11] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, pp. 304-305.

[12] Cf. Shackleton Bailey I, p. 307.

[13] Q. Fufius (Q. f. C. n.) Calenus, *cos.* 47 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Fufius* (10) in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 204-207; Shackleton Bailey I, pp. 306-307.

[14] The divergencies in Purser and Winstedt (see note 3) are negligible.

Then Consul Messalla asked Pompey in the Senate what his view was about the sacrilege and the bill. His words in the Senate were to the effect that he praised any of that body's decrees. As he sat down he said to me that he thought that he had said more than enough about these matters.[15]

4. Ad Atticum I xvi 10 p. 156

This letter gives a very detailed report on the sacrilege trial against Clodius. Its tone is a very personal one, yet it is if we leave this aspect aside an illuminating description. Also Cicero's attitude towards Clodius after the trial and the subsequent reactions are paid attention to. It is Cicero's belief that the course of the trial and the verdict of the court are to be taken as signs of the decline of religion, and morals in general. This is but one symptom of the decay which has been undermining the State for a long time.

In 10 Cicero quotes a dialogue between himself and Clodius, in which sneering at Clodius' alibi (who maintained to have spent that night at Interamna), he mentions the mysteries of Bona Dea.

Scr. Romae in. m. Quint. an. 61

Surgit pulchellus puer, obicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse.[16] falsum, sed tamen "quid? hoc simile est" inquam "quasi in operto dicas fuisse?"[17]

Rome, early July 61

Our adorable Adonis rises and accuses me of having been at Baiae. Not true, but nevertheless: "How", I reply, "does that imply that I was present at the mysteries?"[18]

5. Ad Atticum II i 5 p. 196

Referring to Clodius' remark that he made the journey from Sicily to Rome within a week, Cicero reminds him of the journey to Interamna (Terni) which Clodius had brought forward as an alibi at the Bona Dea trial. The innuendoes have a bearing upon Clodius' intruding on the nocturnal festival of Bona Dea.

---

[15] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, pp. 306-307.

[16] Cf. Shackleton Bailey I, p. 320.

[17] Both Purser and Winstedt (see note 3) read: ... *quid hoc? "Simile est ...*

[18] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, pp. 320-321.

Scr. Anti, ut vid., fort. iii Non. Iun. an. 60

Ex Sicilia septimo die Romam: at tribus horis Roma Interamnam. noctu introisse: idem ante. "Non est itum obviam: ne tum quidem cum iri maxime debuit."[19]

Antium (?), *ca.* 3 June 60

"From Sicily to Rome within a week: indeed, from Rome to Interamna within three hours. Arrival at night: just as before. Nobody met you: no more they did that other time when it was most desirable that you should have been met."[20]

6. Ad Atticum II iv 2 p. 208

A bill has been proposed to send Clodius as ambassador to King Tigranes of Armenia. Clodius is anything but enthusiastic, the more so because a far more lucrative embassy to Egypt, although promised to him, is reserved for somebody else. Cicero seizes upon the opportunity to satirically mention the Bona Dea affair.

Scr. Anti in. m. Apr. an. 59

Clodius, ergo, ut ais, ad Tigranem! velim †sirpie† condicione;[21] sed facile patior. accommodatius enim nobis est ad liberam legationem tempus illud, cum et Quintus noster iam, ut speramus, in otio consederit[22] et iste sacerdos Bonae Deae cuius modi futurus sit sci<em>us.[23]

Antium, early April 59

So, as you say, Clodius is going to Tigranes! I should be glad to go myself on the same terms (?). But never mind. It will be a more convenient time for me to get a travelling pass when my brother Quintus without problems, as I hope, has settled down to regular routine life and I know what that priest of Bona Dea plans to do.[24]

---

[19] Purser reads *ante* for *at, introisti* for *introisse, quom* for *cum*; Winstedt imitates *ante* (see note 3).

[20] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, p. 347.

[21] For Tigranes, King 95 until *ca.* 55 B.C., cf. F. Geyer, *Tigranes* (1) in *RE* VI A 1 (1936), coll. 970-978. As for *sirpi(a)e*: a *scirpea* or *sirpea* is a basket-work of rushes to form the body of a waggon (generally used for carrying manure); cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1644, *s.v.*, and see below, note 23.

[22] Cf. Shackleton Bailey I, p. 359.

[23] Purser reads †*Sirpiae*†, adding to Reid's suggestion *turpiore* in the critical apparatus: *bene.* Further *scierimus.* Winstedt: *Scepsii, scierimus* (see note 3); cf. also Shackleton Bailey's note, I, p. 359.

[24] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, p. 359.

7. Ad Atticum II vii 3 p. 216

The fact that Clodius has not been elected a member of the Agricultural Commission of Twenty gives Cicero the opportunity to sarcastically refer to his breaking into Caesar's house during the Bona Dea rites.

Scr. Anti paulo post superiorem (medio m. Apr. 59)

<Et> hercule, verum ut loquamur, subcontumeliose tractatur noster Publius, primum qui, cum domi Caesaris quondam unus vir fuerit, nunc ne in viginti quidem esse potuerit;[25]

Antium, mid April 59

Indeed, to be frank, our Publius is not shown the deference due to him, firstly because though he was once the only man in Caesar's house he did now not succeed in becoming one among the Twenty.[26]

Scholia Bobiensia in Ciceronis in Clodium et Curionem orationem.

As is already apparent from the letters quoted, Clodius entered Caesar's house in December 62 B.C. during the celebration of the festival of Bona Dea. The alleged motive is to meet his mistress Pompeia, Caesar's wife. This sacrilege leads to a political scandal. In 61 Clodius is tried before a special tribunal with C. Curio *pater* as counsel for the defence.[27] Cicero appearing as a witness for the prosecution rebuts Clodius' alibi. Though in the end Clodius is acquitted by a (bribed) jury and the charge of sacrilege is considered not proven, he nevertheless is out for revenge, and the hatred to which he gives vent in the Senate and before the People is to persecute Cicero from now onwards. In the meeting of the Senate of 15 May Cicero delivers his first oration against Clodius, and this degenerates into an altercation between them. After the publication of a lampoon by Curio, Cicero rewrites his harangue.

Cicero would never have thought of his outburst being read by the public, but when it did happen he denied authorship, the more so because he had not taken much care over the writing.

The oration itself has been handed down only fragmentarily but the *Scholia Bobiensia* offer an extensive commentary and copious notes.[28]

> *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia*, edidit P. Hildebrandt, Stutgardiae, MCMLXXI (editio stereotypa editionis anni MCMVII), pp. 19-29.

The oration was published during Cicero's exile in 58 B.C.[29]

---

[25] Purser and Winstedt (see note 3) do not diverge except in omitting <*et*>.

[26] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, I, p. 365.

[27] C. Scribonius Curio, *cos.* 76 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Scribonius* (10) in *RE* II A 1 (1921), coll. 862-867; Broughton II, pp. 80, 92-93; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 222-223.

[28] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 448-450 (§ 146, 3).

[29] Much to Cicero's displeasure; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

8. Scholia Bobiensia pp. 19-21

...aput Graecos ... nominantur continentia ferme laudes et vituperationes. Non enim rei postulantur a Tullio vel C. Curio vel P. Clodius, sed quoniam habuerant in senatu quandam iurgiosam decertationem, visum Ciceroni est hanc orationem conscribere plenam sine dubio et asperitatis et facetiarum, quibus mores utriusque proscindit et de singulorum vitiis quam potest acerbissime loquitur. Sed enim principium huius offensae fertur a P. Clodi reatu descendisse. Nam visus est in domo pontificis maximi C. Caesaris eiusdemque praetoris incestum fecisse cum eius uxore Pompeia [cum] eo tempore, quo per Vestales virgines et matronas honestissimas in operto Bonae Deae sacrificium viris omnibus inaccessum fiebat. Unde elabso tamen Clodio magna invidia percrebuit et infamia caerimoniarum, ut senatus decernere cogeretur omni diligentia consulum pervestigandum si quod esset publicis religionibus inlatum flagitium. Accedebat huc etiam praeiudicium quoddam C. Caesaris ipsius pontificis, qui uxorem suam ilico repudiavit. Post quod reus de incesto[30] factus est P. Clodius accusante L. Lentulo,[31] defendente C. Curione patre.[32] (......)[32a] Multum diuque habitis concertationibus ante iudicium P. Clodius a turbulenta multitudine, ne causam diceret, non sine impetu seditionis adiutus est auctore huius conspirationis Q. Fufio Caleno tribuno pl., cuius mentionem creberrimam Tullius in Filippicis orationibus facit.[33] Obstinante vero paene universo senatu pro sanctimonia religionum adversus crimen incesti iudices tamen ad extremum dati sunt. Et primo quidem ab senatu praesidium petiverunt, <ut> de Clodio, potentissimo homine, liberius iudicaretur. Verum ita res cecidit, ut in eum multi grave testimonium dicerent: quorum in numero Marcus ipse Tullius interrogatus ait ad se salutatum venisse ipsa die Clodium, qua se ille contenderat Interamnae fuisse millibus passuum ferme LXXXX ab urbe disiunctum; quo scilicet videri volebat incesti Romae committendi facultatem non habuisse. Et post haec ab iudicibus XXV damnatus est. Praevaluit tamen ad eius victoriam maior eorum numerus, qui absolverunt, nam XXX et una pro eo sententiae latae sunt. Unde igitur kapitalis inimicus in M. Tullium coepit efferri et, cum illo anno potestate quaestoria fungeretur, aput populum creberrimis eum contionibus lacessebat; minas quin immo praetendens ad familiam se plebeiam transiturum, ut tribunus pl. fieret, denuntiabat. Quibus minacissimis illius vocibus vehementi et acerrimo spiritu hac oratione Cicero respondit ...[33a] duorum, tam ipsius quam Curionis.

---

[30] Cf. F. Klingmüller, *Incestus* in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 1246-1249; G. Humbert, *Incestum, Incestus* in *DA* III-I (1900), pp. 449-456.

[31] L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, *cos.* 49 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (218) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1381-1384; Broughton II, pp. 194, 256.

[32] See note 27.

[32a] Nam tres illis temporibus Curiones inlustri nomine extiterunt atque in libris adhuc feruntur: Curio avus, qui Servium Fulvium incesti reum defendit (C. Scribonius Curio, possibly Praetor in 121 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Scribonius* (9) in *RE* II A 1 (1921), col. 861; Broughton I, p. 521), et hic C. Curio pater, qui P. Clodio adfuit, et tertius ille Curio tribunicius, qui bello civili Pompeiano in Africa periit, cum esset partium Caesaris, oppressus [est] ab equitibus Iubae regis (C. Scribonius Curio, Tribune of the People in 50 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Scribonius* (11) in *RE, l.c.,* coll. 867-876; Broughton II, p. 249). Sed hactenus de Curionibus dictum sit.

[33] Cf. above, note 13.

Explanatio

Frgm. I p. 21

Statueram, P. C., quoad reus esset P. Clodius, nihil de illo neque apud vos neque alio ullo in loco dicere.

Facere videtur hoc ...[34] gravitatis et modestiae suae, verum summa cum asperitate, quamvis absolutus sit Clodius, tamen incestum vere commisisse adhuc adseverat. Hoc enim testificando, se omni humanitate et patientia reo P. Clodio pepercisse, sine dubio ...[35] confirmat veritatem sui testimonii, ut omnia de illo cum fide dixerit, cui per illud tempus reatus parcendum putaverit.

Frgm. II p. 22

Ac furiosis contionibus indixerat.

Opportune et acriter *furiosum* Clodium dicit, ut in eum suspicio conveniat incesti, cuius ingenium furore iactetur.[36]

Frgm. V p. 22

Sin esset iudicatum non videri virum venisse, quo iste venisset.

Amaritudo stomachi est in hac sententia, qua perstringit mores P. Clodi scilicet inpudicos ita dicendo: *non videri virum venisse, quo iste venisset,* quasi hoc pronuntiaverint, qui eum sententiis suis liberaverunt, non ut incestum sibi probari non potuisse dicerent, sed ut ipsum virum negarent.[37]

Frgm. VI p. 22

Ut ille iudicio tamquam e naufragio nudus emersit.

<Hoc> in loco et ipsorum iudicum perstringit infamiam, quorum senten-

---

[33a] <perstringendo mores> (*coniectura Stanglii*).

[34] *lac. 3½ cm = 10 litt.* προοίμιον?

[35] *lac. 2 ⅓ cm = 5 litt.* βιαίως *vel* δεινῶς?

[36] Cf. below, No. *22*: "illa furia, ille furor (?) muliebrium religionum."

[37] Cf. above, No. *7*: "cum domi Caesaris quondam unus vir fuerit, nunc ne in viginti quidem esse potuerit."

tiis fuerat absolutus. Nam partim trecena millia, partim vero, secundum opiniones aliorum, quadringena accepisse dicuntur.

Frgm. XIII p. 23

Qui omnia sacrificia nosset
Ut incestum significaret, medie suspendit elocutionem, non ut religionem praetenderet, sed ut crimen.

Frgm. XX p. 25

Ita fuit caecus, ut facile appareret vidisse eum, quod fas non fuisset.
...;[38] de Appi enim Caeci familia genus trahebat.[39] Et praecipitem volens significare atque temerarium resculpit infamiam illius incesti, quod fecisse in operto Bonae Deae videbatur, quo viris ingredi non liceret, quasi poenam criminis sui luere iam coeperit nihil providendo quod dicat.[40]

Frgm. XXIII p. 26

Tu, qui indutus muliebri veste fueris.
Videtur enim Clodius habitu muliebri sexum mentitus penetrasse domum C. Caesaris, ut incestum sub hac fraude committeret. Id describitur ...,[41] ut omnia liniamenta turpitudinis detegantur.

Frgm. XXIV p. 26

Cum calautica capiti accommodaretur.
...[42] genus, quo feminae capita velabant, hoc nomine ferebatur. Et Afranius meminit in *Consobrinis*[43] ita dicens: *Cum mithris, calauticis.* Inpudico igitur habitu erubescendi dedecoris quaedam figura describitur. Atque ita se et in historia temporis huius commemoratio habet: C. Caesaris pontificis maximi praetoris domi sacrificium sollemne pro populo fiebat. Huc vir ornatu muliebri quod introierat, sacrificium instauratum est. Res ad senatum delata est. Patres conscribti decreverunt, <ut> de ea re non aliter quam de incestu quaereretur. Eo crimine reus factus est P. Clodius Pulcher delatore L. Len-

---

[38] *lac. un. lin. + 2 cm = 19 litt.* ἀμφιβολία ἀπ'ὀνόματος?

[39] Appius Claudius Caecus, Censor 312, *cos.* 307, *cos.* II 296 B.C., Dictator between 292 and 285; cf. F. Münzer, *Claudius* (91) in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 2681-2685; Broughton I, pp. 160, 164, 176, 178.

[40] Cf. this emphasis on mental blindness with the representation of physical blindness both in Cicero and in other authors treated here.

[41] *lac. un. lin. = 16 litt.* διατυπώσει προσώπου?

[42] *lac. 2½ cm = 7 litt.* κόσμου *suppl. Zg (= coniectura Ziegleri).*

[43] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 142-144 (§ 53a)

tulo, qui consul fuit post cum C. Marcello,[44] subscribentibus Cn. et L. Lentulis.[45] Aurelia, Caesaris mater,[46] testis in iudicio audita est. Ea pro testimonio dixit suo iussu eum esse dimissum; idem dixit Iulia, soror Caesaris.[47] Et tamen post haec absolutus est.

Frgm. XXVIII p. 28

Divortium pontificis maximi.[48]

Praetexuntur argumenta, quibus incestum P. Clodii potuerit facillime probari, nisi pecunia intercessisset. Nam C. Caesar pontifex diebus illis repudiarat uxorem; feminae quoque, quae illi sacrificio interfuerant, de interventu virili testimonium dixerant; servi etiam, cum peterentur in quaestionem, alienati fuerant et in diversas provincias ab domino missi: quinque etenim servi, in quos maxime suspicio congruebat, partim missi sunt ad Appium Claudium, qui frater eiusdem fuerat et in Graecia tunc agebat,[49] partim ad vilicum Diogenem nomine, qui trans Alpis morabatur. Nec non etiam ancillae in tormenta sunt postulatae, quae propriores ministerio fuerant Pompeiae, uxoris Caesaris. Quarum fuit e numero Habra quaedam nomine,[50] cuius in cellam P. Clodius confugisse arguebatur. De *stupro* autem *scelerato* quod ait, illud videtur incestum significare, cuius infamia circa sororem Clodiam pervolgabatur.[51]

(The orations of this kind) containing praise and censure are generally called ... by the Greeks. For C. Curio or P. Clodius are not summoned by Tullius as defendants, but since they had had an altercation in the Senate, which degenerated into invective, Cicero decided to write this speech, which naturally overflows with resentment and spitefulness, thus exposing both their characters and attacking their individual vices as caustically as possible. For it is said that the cause of their strained relations is to be found in the charge against Clodius. For he was suspected of having committed adultery in the house of C. Caesar, both High Pontiff and Praetor, with the latter's wife Pompeia, and this at the time when the secret rites of Bona Dea—to which no men had admittance—were being celebrated by the Vestal Virgins and the most high-born women.

---

[44] For L. Lentulus, see above, note 31.

[45] *Subscribentibus*: cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1780, *s.v. subscribo* B 1; B. Kübler, *Subscriptio* in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), coll. 490-501; G. Kleinfeller, *Subscriptores, ibidem,* col. 501. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, *cos.* 56 B.C.: cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (228) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 1389-1390; Broughton II, pp. 183, 207. L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger, Flamen Martialis before 69 B.C.: cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (234) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 1391; Broughton II, pp. 135, 179; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.,* p. 67.

[46] Cf. E. Klebs, *Aurelius* (248) *in RE* II 2 (1896), col. 2543.

[47] Caesar's younger sister, the wife of M. Atius Balbus and Augustus' grandmother; cf. F. Münzer, *Iulius* (546) in *RE* X 1 (1918), col. 894.

[48] Cf. Caesar's words, quoted by Suetonius, *Divus Julius* LXXIV 4 (= No. *54*); cf. Plutarch, *Life of Caesar* X (= No. *49*).

[49] *Cos.* 54 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Claudius* (297) in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 2849-2853; Broughton II, pp. 127, 157.

[50] Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* XXVIII (= No. *48*); *Life of Caesar* X (= No. *49*).

[51] One of the three daughters of Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *cos.* 79 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Clodius* (66) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 105-107.

Although Clodius had contrived to escape from the house his misconduct as well as the disgraceful violation of the rites got about so that the Senate felt obliged to promulgate a decree ordering the Consuls to hold a searching inquiry into the matter in order to establish whether the State religion had been profaned in any way. Moreover, there was a decision by C. Caesar, the Pontiff himself, who repudiated his wife forthwith. Subsequently P. Clodius was summoned for *incestum,* with L. Lentulus as the prosecutor and C. Curio *pater* as the counsel for the defence (.....).

After a prolonged and heated argument, prior to the trial, P. Clodius sought the support of the mob with its passion for riots lest he should have to appear in court. The instigator of this conspiracy was the Tribune of the People Q. Fufius Calenus, who is frequently mentioned by Tullius in his *Philippics.* Although the Senate solidly stood up for the sanctity of the religious rites but was averse from a trial for *incestum,* yet a jury was appointed at long last. True, before starting its work it asked for the Senate's protection so that the trial of the most influential Clodius might take place fairly independently. And it did happen that many came forward with damning evidence against him: one of them was Marcus Tullius himself, who said when being questioned that Clodius had paid him a visit on the very day when by his own account the latter had been in Interamna, at about ninety miles from town, by which, of course, he wanted to prove that he had not been in a position to commit *incestum* in Rome.

Hereupon he was found guilty by twenty-five jurors. Yet the greater number of those who advocated his acquittal decided his victory; for thirty-one votes were cast in his favour. From this time onwards he began to behave publicly as M. Tullius' mortal enemy, and as he held the quaestorship that year, he kept attacking him in orations before the People; and in order to stress his threats even more he announced his intention to have himself adopted into a plebeian family so that he might become a Tribune of the People. To these threatening words Cicero replied, in a spirit of great vehemence, with this speech in which he Clodius' as well as Curio's character (condemned).

Commentary

Frgm. I

I had intended, Assembled Fathers, not to waste a word over P. Clodius, pending his case, neither in your presence, nor in any other place.

He seems to bring this (as an introduction testifying?) to his circumspection and self-restraint but in the meantime he maintains most vehemently that, though Clodius was acquitted, he did commit *incestum.* For by stating that out of charity and with forbearance he showed consideration for P. Clodius pending the latter's trial, he unmistakably proves (in a cunning way?) the truth of his testimony, that he has truthfully answered everything concerning him since he thought he should spare him as long as he was indicted.

Frgm. II

And he had made his statements in furious speeches in public.

Sharply and to the point he calls Clodius furious so that the suspicion of *incestum* may seem appropriate as his mind is diseased and furious.

Frgm. V

But if the verdict had been that no man appeared to have been there where he had been.

Bitterness and resentment are apparent in this statement with which, of course, he sketches P. Clodius' character as immoral with these words: "that no man appeared to have been there where he had been," as if those who acquitted him by their verdict had declared this: they not having the intention to say that it had been impossible for them to prove *incestum* but indeed to deny that he was a man.

Frgm. VI

As from a ship-wreck so he emerged naked from the trial.

In this place he attacks also the characterlessness of the members of the jury themselves, by whose verdict he had been acquitted. For it is rumoured that some of them received each 300,000, some, in the opinion of others, even 400,000.

Frgm. XIII

Someone who knew all the sacrifices.

Halfway he pauses in his speech to allude to the *incestum* and this not to stress the religious side but the crime.

Frgm. XX

He was so blind that it was clear that he had seen what he ought not to have seen.

(The ambiguity of the name?); for he boasted of being descended from the family of Appius Caecus (The Blind). And since he wanted to describe him as a blinded and rash person he recalled again the ignominy of that *incestum* which, to all appearance, he had committed during the secret ceremonies in honour of Bona Dea, from which men were excluded, as if he is already atoning for his crime by choosing his words most thoughtlessly.[52]

Frgm. XXIII

You, the man that was dressed up in women's clothes.

For it seems that Clodius to conceal the fact that he was a man entered Caesar's house in women's clothes, to commit his adultery in this disguise. This is described (in a vivid picture of his character?) to expose all the aspects of the scandal.

Frgm. XXIV

When he draped a "calautica" *round his head.*

By this was meant a kind (of ornament?) with which women used to cover their heads. Afranius mentions it in his *Consobrini* with the words: "with turbans, with veils (*calauticis*)." Indeed, this provocative article of dress calls up a picture of a behaviour that would bring a blush to anybody's cheeks. And that is how it is described in the history of those days: At the house of C. Caesar, High Pontiff and Praetor, the annual sacrifice for the people was offered. Since a man in women's clothes had entered the sacrifice was made anew. The matter was relegated to the Senate. The Senators decided that an inquiry should be opened into this question, and this with *incestum* as point of departure. P. Clodius was the man to be indicted on this score, with L. Lentulus as the plaintiff (afterwards he was Consul together with C. Marcellus) and Cn. and L. Lentulus as co-signatories of the charge. Aurelia, Caesar's mother, was heard as a witness in court. She declared that Clodius had been sent away by her order; the same statement was made by Julia, Caesar's sister. Nevertheless Clodius was acquitted.

---

[52] Cf. above, note 40.

Frgm. XXVIII

The divorce of the High Pontiff.

Evidence is produced by which Clodius might very easily have been found guilty of *incestum*, if no money had been involved. For, in those days, the Pontiff C. Caesar had repudiated his wife; also the women present at the sacrifice had testified in court that a man had been among them; when next the slaves were called to be heard they appeared to have vanished, having been sent by their master to distant provinces: for, of five slaves who were particularly under suspicion some had been sent to Clodius' brother Appius Claudius, who at the time was living in Greece, and the others to a steward called Diogenes who lived beyond the Alps. And also the slave girls who had been in the personal service of Pompeia, Caesar's wife, were summoned to be questioned on the rack. Among them was one Habra, in whose closet Clodius, as was proved, had taken refuge. What he says about "criminal adultery" seems to refer to the incest which was spoken of with horror in connection with his sister Clodia.

De Domo Sua

The speech was delivered before the College of Pontiffs on 3 September 57 B.C.[53]

Immediately after the *lex de exsilio* had been passed Cicero's houses fell a prey to the revenge of his enemies. Gabinius plundered his villa at Tusculum, and Piso his house on the Palatine, whereupon Clodius seized it without delay.[54] Clodius declared the site holy, and had a shrine built there in honour of Libertas thus ruling out any future human habitation there.

On his return Cicero at once took great pains to have this wrong redressed. The Senate relegated the case to the College of Pontiffs who had to establish whether the consecration by Clodius was valid or not. Cicero himself addressed the College trying to prove that Clodius' act had been illegal, that the intention of the consecration had been questionable, to say the least, and that the religious laws had not been observed during the ritual. The College passed sentence to the effect that since the executant of the consecration had not been authorized by a plebiscite there were no religious objections to return the site to Cicero. The Senate followed this verdict.[55]

---

[53] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 428; Wuilleumier, pp. 25-28.

[54] Sources and further data: Wuilleumier, pp. 15-16.

It is obvious that Cicero in this argument in which he comes forward as the protector of religion, and is anxious to see the welfare of the State bound up with the worship of the gods repeatedly draws attention to the religious crime which Clodius committed (or is alleged to have committed) some years before. In spite of the latter's acquittal, Cicero appears to be absolutely convinced of Clodius' guilt in the Bona Dea affair. By referring to the desecration of the Bona Dea ritual—taking place *pro populo*—and by stressing the close interrelationship of State and religion in this context, he lends special strength to his attacks on Clodius, the man who in the case of the consecration of the house on the Palatine also interfered without reason in religious matters.

Cicéron, Discours, Tome XIII, *Au Sénat—Au Peuple—Sur sa Maison,* texte établi et traduit par Pierre Wuilleumier, Paris, 1952 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

9. De Domo Sua XIII 35 p. 110

... perturbatis sacris ...[56]

... after having disturbed the religious ceremonies ...[57]

10. De Domo Sua XXIX 77 p. 132

Quamquam ubi tu te popularem, nisi cum pro populo fecisti, potes dicere?[58]

Indeed, tell me when did you ever bother about the people, except once when you took part in the sacrifice for the people?[59]

11. De Domo Sua XXXIX 104-XL 105 pp. 147-148

Publiusne Clodius, qui ex pontificis maximi domo religionem eripuit, is in meam intulit?[60] huncin vos, qui estis antistites caerimoniarum et sacrorum, auctorem habetis et magistrum publicae religionis? O di immortales!—vos enim haec audire cupio—P. Clodius vestra sacra curat, vestrum numen horret, res omnis humanas religione vestra contineri putat? Hic non inludit auctoritati horum omnium qui adsunt summorum virorum, non vestra, pontifices, gravitate abutitur? Ex isto ore religionis verbum excidere aut elabi potest? quam tu eodem ore accusando senatum, quod severe de religione decerneret, impurissime taeterrimeque violasti.[61] XL 105 Aspicite, pontifices, hominem religiosum et, si vobis videtur, quod est bonorum pontificum, monete eum modum quendam esse religionis, nimium esse superstitiosum non oportere. Quid tibi necesse fuit anili superstitione, homo fanatice, sacrificium, quod alienae domi fieret, invisere? quae autem te tanta mentis imbecillitas tenuit ut non putares deos satis posse placari, nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te implicuisses? Quem umquam audisti maiorum tuorum, qui et sacra privata coluerunt et publicis sacerdotiis praefuerunt, cum sacrificium Bonae Deae fieret, interfuisse? neminem, ne illum quidem qui caecus est factus.[62] Ex quo intellegitur multa in vita falso homines opinari, cum ille, qui nihil viderat sciens quod nefas esset, lumina amisit, istius, qui non solum aspectu, sed etiam incesto, flagitio et stupro caerimonias polluit, poena omnis oculorum ad caecitatem mentis est conversa.[63]

---

[55] Cf. Gelzer, *Cicero*, pp. 154-155; Wuilleumier, pp. 21-22.

[56] It cannot be stated explicitly that this fragmentary text refers to the Bona Dea scandal because Cicero in the same context also speaks of the (private) cult of the Claudian family rejected by Clodius upon his adoption into the *gens Fonteia*. Nevertheless, *amissis sacris* and *perturbatis sacris* are most probably meant to describe two different things.

[57] Neither Wuilleumier's translation (p. 110), nor that found in *Cicero, The Speeches,* with an English Translation, *Pro Archia Poeta—Post Reditum in Senatu—Post Reditum ad Quirites—De Domo Sua—De Haruspicum Responsis—Pro Plancio,* by N. H. Watts, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXV (1923), p. 177, supply any fuller explanation.

[58] Cf. Wuilleumier, p. 132, note 3.

[59] In Watt's translation (p. 225; see note 57) the word-play is lost by his translating *popularem* by *democratic.*

[60] Cf. Wuilleumier, p. 147, note 1.

Is it conceivable that this same Publius Clodius who took away the sanctity from the house of the High Pontiff should have transmitted it to my house? Is this the man whom you who supervise rites and offerings have as guide and tutor regarding the State religion? Oh immortal gods!—for I would desire you to hear this—is it P. Clodius who is in charge of your sacrifices, who trembles before your divine will, who thinks that all human actions are governed by worshipping you? Does he not scoff at the authority of all the prominent men assembled here, and does he not diminish your dignity, Pontiffs? Can the word religion pass those lips, or slip from them accidentally? The religion that you have disgraced with the same lips most scandalously and most dissolutely by accusing the Senate for its strict judgment in religious matters.

Behold, Pontiffs, this paragon of piety, and, if it seems to you proper and right, show that you are good Pontiffs, and teach him that there are limits to piety and that it is not seemly to be too superstitious. Why, you fanatic, did you have to attend with the superstition of a bigot a sacrificial ceremony in somebody else's house? What excessive mental derangement had exactly seized you to suppose that the gods could not be sufficiently mollified unless you, too, concerned yourself with women's rites? Have you ever been told about one of your ancestors—people who kept up the family cult and held high priestly offices from the State—that he took part in the feast of Bona Dea? About none of them, even not about him who went blind. Hence it follows how wrong many views can be in human life: the man who had never intentionally seen something that he must not see lost the sight of his eyes whereas the entire punishment of the other who, not only with his eyes but also by fornication, adultery, and debauchery, defiled the sacred ceremonies appeared to be a mental blinding instead of a blindness of the eyes.[64]

---

[61] *Ibidem,* note 2.

[62] Ap. Claudius Caecus, the famous Censor of 312 B.C.; see above, note 39; cf. also Wuilleumier, p. 147, note 3.

[63] The same substitution of the penalty of physical blindness by mental blindness, as found above, No. *8* (frgm. XX), is again stressed here. Cf. also Wuilleumier, p. 148, note 1.

12. De Domo Sua XLII 110 p. 150

At quae dea est? Bonam esse oportet, quoniam quidem est abs te dedicata![65]

But what kind of goddess is this? It must be a good goddess as she owes her dedication to you, does not she![66]

13. De Domo Sua LIII 136-137 pp. 164-165

Quid? cum Licinia, virgo Vestalis summo loco nata, sanctissimo sacerdotio praedita, T. Flaminino Q. Metello consulibus[67] aram et aediculam et pulvinar sub Saxo[68] dedicasset, nonne eam rem ex auctoritate senatus ad hoc collegium Sex. Iulius praetor[69] rettulit? cum P. Scaevola pontifex maximus[70] pro collegio respondit "QUOD IN LOCO PUBLICO LICINIA CAI[71] FILIA INIUSSU POPULI DEDICASSET, SACRUM NON VIDERIER". Quam quidem rem quanta severitate quantaque diligentia senatus *egerit*[72] ex ipso senatus consulto facile cognoscetis. *SENATUS CONSULTUM.* 137 Videtisne praetori urbano negotium datum ut curaret ne id sacrum esset et ut, si quae essent incisae aut inscriptae litterae, tollerentur? O tempora, o mores![73] Tum censorem,[74] hominem sanctissimum simulacrum Concordiae dedicare pontifices in templo inaugurato[75] prohibuerunt, post autem senatus in loco augusto[76] consecratam iam aram tollendam ex auctoritate pontificum censuit neque ullum est passus ex ea dedicatione litterarum exstare monumentum;[77]

---

[64] About Clodius' *furor*, see also I 3.

[65] It can hardly be disputed that Clodius' appearance at the Bona Dea rites is alluded to; cf. also Wuilleumier, p. 150, note 2.

[66] Watt's translation (p. 263; see note 57) *A "Benign Goddess"* makes it clear that he is not thinking of Bona Dea.

[67] T. Quinctius Flamininus, *cos.* 123 B.C.; cf., however, Wuilleumier, p. 164, note 2: "T. Quinctius Flamininus et Q. Caecilius Metellus exercèrent le consulat en 120;" not correct; cf. further: H. Gundel, *Quinctius* (47) in *RE* XXIV (1963), coll. 1100-1101; Broughton I, pp. 512-513; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 217, note 11; Münzer, *Adelsparteien*, p. 121. Q. Caecilius Balearicus, *cos.* 123 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Caecilius* (82) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1207-1208. and the places cited for Flamininus.

[68] *Aram et aediculam et pulvinar*: for dedications of *arae* and *aediculae* to Bona Dea, see ch. I, passim. Mention of *pulvinaria* is found in both epigraphic and literary sources; cf. ch. I, No. 54; ch. II, Nos. *15* (cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 37, note 4; Lenaghan, p. 75; see *ad* No. *15*), *21*, *23*. Cf. also Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 421-423 (*Lectisternia*); Latte, *RR*, pp. 242-244.

[69] Cf. F. Münzer, *Iulius* (150) in *RE* X 1 (1917), col. 476; Broughton I, p. 513. For the religious tasks of the Urban Praetor, cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 405; 452, note 4; 456; Ch. Lécrivain, *Praetor* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 628-632, esp. 630; G. Wesenberg, *Praetor* in *RE* XXII 2 (1954), coll. 1581-1605, esp. 1589-1591; E. Betti, *"Iurisdictio Praetoris" e potere normativo* in *Labeo, Rassegna di Diritto Romano* XIV (1968), pp. 7-23.

[70] P. Mucius Scaevola, *cos.* 133 B.C.; Pontifex Maximus since 130; cf. F. Münzer, *Mucius* (17) in *RE* XVI 1 (1933), coll. 425-428; Broughton I, pp. 486-487, 492, 503; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 238-239; Münzer, *Adelsparteien, passim.*

[71] C. Licinius Crassus, Tribune of the People 145 B.C., was the one to move that cooptation into the colleges of priests should be abolished and that their members should be elected in the Assembly of the People; cf. F. Münzer, *Licinius* (52) in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), coll. 251-252; Broughton I, p. 470; Drumann-Groebe IV 1, p. 68 (No. 13) and note 4; Münzer *Adelsparteien*, pp. 243-244; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 487.

[72] Cf. Wuilleumier, p. 164, note 4: "Le verbe qui manque est incertain."

And furthermore? When Licinia, a Vestal of the most noble descent and vested with the holiest of priestly functions, under the consulship of T. Flamininus and Q. Metellus consecrated an altar, a shrine, and a couch for the gods below the Rock, was it not the Praetor Sex. Julius who, by authority of the Senate, raised the question before this College? Speaking on behalf of the College, the High Pontiff P. Scaevola on that occasion advised: "That, which Licinia, daughter of Gaius, had consecrated on public ground without the people's consent, did not seem a valid consecration to them." Indeed, with how great severity and care the Senate went into the matter, you will realize without difficulty when hearing the decree of the Senate itself (READING OF THE DECREE OF THE SENATE).

Do you notice that the Urban Praetor was given the task of seeing to it that no religious value was attached to the consecration, and that any engraved or otherwise written text was removed? Oh, the times, oh, the manners! Then the Pontiffs forbade the Censor, a model of godliness, to dedicate a statue of Concordia in an inaugurated temple, and again later on the Senate on the advice of the Pontiffs decided to have an altar removed, already consecrated in a sacred place, not allowing any trace of the text of that consecration to be left.[78]

De Haruspicum Responsis[79]

In 56 B.C. there was an earthquake on the *Ager Latiniensis.* [80] The Senate recognized the event as a *prodigium*, and the *haruspices* were summoned.[81] One of their conclusions was that sacred places had been desecrated.[82] Clodius seized upon the opportunity for new attacks on Cicero: *By rebuilding his house Cicero had desecrated the site of the temple of Libertas.*[83]

---

[73] An expression Cicero is pleased to use: cf. *In Verrem* IV 56; *In Catilinam* I 2; *Pro Rege Deiotaro* 31.

[74] This Censor was C. Cassius Longinus, *cos.* 171 B.C., Censor 154; cf. F. Münzer, *Cassius* (55) in *RE* III 2 (1899), col. 1726; Broughton I, pp. 416, 449.

[75] For the dedication, cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua* XLIX 130-LI 131 (=Wuilleumier, pp. 160-162).

[76] *In loco augusto*: cf. Ovid, *Fasti* I 609-610; Bömer I, p. 88; II, pp. 68-70; Festus, *s.v.* (=Lindsay, p. 2)

[77] Watts's text (pp. 294-295) only slightly differs from that of Wuilleumier: *quanta tractaverit severitate,* and the punctuation in various places.

[78] See ch. VII (Introduction).

[79] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 429; Gelzer, *Cicero*, pp. 174-177; Lenaghan.

[80] Between Rome and Fidenae; cf. Lenaghan, p. 22, note 1.

[81] Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Haruspices* in *DA* III-I (1900), pp. 17-33; C. Thulin, *Haruspices* in *RE* VII 2 (1912), coll. 2431-2468; Wissowa, , *RKR*, pp. 543-549; Marquardt, *RSt* III, pp. 410-415; Latte, *RR*, pp. 157-160; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 577-581; Lenaghan, pp. 32-37.

[82] Cf. Lenaghan, pp. 22-23.

Cicero, however, succeeded in proving in the Senate that all the passages of the *haruspices*' response bore on Clodius himself.[84] The Senate's verdict was apparently in Cicero's favour since he went on building.[85]

The very fact that this case again concerns a matter in the religious sphere gives Cicero the opportunity to repeatedly bring up Clodius' intrusion into the Bona Dea ceremonies, in order to stress the lack of responsibility in religious matters on the part of his enemy.

The speech was made between 6 and 14 May 56 B.C.[86]

> *Cicéron, Discours,* Tome XIII 2, *Sur la Réponse des Haruspices,* texte établi et traduit par Pierre Wuilleumier et Anne-Marie Tupet, Paris, 1966 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

14. De Haruspicum Responsis III 4 p. 34

In Clodium vero non est hodie meum maius odium[87] quam illo die fuit, cum illum ambustum religiosissimis ignibus[88] cognovi, muliebri ornatu ex incesto stupro atque ex domo pontificis maximi emissum.[89]

But my dislike of Clodius is today not greater than it was on the day when I learned that after having burnt his fingers at the most holy fires, he had been driven from the High Pontiff's house, caught out in his incestuous adultery in women's clothes.[90]

15. De Haruspicum Responsis V 8-9 pp. 37-38

De religionibus, sacris et caerimoniis est contionatus, patres conscripti, Clodius![91] P., inquam, Clodius sacra et religiones neglegi, violari, pollui questus est! Non mirum si hoc vobis ridiculum videtur: etiam sua contio risit hominem, quomodo ipse gloriari solet, ducentis[92] confixum senati consultis, quae sunt omnia contra illum pro religionibus facta,[93] hominemque eum, qui pulvinaribus[94] Bonae Deae[95] stuprum intulerit eaque sacra quae viri oculis ne imprudentis quidem adspici fas est[96] non solum adspectu virili sed flagitio stuproque violarit, in contione de religionibus neglectis conqueri. 9 Itaque nunc proxima contio eius expectatur de pudicitia: quid enim interest utrum, ab altaribus religiosissimis fugatus,[97] de sacris et religionibus conqueratur, an ex sororum cubiculo egressus,[98] pudorem pudicitiamque defendat?[99]

---

[83] *Ibidem*, pp. 147-149.

[84] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 429.

[85] Cf. the letters *Ad Quintum fratrem* II iv 2; vi 3 (56 B.C.); Schanz-Hosius I, p. 429.

[86] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 429; Lenaghan, pp. 26-27; Wuilleumier-Tupet, pp. 8-10.

[87] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 60.

[88] *Ibidem*, pp. 61-62.

[89] *Ibidem*, p. 62; cf. also Watts (cited note 57), pp. 318-319.

[90] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 34, note 5.

[91] *Ibidem*, p. 37, note 3; Lenaghan, p. 74.

[92] Cf. Lewis and Short, *s.v. ducenti* II: *a large number* (*indefinite*).

[93] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 37, note 3; Lenaghan, pp. 74-75.

[94] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 37, note 4; Lenaghan, p. 75; above, note 68.

[95] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 37, note 5 (concisely); Lenaghan, pp. 75-76.

Clodius' speech before the People, Assembled Fathers, dealt with the religious observances, ceremonies, and rites! Indeed, Clodius complained about religious customs and rites being neglected, violated, and desecrated! No wonder if this should seem ridiculous to you: also his own audience laughed at a man who, as he himself is wont to boast, was the target of hundreds of decrees of the Senate, all issued against him for religious offences; that this man who committed his adultery on Bona Dea's couches, and who defiled those rites which must not be seen by the eyes of any man—not even by accident—not only with the eyes of a man but also by fornication and adultery, that such a man complains before the People of religion being neglected. Therefore we may expect his next speech to deal with chastity: for what does it matter whether a man driven from the most sacred altars voices his complaints about the state of rites and ceremonies, or having emerged from his sisters' bedroom comes forward as the defender of virtue and chastity.[100]

16. De Haruspicum Responsis VI 12 pp. 39-40

Quae tanta religio est qua non in nostris dubitationibus atque in maximis superstitionibus unius P. Servili[101] ac M. Luculli[102] responso ac verbo liberemur? De sacris publicis, de ludis maximis,[103] de deorum penatium[104] Vestaeque matris caerimoniis,[105] de illo ipso sacrificio quod fit pro salute populi Romani, quod post Romam conditam huius unius casti tutoris religionum[106] scelere violatum est, quod tres pontifices statuissent,[107] id semper populo Romano, semper senatui, semper ipsis dis immortalibus satis sanctum, satis augustum, satis religiosum esse visum est.[108]

---

[96] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 76.

[97] *Ibidem*, pp. 61-62.

[98] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 38, note 1; Lenaghan, pp. 76-77; above, note 51.

[99] Except for the punctuation (and l. 3: *negligi*), Watts's text (see note 57) does not differ (pp. 322-324).

[100] Cf. Watts (see note 57; pp. 323-325); the translation of *Bonae deae* (with a small letter) into *the Good Goddess* (twice a capital) seems rather inconsistent. See ch. III, A.

[101] P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, *cos.* 79 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Servilius* (93) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1812-1817; Broughton II, p. 82; Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 39, note 2; Lenaghan, pp. 55-56 and 81.

[102] M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (originally, before his adoption by M. Terentius Varro, M. Licinius Lucullus), *cos.* 73 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Licinius* (109) in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), coll. 414-418; Broughton II, p. 109; Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 39, note 3; Lenaghan, p. 81.

[103] For the *Ludi Romani, L. magni* (*maximi*), cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 453 (note 3); Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 466, 546-547; Latte, *RR*, pp. 248, 399; see further J. Toutain, *Ludi Publici* ('Αγῶνες) in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1362-1378, esp. 1370-1378; P. Habel, *Ludi publici* in *RE* Suppl. V (1931), coll. 608-630.

[104] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Penates* in *ML* III 2 (1902-1909), coll. 1879-1898, esp. 1888-1893: III. *Die Penaten im Staatskult*; J.-A. Hild, *Penates* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 376-381; St. Weinstock, *Penates (Di)* in *RE* XIX 1 (1937), coll. 417-457, esp. IV: *Die P. im öffentlichen Kult (Rom)*; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 161-166; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 346-349; Latte, *RR*, p. 108; P. Boyancé, *Les Pénates dans l'ancienne religion romaine* in *REA* 54 (1952), pp. 112 ss.

[105] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Vesta* in *ML* VI (1924-1937), coll. 241-273; J.-A. Hild, *Vesta* ('Εστία) in *DA* V (n.d.), pp. 742-752; C. Koch, *Vesta* in *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), coll. 1717-1776; Wissowa, *RKR*,

What scruple could be invented, so great that we might not be freed from it in our doubts and intense supersitious fears simply by a response or a word from P. Servilius and M. Lucullus? Where the rites of the State religion are concerned, the Great Games, de cult of the Penates and that of Mother Vesta, and certainly that sacrifice, made for the welfare of the Roman people, and since the foundation of Rome never defiled except by the crime of this impeccable protector of the religion, the decision of three Pontiffs has always seemed sufficiently inviolable, sufficiently venerable, sufficiently binding, and this both to the Roman people and to the Senate, and even to the immortal gods.[109]

17. De Haruspicum Responsis XVII 37-XVIII 38 pp. 57-59

Et video in haruspicum responsum haec esse subiuncta: "Sacrificia vetusta occultaque minus diligenter facta pollutaque." Haruspices haec loquuntur an patrii penatesque di?[110] Multi enim sunt, credo, in quos huius malefici suspicio cadat! quis praeter hunc unum? Obscure dicitur quae sacra polluta sint? quid planius, quid religiosius, quid gravius dici potest? "Vetusta occultaque"; nego ulla verba Lentulum, gravem oratorem ac disertum,[111] saepius, cum te accusaret, usurpasse quam haec, quae nunc ex Etruscis libris[112] in te conversa atque interpretata dicuntur. Etenim quod sacrificium tam vetustum est quam hoc quod a regibus aequale huius urbis accepimus?[113] quod autem tam occultum quam id quod non solum curiosos oculos excludit sed etiam errantis, quo non modo improbitas sed ne imprudentia quidem possit intrare? quod quidem sacrificium nemo ante P. Clodium omni memoria violavit, nemo umquam adiit, nemo neglexit, nemo vir adspicere non horruit, quod fit per virgines Vestales fit pro populo Romano, fit in ea domo quae est

---

pp. 156-161; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 307-321; Latte, *RR*, pp. 108-111; A. Brelich, *Vesta*, Zürich-Stuttgart (1949) (=*Albae Vigiliae*, Neue Folge, Heft VII); Koch, *Religio*, pp. 1-16; Bömer II, pp. 353-363.

[106] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 39, note 4.

[107] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 81.

[108] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 40, note 1.

[109] See also Watts's translation, p. 329 (see note 57).

[110] Does Cicero intend to suggest that the *haruspices* have been bribed, or does he consider them untrustworthy as a rule?

[111] L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, *cos.* 49 B.C.; see above, note 31; cf. Lenaghan, p. 153; Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 57, note 2.

[112] Cf. C. Thulin, *Etrusca disciplina* in *RE* VI 1 (1907), coll. 725-730; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Libri* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1235-1238, esp. 1238; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 543-549; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 617-627 (*Libri Haruspicini*); Latte, *RR*, pp. 157-160; Lenaghan, pp. 32-37.

[113] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 57, note 3; Lenaghan, p. 153.

in imperio,[114] fit incredibili caerimonia, fit ei deae cuius ne nomen quidem viros scire fas est, quam iste idcirco Bonam[115] dicit quod in tanto sibi scelere ignoverit. XVIII Non ignovit, mihi crede, non. Nisi forte tibi esse ignotum putas, quod te iudices emiserunt, excussum et exhaustum,[116] suo iudicio absolutum, omnium condemnatum, aut quod oculos, ut opinio illius religionis est, non perdidisti. 38 Quis enim ante te sacra illa vir sciens viderat, ut quisquam poenam quae sequeretur id scelus scire posset?[117] An tibi luminis obesset caecitas plus quam libidinis? ne id quidem sentis, coniventis illos oculos abavi tui[118] magis optandos fuisse quam hos flagrantis sororis?[119] Tibi vero, si diligenter attendes, intelleges hominum poenas deesse adhuc, non deorum. Homines te in re foedissima defenderunt, homines turpissimum nocentissimumque laudarunt, homines prope confitentem iudicio liberaverunt, hominibus iniuria tui stupri[120] inlata in ipsos dolori non fuit, homines tibi arma alii in me, alii post in illum invictum civem dederunt;[121] hominum beneficia prorsus concedo tibi <i>a<m> maiora non esse quarerenda.[122]

I notice that there has been added to the advice of the haruspices: "Ancient and secret rites have been celebrated with too little devotion and have been violated." Is it the haruspices that speak thus, or the gods of our fathers and our houses? For there are many, I think, who can be suspected of such a crime! Who else but this one man? Is it said vaguely what rites have been violated? What words could be more clear, what more binding, what more grave? "Ancient and secret"; I assert that Lentulus, distinguished and gifted orator, used no words more often in his charge against you than these that are now quoted from the Etruscan Books as relating to you, and are interpreted as such. For what sacrifice is as old as this that we have inherited from the Kings together with this town? Or, what so secret as this that excludes not only prying eyes but also eyes that might see it by chance, and where not only shamelessness but also inadvertence are denied admittance. And most assuredly, throughout history no one before P. Clodius ever desecrated this sacrifice, no one ever attended it, no one disregarded it, no man ever ventured to behold it; a sacrifice that is made by the Vestal Virgins, is made for the Roman people, is made in the house of the highest magistrate, is made with extraordinary ceremonial, is made to that goddess whose name even must not be known by men, and whom this person therefore calls the "Good Goddess" because he thinks she has forgiven him so great a crime. *XVIII* She has not forgiven you, believe me, certainly not! Unless you perhaps think that you were forgiven because the judges let you go, plucked and fleeced, by their verdict acquitted, though condemned by that of everyone, or because you did not lose the sight of your eyes, which punishment, as it is believed, goes with violating those rites. *38* But what man before you had knowingly and willingly beheld those ceremonies, so that the penalty following this crime might be known. Or, would you be more worried by the blindness of your eyes than by that of your lust? Do not you even feel that those blind eyes of your ancestor were to be preferred to your sister's fiery eyes? Undoubtedly, if you will mark my words, you will find that retribution by men, not by the gods, is not forthcoming yet. Men defended you in a most loathsome business, men praised you, the perfection of disgrace and guilt, men acquitted you though you were about to confess; from men, I grant you frankly, you cannot expect greater benefits anymore.[123]

---

[114] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 58, note 1; see ch. IV (Introduction).

[115] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 153.

[116] *Ibidem*, pp. 153-154.

[117] *Ibidem*, p. 154.

[118] Ap. Claudius Caecus; see above, note 39.

[119] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 155; above, note 51.

[120] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 59, note 1; Lenaghan, p. 155.

[121] I.e. Pompey; cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 59, note 2; Lenaghan, p. 155.

[122] Except for a few differences of punctuation and orthography (16 *errantes,* 34 *flagrantes,* 40 *illata*), the only divergency in Watts's text (see note 57; pp. 362-366) is *subiecta* (for *subiuncta*) in l. 2.

18. De Haruspicum Responsis XXI 44 pp. 63-64

P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio,[124] a psalterio,[125] a flagitio, a stupro[126] est factus repente popularis. Nisi eum mulieres exornatum ita deprendissent, nisi ex eo loco quo eum adire fas non fuerat[127] ancillarum beneficio emissus esset[128] populari homine populus Romanus, res publica cive tali careret.[129]

P. Clodius has sworn off his saffron-coloured robe, his turban, his women's sandals and purple stockings, his brassière, his harp, his debaucheries and adultery, and has suddenly turned the great friend of the people. If dressed up like this he had not been caught out by women, if, with the aid of servant girls, he had not made his escape from the house where he had no right to be, the Roman people would now have to do without the friend of the people, and the State without such a citizen.[130]

---

[123] Cf. also Watts's translation, pp. 363-367, and the notes there (see note 57).

[124] *Crocota*: see Lewis and Short, p. 483, *s.v.*; cf. E. Pottier, *Crocota* (Κροκωτός) in *DA* I-II (n.d.), p. 1571.
Mitra: see Lewis and Short, p. 1152, *s.v.*; cf. A. De Ridder, *Mitra* (μίτρα) (II) in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1955-1956; E. Schuppe, *Mitra* (1) in *RE* XV 2 (1932), coll. 2217-2220; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra, Beiträge zur Waffen- und Trachtgeschichte der Antike,* Münster (1966) (= *Fontes et Commentationes,* Heft 4).
Solea: see Lewis and Short, p. 1718, *s.v.*; cf. V. Chapot, *Solea* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 1387-1390; A. Hug, *Sandalia* in *RE* I A 2 (1920), coll. 2257-2261; A. Hug, *Schuh* in *RE* II A 1 (1921), coll. 741-758, esp. 754.
Fasceolae: see Lewis and Short, p. 726, *s.v. fasciola*; cf. G. Lafaye, *Fascia* in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 979-983, esp. 981-982 (5°: *Fasciae crurales et pedules*); A. Mau, *Fasciae* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2006-2009, esp. 2008-2009 (*F. crurales*).
Strophium: see Lewis and Short, p. 1767, *s.v.*; cf. E. Saglio, *Strophium* (Στρόφιον) in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), p. 1536; Margarethe Bieber, *Strophium* in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), coll. 378-381 (1. *Busenband*).

[125] See Lewis and Short, p. 1483, *s.v.*; cf. Th. Reinach, *Lyra* (Λύρα) in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1437-1451; H. J. Abert, *Lyra* (1) in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), coll. 2479-2489.

[126] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 63, note 8; Lenaghan, pp. 167-168.

[127] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 168.

[128] *Ibidem.*

[129] Except for the punctuation, Watts's text (see note 57; p. 374) does not differ.

[130] In Watts's translation (see note 57; p. 375) the word-play *populari-populus* is lost because of the words: "the Roman people would now be without their demagoque."

19. De Haruspicum Responsis XXVII 57 p. 73

Iste parentum nomen, sacra, memoriam, gentem Fonteiano nomine obruit;[131] deorum ignis, solia, mensas, abditos ac penetrales focos, occulta et maribus non invisa solum sed etiam inaudita sacra inexpiabili scelere pervertit;[132]

By adopting the name of Fonteius that man has wiped out the name of his parents, likewise their religion, the memory of them, and their family; by an inexpiable crime he has violated the fires of the gods, their seats and tables, their hidden and secret hearths, their mysteries, not only taboo to a man's eyes but also to his ears.[133]

In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio

In September 55 B.C. L. Piso had returned from his province of Macedonia.[134] Very soon he seized the opportunity in the Senate to react to Cicero's furious attacks on his personal enemies, the consuls of 58,[135] since his return from exile, especially in his oration *De Provinciis Consularibus.*[136] Cicero was forced to listen to bitter reproaches, the truth of which he could not disprove immediately.

This oration is Cicero's reply, one of the less successful products of his pen, a rather irrelevant invective. He compares his own political life with Piso's, finding in Piso's nothing but evil, in his own nothing but good. Cicero was now obliged to prove the truth of his verse:

cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.[137]

The first part of the oration has come down only fragmentarily.[138] The date is probably September 55 B.C.[139]

The series of allegations also includes Piso's friendship with Clodius and the latter's depravity, which culminated in the violation of the Bona Dea cult.

Cicero, Staatsreden, zweiter Teil, lateinisch und deutsch von Helmut Kasten, Darmstadt, 1969, pp. 235-303: *Gegen Piso.*

---

[131] Cf. Wuilleumier-Tupet, p. 73, note 4; Lenaghan, p. 188. P. Fonteius, twenty years old at the time of the adoption, may be identical with P. Fonteius Capito, Master of the Mint *ca.* 54 B.C.; see F. Münzer, *Fonteius* (13) in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2845-2846.

[132] Cf. Lenaghan, p. 188; Watts's text only differs in punctuation (see note 57; p. 394).

[133] Cf. Watts's translation (see note 57; p. 395).

[134] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 433-434; Gelzer, *Cicero*, pp. 180-184; Kasten (see below), p. 300.

[135] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus; see above, note 6. A. Gabinius; cf. P. Vonder Mühl, *Gabinius* (11) in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 424-430; Broughton II, pp. 179, 193-194.

[136] The speech was made in the Senate late May 56 B.C.; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 432; Gelzer, *Cicero*, pp. 168-172.

[137] Cicero, *De Officiis* I xxii 77.

[138] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 433; Kasten, p. 236.

[139] Cf. Gelzer, *Cicero,* p. 180, note 121.

20. In Pisonem XXXVI 89 p. 292

Quid .... quod populari illi sacerdoti sescentos ad bestias amicos sociosque misisti ....[140]

What to say of the fact (...) that you sent that priest of the people numerous friends and allies to fight the wild beasts ....[141]

21. In Pisonem XXXIX 95 p. 296

At contra bis Catilina absolutus,[142] emissus etiam ille auctor tuus provinciae,[143] cum stuprum Bonae Deae pulvinaribus intulisset.[144] Quis fuit in tanta civitate, qui illum incesto liberatum, non eos, qui ita iudicarant, pari scelere obstrictos arbitraretur?[145]

Catiline, on the other hand, was acquitted twice; likewise the man to whom you owed your province managed to escape after he had defiled the Bona Dea couches by his adultery. Yet, who was there among our so numerous fellow-citizens to believe that by doing so he was innocent of *incestum*, or who did not think that those who passed sentence were guilty of an equally serious crime.[146]

Epistulae ad Familiares-Ad. P. Lentulum[147]

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was an amiable, aristocratic man, lavish as

---

[140] Cf. also the edition *Cicero, The Speeches,* with an English Translation—*Pro T. Annio Milone—In L. Calpurnium Pisonem—Pro M. Aemilio Scauro—Pro M. Fonteio—Pro C. Rabirio Postumo—Pro M. Marcello—Pro Q. Ligario—Pro Rege Deiotaro*—by N. H. Watts, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, MCMLXIV (1931); p. 244: *socios stipendariosque misisti?*

[141] Kasten, p. 293, translates *Volkspriester,* without further comment; Watts, p. 245: *that priest, the idol of the people,* referring to the Bona Dea scandal. I do not think these interpretations right, and am convinced that *populari* corresponds to the expression *pro populo* for the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea, and that this should be the first sense. See above, No. *6*: *iste sacerdos Bonae Deae*; cf. also Cicero, *Pro Sestio* XVII 39: *cum stuprorum sacerdote*; XXX 66: *illi populari sacerdoti.*

[142] Cf. M. Gelzer, *Sergius* (23) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1693-1711.

[143] Clodius; the province is Macedonia; see above, note 134.

[144] Cf. above, note 68.

[145] The court is thought to have been bribed; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 72, and Asconius, No. 7 below, *passim.* Watts's text (see note 140), pp. 252-254, differs slightly: 1 *absolutus est,* 5 *iudicarint,* besides differences of punctuation.

[146] Cf. also Watts's translation. pp. 253-255.

[147] The great number of Cicero's letters may be divided into two categories: miscellaneous correspondence, and three groups of letters addressed to three different addressees—*Ad Quintum Fratrem* (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 474-475)—*Ad Atticum* (*ibidem,* pp. 475. 479-480)—*Ad M. Brutum* (*ibidem,* pp. 475-477). The miscellaneous collection is normally called *Ad Familiares,* a term first used by Stephanus (= Henri Estienne, 1531-1598, famous for his editions of the classics; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 474; P. Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature,* Oxford (1959, 6th ed.), p. 153). Before Stephanus, the collection was called—also in the younger Mss., *epistolae familiares,* and afterwards *epistolae ad diversos* (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 474). In the reliable tradition, the separate books are also named after the addressees, e.g. *Ad P. Lentulum,*

Aedile (63) and Praetor (60). As Consul (57) he went out of his way to have Cicero recalled.[148]

This is Cicero's last extant letter to Lentulus, probably written in December 54.[149] It is essentially an extensive defence of his political behaviour since Luca.[150]

In the long story the Bona Dea scandal is also brought up again, together with the charge against Clodius of incest with his sisters, a combination which Cicero does not use here for the first time.[151]

Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares,* edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Volume I (62-47 B.C.), Cambridge (1977) (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 16).

22. Ad Familiares I ix 15 p. 68

Scr. Romae, m. Dec. an. 54

Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. primum illa furia, <ille fur> muliebrium religionum,[152] qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam quam tris sorores,[153] impunitatem est illorum sententiis adsecutus qui, cum tribunus pl.[154] poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de re publica sustulerunt. idemque postea non meum monumentum (non enim illae manubiae meae sed operis locatio mea fuerat),[155] monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt.[156]

Rome, December 54

But look, please, and see what followed. First of all: that madman, that intruder upon religious ceremonies exclusively destined for women, and who had shown no more

---

Ad C. Curionem. This correspondence consists of 16 books, written in the period 62-43 B.C. Besides Cicero's own letters, those addressed to him are also entered; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 474; Shackleton Bailey (see below), pp. 3-26.

[148] Cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (238) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1392-1398; Broughton II, pp. 199-200.

[149] Cf. Shackleton Bailey (see below), p. 307.

[150] *Ibidem.*

[151] See above, Nos. *15, 17.*

[152] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, p. 312.

[153] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Ad Atticum* I, p. 348, and above, note 151.

[154] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, p. 312: L. Racilius; cf. F. Münzer, *Racilius* (1) in *RE* I A 1 (1914), col. 30; Broughton II, p. 209.

[155] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, p. 312.

[156] Cf. also the editions: *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae,* vol. I: *Epistulae ad Familiares,* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Ludovicus Claude Purser, Oxonii (1901/1957, with corrections) (without pagination); *Cicero, The Letters to his Friends,* with an English Translation by W. Glynn Williams, I, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, MCMLXV (1927), , pp. 64-66: both editions read, 2: *illa furia muliebrium religionum.*

respect for Bona Dea than for his three sisters, managed to be acquitted thanks to the votes of those who—though the Tribune of the People wanted to effect the punishment of a seditious citizen through the agency of the people with the right state of mind—deprived the State of the possibility of setting an example to posterity in the most excellent way how to punish sedition. And these same men have afterwards suffered a memorial, not mine (for there was no question of any spoils of mine, although the contract for its erection was my doing), but a memorial belonging to the Senate, to be branded, and that in bloody letters, with the name of a State enemy.[157]

Pro T. Annio Milone Oratio

Early in 52 B.C. Milo[158], together with his wife Fausta, Dictator Sulla's daughter,[159] and a large escort, was on his way to his native town of Lanuvium to appoint a *Flamen* there, in his quality of Dictator of the place. On this journey he came upon Clodius, not only Cicero's but also his own mortal enemy,[160] accompanied as usual by a body of armed men, in the neighbourhood of Bovillae,[161] and close to a shrine of Bona Dea.

First the two escorts came to blows, then Clodius himself joined in the fight and was injured, which led to a pitched battle.

Milo's men got the upper hand, and were victorious. Clodius was carried into an inn at Bovillae but Milo had him dragged out and killed. The corpse was taken to Rome where in the subsequent riots the *Curia Hostilia*[162] was burnt down. Special measurtes had to be enforced to put an end to the disturbances, and it was Pompey who as Consul—*sine collega*—intervened starting legal proceedings against Milo. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was appointed president of the *quaestio,*[163] with several people acting as public prosecutors, among them Mark Antony.[164]

Since it was a clear case of manslaughter Cicero's defence of his client was altogether designed to show that Milo had acted in self-defence. From the very outset the plea was again and again interrupted by the shouting of Clodius' adherents, as a consequence of which Cicero got confused, and did not speak with his customary self-confidence. Milo was found guilty by 38 of 51 members of the jury, and went into exile to Massilia.[165] The oration *Pro Milone* is a shining example of Ciceronian eloquence; however, it is not the plea as held at the trial but a later version.[166]

---

[157] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's arguments for his reading both *illa furia* and *ille fur,* p. 312.

[158] T. Annius Milo (Papianus), Tribune of the People 57, Praetor 55, and candidate for the consulship of 52 B.C.; cf. E. Klebs, *Annius* (67) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 2271-2276; Broughton II, pp. 201, 215.

[159] For Fausta, cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (436) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1599-1600; Balsdon, *Rom. Women,* p. 55 and note 27.

[160] Cf. Gelzer, *Cicero,* (esp.) pp. 147, 156-157, 160-162, 167, 174, 175 (note 65), 205-206.

[161] Cf. *Lazio,* p. 515, *carta* between pp. 496 and 497; *Roma e dintorni,* p. 664, *carta* between pp. 664 and 665; cf. also Ashby, *Rom. Campagna,* pp. 189-190.

[162] Cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 142-143.

[163] *Cos.* 54 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Domitius* (27) in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 1334-1343; Broughton II, pp. 194, 221, 277.

[164] The Triumvir; cf. P. Groebe, *Antonius* (30) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 2595-2614; Broughton II, pp. 315-316, 531.

The circumstance that Clodius met his death very close to a Bona Dea shrine affords Cicero with an opportunity to present the murder as a retaliation for Clodius' sacrilege in the past: the punishment that had been delayed for ten years.

The speech was delivered on 8 April 52 B.C.[167]

Cicéron, Discours, Tome XVII: *Pour C. Rabirius Postumus—Pour T. Annius Milon,* texte établi et traduit par André Boulanger, Paris, 1967^3 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

23. Pro Milone XXVII 72-73 p. 119

(Milo can truly say: *I have killed not Sp. Maelius,*[168] *nor Ti. Gracchus*[169]) sed eum "—auderet enim dicere, cum patriam periculo suo liberasset—" cuius nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus sanctissimis nobilissimae feminae comprehenderunt; 73 eum cuius supplicio senatus sollemnes religiones expiandas saepe censuit, ...[170]

But a man—for he would dare to say this after having freed his country at the risk of his life—whose sacrilegious adultery on the most sacred couches was discovered by most high-born women; a man whose punishment was more than once thought necessary by the Senate to expiate the violation of official rites ...[171]

24. Pro Milone XXXI 86 p. 127

Nisi forte hoc etiam casu factum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonae Deae, quod est in fundo T. Serti Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adulescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam cum proelium commisisset, primum id volnus acciperet, quo taeterrimam mortem obiret, ut non absolutus iudicio illo nefario videretur, sed ad hanc insignem poenam reservatus.[172]

---

[165] In 48 he returned to Italy, but was taken captive and executed near Cosa. Cf., however, the divergent information, Klebs (above, note 158). col. 2276.

[166] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 436-437.

[167] Cf. Boulanger (see below), p. 54.

[168] Sp. Maelius was alleged to have relieved a food shortage and courted popularity by distributing corn at his own expense, 440-439 B.C. Suspected of planning a tyranny he was killed by C. Servilius Ahala (?); cf. F. Münzer, *Maelius* (2) in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), coll. 239-244; Broughton I, p. 56 (under C. Servilius Ahala).

[169] The Tribune of 133 B.C.; cf. F. Münzer, *Sempronius* (54) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1409-1426; Broughton I, pp. 493-494, 495.

[170] Cf. also the edition: *Cicero, The Speeches,* with an English Translation—*Pro T. Annio Milone*—etc.—by N. H. Watts, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, MCMLXIV (1931), p. 86: no differences but for the punctuation.

[171] Cf. also Watts's translation, p. 87.

Unless we are to attribute this too to chance, that it was before the very shrine of Bona Dea standing on the estate of that extremely respected and distinguished young man T. Sertius Gallus, before, I say, Bona Dea herself, that he came to blows and sustained that first injury as a result of which he was to die the most revolting death, so that it was now clear that he had not actually been acquitted by that nefarious verdict but reserved for this extremely appropriate punishment.[173]

De Legibus Libri III

When Cicero was writing his books *De Republica* (54 B.C.),[174] he was at the same time engaged in realizing his *State,* thus imitating Plato, whose doctrine, worded in the *State,* was corroborated in his *Laws.*[175]

Cicero decided to write his *Laws*, just like his *State*, in dialogue, and since Sallust had disapproved of deceased people figuring in the *State*,[176] in the new work Cicero himself debated with his brother Quintus and his friend Atticus.[177] One day had been reserved for the dialogue, and three books, though only fragmentary, have survived.[178]

The proposition that Law finds its origin in Nature is elaborated in the first book. Book two gives an enumeration of the religious laws and comments on them. In book three government and organization are discussed.[179]

In his catalogue of the religious laws Cicero refers to the nocturnal worship of Bona Dea.

The date of the origin of the work is possibly the summer of 52 B.C.[180]

Cicéron, Traité des Lois, texte établi et traduit par Georges de Plinval, Paris, 1968^2 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

---

[172] Milo was convicted nevertheless (38 against 13 votes); cf. Asconius, below, No. 7; Boulanger, pp. 59-60. Watts's text, p. 102, only slightly differs: *Sertii, illud volnus.*

[173] Cf. Watts's translation, p. 103.

[174] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 494.

[175] *Ibidem*, p. 497.

[176] *Ibidem*, p. 494.

[177] First in the porticoes of his estate near Arpinum; from the second book on an islet in the nearby Fibrenus, and finally under the alders of the Liris; for Cicero's *Arpinas,* cf. O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen,* Darmstadt, 1972 (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 9-23.

[178] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 497-500.

[179] At the end of this book, an enquiry *De Iure Potestatum* is announced, and Macrobius knew of a fifth book in his time (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 498; De Plinval—see below—, pp. LIII-LVIII; Keyes—see below—, pp. 289-291). Whether these five books represented the complete work may be doubted, and it seems more probable that it was never finished (cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 498).

[180] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 498-499; De Plinval, p. VIII; Keyes, p. 289.

25. De Legibus II ix 21 p. 50

Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunto praeter olla quae pro populo rite fient.[181] Neve quem initianto nisi, ut adsolet, Cereri Graeco sacro.[182]

Noctural ceremonies shall not be celebrated by women except those which take place for the people according to religious usage. Nor shall they initiate anyone except into the Greek rites of Ceres, according to the rules.[183]

Epistulae ad Atticum

In the following letters (*Romana*) *mysteria* are mentioned. It has often been assumed that these references bear upon the secret rites in honour of Bona Dea as they are not performed on a fixed date.[184] This supposition, however, cannot be supported by evidence, and therefore the passages have been entered with a No. between brackets.

Cicero's Letters to Atticus, edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Volume III: 51-50 B.C., 94-132 (Books V-VII. 9), Cambridge, 1968 (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 5).

(26). Ad Atticum V xxi 14 p. 76

Scr. Laodiceae Id. Febr. an. 50

Cum scies Romae intercalatum sit necne, velim ad me scribas certum quo die mysteria futura sint.[185]

Laodicea, 13 Februari 50

As soon as you know whether or not there has been an intercalation in Rome please let me know on what day exactly the mysteries fall.[186]

---

[181] De Plinval translates *au nom du peuple*; see ch. IV (Introduction).

[182] Cf. also *Cicero in twenty eight Volumes,* XVI: *De Re Publica-De Legibus,* with an English Translation by Clinton Walker Keyes, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, MCMLXXVII (1928), p. 396; no variants.

[183] Cf. Keyes's translation and notes, p. 397.

[184] Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 217, note 1, refers to these fragments as evidence for the varying date of the Bona Dea festival. Shackleton Bailey (see below), p. 238 (*mysteria*), however, states that the anniversary of the Bona Dea temple is out of the question since it is an invariable date (and so are the *Cerealia*). However, the nocturnal rites are completely different from the temple anniversary.

[185] Cf. also the editions: *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae,* vol. II: *Epistulae ad Atticum*, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Ludovicus Claude Purser, pars prior, libri I-VIII, Oxonii (1903/1958; no pagination): no variants in the text; *Cicero in twenty-eight Volumes,* XXII: *Letters to Atticus*, books I-VI, with an English Translation by E. O. Windstedt, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXX (1912), p. 412: no variants.

[186] Shackleton Bailey's translation does not supply any further information, p. 77, neither does Windstedt's, p. 413, saying only *Mysteries*; cf., however, Shackleton Bailey's note p. 238.

(27). Ad Atticum VI i 26 p. 102

Scr. Laodiceae x Kal. an. 50

..., faciesque me in quem diem Romana incidant mysteria certiorem et quo modo hiemaris.

Laodicea, 20 February 50

...and let me know on what day the Roman mysteries fall and how you have lived through the winter.[187]

Paradoxa Stoicorum ad M. Brutum[188]

The work, written in the spring of 46 B.C.,[189] aimed to prove that even seemingly absurd propositions—παράδοξα, *admirabilia*—can be dealt with rhetorically, and made plausible.[190]

Fourth paradox: *That every foolish man is mad; that only those who are wise are privileged to be called citizens, the others exiles.* Unfortunately the beginning of the paradox has not been further worked out in the manuscripts: only one line, not even a full sentence, is left. The lacuna can be significant.[191] After this follows the elaboration of the two Stoic paradoxes: *He who is not wise is in exile,*[192] and *The wise man is immune against injustice.*[193]

The paradox opens: *Ego vero te non stultum ut saepe, non improbum ut semper, sed dementem ...*[194] It seems most likely that *te* should be no other than P. Clodius since Cicero merely illustrates the proposition with a comparison of his own lot with that of Clodius.[195]

---

[187] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, p. 255 (*mysteria*), referring to (my) No. *26*; cf. also Windstedt's translation, pp. 441-443.

[188] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 500.

[189] *Ibidem*, and Molager (see below), pp. 13-16.

[190] There are six propositions: 1) Ὅτι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν—*Quod honestum sit id solum bonum esse.* 2) Ὅτι αὐτάρκης ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν—*In quo virtus sit ei nihil deesse ad beate vivendum.* 3) Ὅτι ἴσα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ καθορθώματα—*<Aequalia esse peccata et recte facta>*. 4) announcement of the proposition Ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται—*Omnes stultos insanire.* 5) Ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος—*Omnes sapientes liberos esse et stultos omnes servos.* 6) Ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος—*Quod solus sapiens dives.* Paradox 4 is then further elaborated; *Only the man who is wise may be called a citizen, the others exiles*; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 500; Molager, p. 18.

[191] Cf. Molager, p. 32.

[192] *Ibidem.*

[193] *Ibidem.*

[194] "But I will prove that you are being, not foolish (that you often are), not reckless (that you are always), but out of your mind and mad..."

[195] Cf. Molager, p. 35; of the six, the fourth paradox is the most captivating; Clodius as an example is very well chosen, the more so as the emotions of the author lend a personal tone to the passage (which the other pages of the paradoxes lack; cf. Molager, pp. 36-37).

The exile Clodius deserved after intruding upon the festival of Bona Dea he in fact has had to endure in Rome.

Cicéron, Les Paradoxes des Stoïciens, texte établi et traduit par Jean Molager, Paris, 1971 (*Collection des Universités de France).*

28. Paradoxa Stoicorum IV ii 32 p. 115

Sed quid ego communes leges profero, quibus omnibus es exul? Familiarissimus tuus[196] de te privilegium tulit, ut, si in opertum Bonae Deae[197] accessisses, exulares. At te id fecisse etiam gloriari soles. Quo modo igitur tot legibus eiectus in exilium nomen exulis non perhorrescis? "Romae sum", inquit. Et quidem in operto fuisti. Non igitur, ubi quisque erit, eius loci ius tenebit, si ibi eum legibus esse non oportebit.[198]

But why should I refer to the universal laws, by all of which you are an exile? Your most loyal friend proposed a special bill regarding you, and this to punish you with exile should you have attended the Bona Dea mysteries. But you make it a habit of even boasting that you have done so. How is it then that you, by so many laws sent into exile, not shudder at hearing the name of exile? "I am in Rome," is the answer. And yet you were present at the mysteries. Therefore a man shall not enjoy the rights of the particular place where he happens to be if by law he ought not to be there.[199]

Epistulae ad Atticum

In this letter, as in the Nos. (*26*) and (*27*) above, there are references to *Mysteria*. And here also Cicero inquires after the date. The entry into the catalogue of literary references to Bona Dea is made with appropriate caution.

Cicedro's Letters to Atticus, edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Volume VI: 44 B.C., 355-426 (Books XIV-XVI), Cambridge, 1967 (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentarties* 8).

(29). Ad Atticum XV xxv p. 124

Scr. in Tusculano iii Kal. Quint. an. 44

Et velim scire quo die Olympia, tum mysteria. Scilicet, ut tu scribis, casus consilium nostri itineris iudicabit. dubitemus igitur. est enim hiberna navigatio odiosa, eoque ex te quaesieram mysteriorum diem.[200]

---

[196] M. Pupius Piso (born Calpurnius Piso and adopted by one M. Pupius), *cos.* 61 B.C.; cf. H. Gundel, *Pupius* (10) in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959), coll. 1987-1993; Broughton II, pp. 117, 178; Molager, p. 115, note 5.

[197] Cf. Molager, p. 115, note 7.

[198] Cf. also the edition *Cicero in twenty-eight Volumes,* IV: *De Oratore,* book III—*De Fato—Paradoxa Stoicorum—De Partitione Oratoria,* with an English Translation by H. Rackham, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXVIII (1942), p. 282: besides differences of punctuation, *in exilium eiectus* instead of *eiectus in exilium.*

[199] Cf. also Rackham's translation, p. 283, where *if you intruded* is conspicuous as the translation of *accessisses.* Cf. also his note *b*), with not a few inaccuracies.

Tusculum, 29 June 44

I should also like to know the date of the Olympic Games as well as that of the Mysteries. Of course, as you write, the plan for my journey will depend on chance. So let us leave it undecided. For a voyage in winter is an unpleasant thing, and that is why I asked you the date of the Mysteries.[201]

2. TIBULLUS

Tibullus' domain was the elegy. He seems to have published a small collection in 26 B.C. Not long before he had sent his patron Messalla a birthday poem,[202] and since on that very day Messalla had gained a victory over the Aquitanians Tibullus also praised the victor's triumph (25 September 27) and his military successes. To this poem Tibullus added nine others, written earlier, to compose the first book of his collection of elegies.[203]

Elegy vi (just as i, ii, iii, and v) was inspired by Delia, a lady of plebeian descent whose real name was Plania, if we are to believe Apuleius.[204] In this elegy, she has fallen in love with a young man, and the poet advises her husband to be on the watch, offering to be Delia's guard himself.[205]

The fragment entered refers to the exclusion of men from Bona Dea's temple, and to the belief that a man breaking this rule will be punished with blindness.[206]

Tibulle et les Auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum, texte établi et traduit par Max Ponchont, Paris, 1968[7] (*Collection des Universités de France*).

---

[200] Cf. also the editions *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae,* vol. II: *Epistulae ad Atticum,* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Ludovicus Claude Purser, pars posterior, libri IX-XVI, Oxonii (1903/1958; without pagination); *Cicero, Letters to Atticus,* with an English Translation by E. O. Windstedt, III, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXVII (1918), p. 356. Purser: *Et tu etiam scire quo die Olympia cum mysteria scilicet. Ut tu scires ...* Windstedt: *Et tu etiam, scisne, quo die olim piaculum? Ut ut est res ....*

[201] Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes, p. 273; Windstedt's translation, p. 357, is hardly satisfactory (and neither is his text).

[202] M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (prob.) 64 B.C.-A.D. 13, *cos. suff.,* together with Octavian, in 31 B.C.; cf. R. Hanslik, *Valerius* (261) in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 131-157; Broughton II, pp. 380, 420; *PIR*[1] III, pp. 363-368, No. 90.

[203] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 179-180.

[204] *Apologia* 10; the name Delia was alleged to be the Greek translation of Plania (δῆλος = planus); cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 181.

[205] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 180; the collection under Tibullus' name, *Corpus Tibullianum,* originally consisted of three books, which the Italian scholars of the 15th cent., however, divided into four. Solely the first two may be ascribed to Tibullus with certainty; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 177-179; see also below, No. 3 (Lygdamus).

[206] Cf. Paratore, pp. 338 and 341.

30. I vi 21-24 p. 47

Exibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.
At mihi si credas, illam sequar unus ad aras:
tunc mihi non oculis sit timuisse meis.[207]

Be on your guard whenever she goes out and says she is going to visit Bona Dea's sanctuary, forbidden for men. But should you care to believe me, I alone shall follow her to the altars: than, I suppose, I need not fear for my eyes.[208]

3. CORPUS TIBULLIANUM: LYGDAMUS

The author of the third book[209] of the *Corpus Tibullianum* calls himself Lygdamus, probably a pseudonym. That he was a Roman of distinction is evident from his being admitted to the Messalla circle, and from the fact that his work is in the Tibullus collection.[210]

The fifth elegy with its sincere and emotional tone has nothing to do with the poet's love of Neaera, pre-eminently the theme of the other poems.[211] On the contrary, it is a farewell and a prayer that the poet, of poor health, sends his friends, who are staying in Etruria at a watering-place.[212]

It is almost certain that the work was not published before Messalla's death in A.D. 8 as several passages dealing with Messalla's cousin's love of Cerinthus would no doubt have scandalized the patron.[213]

In the fragment below the poet implores Persephone to spare him since he is young and of clear conscience. In this context he points to his reticence concerning Bona Dea's secret rites and their inaccessibility to men.

Tibulle et les Auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum, texte établi et traduit par Max Ponchont, Paris, 1968^7 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

31. Elegia V (*Tibulli liber* III v) 7-8 p. 148

Non ego temptavi nulli temeranda virorum
audax laudandae sacra docere deae.[214]

---

[207] Cf. Ponchont, p. 47, note 1; cf. also the edition *Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres,* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Iohannes Percival Postgate, editio altera, Oxonii (1905/1959; without pagination): identical text.

[208] Ponchont, p. 47: *sacra*: *mystères.* Paratore, p. 338: *misteri. Sacra* is doubtless a very vague term and means, besides religious acts, also a *temple*, and this latter meaning may be elucidated by *aras* in v. 23; for that matter cf. Ovid, with the same warning, but using the word *aedes* (or *templa*), see below, Nos. *33* and *34*.

[209] This third book was subdivided into two parts by the Italian scholars of the 15th cent., a subdivision not supported by the MSS.; cf. Ponchont, p. 119

[210] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 185-188.

[211] Cf. Ponchont, p. 119.

[212] *Ibidem*, p. 147.

[213] *Ibidem*, p. 128.

[214] *Ibidem*, p. 148, note 3.

It was not I that recklessly attempted to disclose the rites of the praiseworthy goddess which shall not be violated by any man.[215]

4. PROPERTIUS

Four books of elegies by Propertius[216] have survived.[217] Book four contains the Roman elegies: Propertius has said goodbye to love (for Cynthia-Hostia),[218] and has now chosen to be a poet of national poetry: the obvious way to be followed as shown him by Maecenas. As Callimachus in his Αἴτια had explained the origin of festivals, games, and temples, so Propertius, as the "Roman Callimachus", planned to devote his talents to the praise of national customs, festivals, names of sacred sites.[219]

The poem from which the passage below is quoted describes Hercules' adventures in Italy. Here he comes upon Bona Dea's worshippers who are celebrating the goddess's festival, and exclude him, being a man, from their midst. Hercules retaliates by establishing the cult at the *Ara Maxima,* forbidden to women.[220]

The date of book four is about 16 B.C.[221]

> *Properce Élégies,* texte établi et traduit par D. Paganelli, Paris, 1961^2 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

32. IV ix 21-70 pp. 157-158

Dixerat, et sicco torquet sitis ora palato
  terraque non ullas feta ministrat aquas.
Sed procul inclusas audit ridere puellas.
  Lucus ab umbroso fecerat orbe nemus,

---

[215] Ponchont's translation *mystères* (*sacra*) is here rather more appropriate than with Tibullus (see above, note 208).

[216] Sextus Propertius was born between 54 and 48 B.C., probably at Assisi, although other Umbrian towns claim that honour; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 193-206; Paganelli, (see below), p. V; *PIR*^{1} III, pp. 103-104, No. 752.

[217] The first, entitled *Cynthia Monobiblos* (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 195-197) deals practically entirely with love, the poet's and others'. The publication made Propertius a famous man, and this meant his access to the court circles, Maecenas becoming his patron there. Books two and three deal not only with love: the first ecstasy has subsided, and he is not faithful any longer, neither is Cynthia. Other subjects are welcomed: two elegies are addressed to Maecenas (II i; III ix), two to Augustus (II x; III iv), and further there are poems about his own art (III i, ii, iii, v), an ode to Virgil (II xxxiv), letters to his friends (III xii, xxii), reflections on the meanness of woman in general, illustrated by examples from mythology and history (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 197), two laments, moreover, one for drowned Paetus (III vii) and the other for young Marcellus (III xviii).

[218] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 195-196; Paganelli, p. VI; Balsdon, *Rom. Women,* p. 192.

[219] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 198-201.

[220] Cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 253-254.

[221] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 200.

femineae loca clausa deae fontisque piandos,
impune et nullis sacra retecta viris.
Devia puniceae velabant limina vittae,
putris odorato luxerat igne casa,
populus et longis ornabat frondibus aedem
multaque cantantis umbra tegebat avis.
Huc ruit in siccam congesta pulvere barbam
et iacit ante fores verba minora deo:
"Vos precor, o luci sacro quae luditis antro,
pandite defessis hospita fana viris.
Fontis egens erro circaque sonantia lymphis
et cava suscepto flumine palma sat est.
Audistisne aliquem, tergo qui sustulit orbem?[222]
Ille ego sum: Alciden[223] terra recepta vocat.
Quis facta Herculeae non audit fortia clavae
et numquam ad vastas irrita tela feras
atque uni Stygias homini luxisse tenebras?[224]
[Accipite: haec fesso vix mihi terra patet.][225]
Quodsi Iunoni sacrum faceretis amarae,[226]
non clausisset aquas ipsa noverca suas.[227]
Sin aliquem vultusque meus saetaeque leonis
terrent et Libyco sole perusta coma,[228]
idem ego Sidonia feci servilia palla
officia[229] et Lydo pensa diurna colo[230]
mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus
et manibus duris apta puella fui."
Talibus Alcides, et talibus alma sacerdos,
puniceo canas stamine vincta comas:
"Parce oculis, hospes lucoque abscede verendo;
cede agedum et tuta limina linque fuga.
Interdicta viris metuenda lege piatur,
quae se summota vindicat ara casa.

---

[222] Cf. Camps, pp. 37-39, text IV ix 21-70, and pp. 138-145, notes; p. 141, *ad* v. 37.

[223] Meaning "The Valiant"; cf. Paganelli, p. 157, note 2.

[224] Cf. Camps, p. 142, *ad* v. 41.

[225] Most editors conjecture that another verse has been left out here. Some, as does Camps, insert vv. 65 and 66 here.

[226] See ch. III, A.

[227] Cf. Camps, p. 143. *ad* v. 43.

[228] Cf. Camps, p. 143. *ad* v. 46.

[229] *Ibidem, ad* vv. 47-48.

[230] *Ibidem*, p. 144, *ad* v. 48.

Magno Tiresias aspexit Pallada vates,
  fortia dum posita Gorgone membra lavat.[231]
Di tibi dent alios fontis: haec lympha puellis
  avia secreti limitis una fluit."
Sic anus: ille umeris postis concussit opacos
  nec tulit iratam ianua clausa sitim.
At postquam exhausto iam flumine vicerat aestum,
  ponit vix siccis tristia iura labris:
"Angulus hic mundi nunc me mea fata trahentem
  accipit: Haec fesso vix mihi terra patet.
Maxima quae gregibus devota est Ara repertis,[232]
  ara per has" inquit, "maxima facta manus,
haec nullis umquam pateat veneranda puellis
  Herculis exclusi ne sit inulta sitis."[233]

Thus he spoke: thirst torments his mouth, dry is his palate, but the earth's plenty does not offer him any water. Yet at some distance, within an enclosure, he hears girls laugh. A grove of sacred trees stood in a shady circle round a clearing, the enclosed sanctuary of the Women's Goddess, and a venerable fount and rites whose disclosure to any man will not go unpunished. Purple ribbons decorated the entrance to the hidden shrine, from the tumbledown structure a fire had blazed up fragrant with incense, a poplar with long and leafy branches was an ornament to the temple, and its plentiful shade was a shelter for the singing birds.

Hither he hastened, his beard dry and covered with dust, and standing before the door he uttered these words, unworthy of a god: "You that play in the secrecy of the sacred wood, I implore you, open your sanctuary with its hospitality to an exhausted man. I am wandering about in search of a well, and everywhere around there is the sound of splashing water; I am content with what I can scoop from the stream with the hollow of my hand. Have you heard of the man who took the world upon his back? That am I: the regained earth calls me Alcides. Who has not heard of the heroic exploits of Hercules' club and of his arrows never shot in vain at huge wild beasts, and that for him only of all mortals the darkness of Styx has become light? (.....)[234]

Even if you were offering to the embittered Juno, my stepmother would not have denied me her waters. But should my face frighten somebody, and the lion's manes and also my hair bleached in the Libyan sun, remember that it is I who performed a slave girl's duties, dressed in Sidonian garments, day after day spinning the wool on a Lydian distaff: a soft bodice covered my hairy chest, and with my rough hands I was a skilful girl."

---

[231] *Ibidem, ad* v. 57. Cf. also K. J. Mc Kay, *The Poet at Play: Kallimachos, The Bath of Pallas,* Leiden, 1962 (*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 6), esp. pp. 6-7 (vv. 75-106), 36-45; L. Brisson, *Le mythe de Tirésias, essai d'analyse structurale,* Leiden, 1976 (=*EPRO* 55).

[232] Cf. Camps, p. 145, *ad* v. 67, and above, note 222.

[233] Divergencies from Paganelli's text in Camps: v. 24: *ubi* (*ab*); v. 40: *tella* (*tela*); v. 42: lacuna, cf. Camps's remark p. 142; "the reasons for marking a lacuna here, and for the transposition of lines 65-6 to stand after it, are discussed in the note next below (on the transposed lines 65-66; pp. 142-143). The missing line 42 will have concluded the recital of Hercules' previous feats;" v. 51: *at* (*et*); v. 70: *aeternum* (*exclusi*), cf. Camps, p. 145.

[234] See about the lacuna, above, note 233 (*ad* v. 42).

Thus spoke Alcides, and thus answered the gentle priestess, her grey hair done up with a purple band: "Look away, stranger, and leave this awesome wood; well, then, go now and hurry away from this threshold in a safe flight. Forbidden to men, an altar is protected here by a fearful law, an altar hidden in a remote shrine. The seer Tiresias was gravely blamed for beholding Pallas bathing her vigorous limbs after taking off the Gorgon. Let the gods show you other springs: this hidden water in a remote bed flows for maidens only."

Thus the old woman: he put his shoulders against the shaded doorpost, and the closed door did give way to the wrath of the thirsty hero. But, while the water was already running short after he had cooled his anger, he uttered almost before his lips were dry the harsh vow: "Now I reach this corner of the world. I that carry my fate everywhere, and reluctantly this country accepts me, tired as I am. The Great Altar that has been promised because of the recovery of my herds, the altar", he says, "made great by these hands, shall never admit women to pray there, lest the refusal of the thirsty Hercules should remain unrevenged."[235]

5. Ovid[236]

The passages in Ovid relating to Bona Dea are to be found in two spheres: in the frivolous wittiness of the *Ars Amatoria* there are two references to the goddess, and the foundation of her temple is told in the serious language of the *Fasti*.[237]

---

[235] Cf. also Camps's translation in the notes, pp. 138-145.

[236] P. Ovidius Naso himself supplies us with his biography in *Tristia* IV x; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 206-210. He was born 20 March 43 B.C. at Sulmo (Sulmona), belonging by birth, not on account of his fortune, to the equestrian order (*Tristia* IV x 7-8). At Rome, he studied rhetoric under Arellius Fuscus and Porcius Latro (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 351—Arellius Fuscus—and pp. 347-348—M. Porcius Latro). But the attraction of poetry was greater, for: *quod temptabam scribere, versus erat* (*Tristia* IV x 26). For the time being, he followed his father's advice, attempting to keep him from this hardly lucrative aim. To finish his studies, he went to Athens, and it was probably also in this period that he travelled in Sicily and Asia Minor together with the younger Macer (*Ex Ponto* II x 21-42; for Pompeius Macer, cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 270). Not aiming at a senatorial career, he took the *angustus clavus* when coming of age (*Tristia* IV x 27-30). He was a member, however, of the college of the *centumviri,* acted as *arbitrator*, and was a member of the commission of the *tresviri capitales,* in charge of prisons and executions (*Tristia* II 93-96; *Ex Ponto* III v 23-24; *Tristia* IV x 33-34). Ovid sought and found recognition in the circles of the contemporary poets: he attended the lectures by the didactic poet Macer (Aemilius M.; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 164-165), by Horace, and his personal friend Propertius (*Tristia* II 465-468; IV x 41-50). The friendship between Ovid and Tibullus ended with the latter's death, which Ovid lamented in exquisite verses (*Amores* III ix). About 16 B.C., his *Amores* made him all at once a famous man, and the publication of the *Heroides* created a new sensation in Rome. When forty years old, he published the *Ars Amatoria,* his masterpiece full of wit and indecency. When in A.D. 8 Ovid was staying in Elba, together with his friend Maximus Cotta (*Ex Ponto* II iii 83-84), he learned that he had been condemned to exile. He had to face two charges: the *Ars Amatoria*, published immediately after the banishment of Augustus' daughter, Julia (*PIR*^{2} IV 3, pp. 298-301, No. 634), and whose pernicious influence had scandalized Augustus. The second charge, called by Ovid himself an *error* (*duo crimina, carmen et error; Tristia* II 207), was more serious. It concerned the Emperor and his family, but Ovid never dared reveal what it consisted in. (Many a guess has been made about the nature of the crime; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 209-210; J. Carcopino, *Rencontres de l'Histoire et de la Littérature romaines,* Paris (1963), pp. 127-129 (*L'exile d'Ovide*); L. Herrmann, *La faute secrète d'Ovide* in *Revue belge de philologie*

Ars Amatoria

Ars Amatoria, to which Ovid himself often simply refers as *Ars*, is a term used in the language of technical treatises.[238]

By writing his *Ars*, Ovid introduced a new kind of didactic poetry into Latin literature, unknown before with Greeks and Romans, for otherwise Ovid would certainly have drawn attention to the existence of a similar work as a justification of his own writing.[239] Indeed, before him Tibullus had written a treatise dealing with the problem of how to please young boys,[240] and Horace a manual for legacy hunters,[241] and for details Ovid had extensively borrowed from Greek and Roman poets, both contemporaries and predecessors, but with all the influences of minor importance Ovid succeeded in creating a standard work, thanks to his subtle and personal power of observation, his knowledge of the female psyche, his insight into Roman society, and his wit.[242]

The *Ars Amatoria* consists of three books. The first instructs men how to meet women and how to please them. The second enumerates the possibilities how to perpetuate a conquest. Book three describes not only the methods women may use to please men but also how to please them for a long time.[243]

Allusions to the *naumachia* of 2 B.C.,[244] and to the Parthians,[245] are indications that the *Ars Amatoria* was published soon after 1 B.C.[246]

---

et d'histoire, tome XVII (1938), pp. 695-725; *Nouvelles recherches sur la faute secrète d'Ovide, ibidem,* XLIII (1965), pp. 40-52. He left Rome in November A.D. 8 and the next year reached Tomis (not Tomi; cf. *Tristia* III ix 33; *Ex Ponto* IV xiv 59). This border fortress (now Constanța) on the Black Sea was peopled by Greek half-castes and barbarian Getae. His hopes on Augustus' death in A.D. 14 proved idle and Ovid never saw Rome again but died in exile A.D. 18 (prob.) (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 210).

[237] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 226-228 (*Ars*), pp. 229-235 (*Fasti*).

[238] The meaning of treatise for *ars* is first found in the *Ad Herennium*, cf. Bornecque, (see below), p. V. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 227: so in *Ars Grammatica, Ars Arithmetica, Ars Rhetorica. Ars Amatoria* certainly is of Ovid's own invention.

[239] Cf. *Tristia* II 413 ss.; Schanz-Hosius II, p. 226.

[240] I iv; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 226; Bornecque, p. VI.

[241] *Satirae* II v; cf. Bornecque, p. VI.

[241] *Satirae* II v; cf. Bornecque, pp. VI-VII.

[242] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 227; Bornecque, pp. VI-VII.

[243] He only thought of a last book when the other two had been published. The intention indicated by Ovid (cf. I 36-40) was not maintained in the working-out of book III; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 227-228; Bornecque, p. VI.

[244] Cf. I 171-172. Augustus had the Battle of Salamis performed on a lake dug for that purpose under the Janiculum.

[245] Cf. I 176-182.

[246] Cf. Bornecque, p. V.

Both passages quoted bear upon the fact that the Bona Dea temple was out of bounds to men.

Ovide, L'Art d'Aimer, texte établi et traduit par Henri Borneque, Paris, 1967 (cinquième tirage, première édition 1924) (*Collection des Universités de France*).

33. Ars Amatoria III 243-244 p. 68

Quae[247] male crinita est, custodem in limine ponat
orneturve Bonae semper in aede Deae.[248]

Let she who cannot boast fair hair put a guard at her door, or have always her hair done in the temple of Bona Dea.[249]

34. Ars Amatoria III 633-638 p. 83

Quid faciat custos, cum sint tot in Urbe theatra,
cum spectet iunctos illa libenter equos,
635 cum sedeat Phariae[250] sistris operata iuvencae,
quoque sui comites ire vetantur, eat,
cum fuget a templis oculos Bona Diva[251] virorum,
praeterquam siquos illa venire iubet,[252]

What could a guard do when there are so many theatres in the city? when she enjoys watching the teams of horses? when she sits sounding the Isis rattle for the Pharian heifer, and goes where her male companions are forbidden to go? when Bona Dea bars the eyes of men from her temple, except such as she bids come there herself?[253]

Fasti

The circumstances which induced Ovid to write a work not to be compared with any other in Latin literature were as varied and conflicting as the poet's line of thought and the drift of Augustan culture whose offspring Ovid was.

Julius Caesar had laid the foundations of a new order, subsequently stabilized by Augustus. One of the many aspects of this reform was the reorganization of the calendar.[254]

---

[247] Thus *Ovid in Six Volumes,* II: *The Art of Love, and Other Poems,* with an English Translation by J. H. Mozley, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXIX (1929), p. 134; Bornecque reads *Qua*.

[248] Cf. Bornecque, p. 69, note 1; Mozley, p. 135, note 2.

[249] Cf. also Mozley's translation, p. 135.

[250] Cf. Bornecque, p. 83, note 2: "Il s'agit des fêtes d'Isis. De Pharos, pour "Egyptienne"."

[251] For such names differing from the current appellation of the goddess, see ch. III A.

[252] Mozley's text, p. 162, is identical.

[253] Cf. also Mozley's translation, p. 163.

Augustus put emphasis on the revival of ancient traditions, notably in the religious sphere, the result being that intellectual Rome began to take an interest in the earliest history of the town. Indeed, there is evidence that also Augustus' predecessor, Caesar,[255] showed a similar interest in Rome's antiquities already.[256] The Romans had learned that Troy had vanquished the Hellenes after all. In the funeral oration in honour of his aunt Julia, in 67 B.C., Caesar himself had traced the history of his house to the episode of Anchises and Venus.[257] In 47 B.C., Varro had dedicated his *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* to the Dictator in his capacity of High Pontiff.[258] In Virgil's *Aeneis* the wish-dreams of Imperial propaganda and the nostalgia of Emperor and people had been materialized.[259]

For his *Fasti* Ovid had an immediate predecessor in Propertius, who had sung in verse *Sacra Diesque*,[260] as Ovid himself sang *Tempora cum Causis.*[261] In prose, C. Julius Hyginus, Ovid's famous older friend, had written about his scholarly interest in the contents of Alexandrian poetry, [262] and finally, Ovid's *Causae* are not different from the *Aitia* of the Hellenistic poetry to which Callimachus owed his fame.[263] Butas, possibly Cato Minor's freedman, wrote Roman *Aitia,* of which only a distich on the Lupercalia and a reference to Bona Dea have come down.[264] Other contemporaries of Ovid's began to compose Roman *Aitia,* such as M. Terentius Varro with his *De Gente Populi Romani, De Vita Populi Romani, De Familiis Troianis.*[265] Before him Cato Maior had written his *Origines,*[266] and Ennius his *Annales.*[267] It is not unlikely that the *Annales* by Accius should have contained a history of Roman festivals in hexameters.[268] Finally, Livy's first books had already been published when Ovid began his *Fasti.*[269]

---

[254] Cf. A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology, Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity,* München (1972) (=*HAW* I 7), pp. 156-158 (*The Augustan Reform*).

[255] Cf. Weinstock, *Divius Julius, passim.*

[256] *Ibidem*, pp. 4-18 (*The Ancestral Tradition*).

[257] Cf. Bömer I, p. 11; Weinstock, *Divius Julius,* pp. 17-18.

[258] Cf. Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* I 6 7; St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VII xxxv; B. Cardauns, *M. Terentius Varro, Antiquitates rerum divinarum,* Mainz, 1976, I, p. 14; II, pp. 132-133; Schanz-Hosius I, p. 564.

[259] Cf. Bömer I, p. 11.

[260] IV i 69: "Sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum."

[261] *Fasti* I 1.

[262] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 369-372; Bömer I, p. 12.

[263] Cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, pp. 125-140.

[264] Cf. Bömer I, p. 12; G. Knaack, *Butas* (2) in *RE* III 1 (1897), col. 1080.

[265] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 555-578, esp. 564-567.

[266] *Ibidem*, pp. 179-193, esp. 186-189.

[267] *Ibidem*, pp. 86-100, esp. 90-93.

[268] *Ibidem*, pp. 131-137, esp. 135.

[269] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 297-319, esp. 300 (*Chronologische Indizien*); Bömer I, p. 12.

At the time of his exile (A.D. 8), Ovid was already engaged in writing his *Fasti*, and six books had been drawn in outline—the other six were never written. It was only after Augustus' death that the poet proceeded to elaborate the outline. Since he could not count upon Tiberius' patronage he turned to Germanicus.[270] Ovid was occupied with the work till his death, probably in A.D. 18.[271]

P. Ovidius Naso, Die Fasten, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Franz Bömer, Band I (Einleitung, Text und Uebersetzung), Heidelberg, 1957; Band II (Kommentar), Heidelberg, 1958.

35. Fasti V 147-158 I pp. 228-230

Quo feror? Augustus mensis mihi carminis huius
ius habet! interea Diva canenda Bona est.[272]
Est[273] moles nativa, loco res nomina fecit:
appellant Saxum, pars bona montis ea est.[274]
Huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri
prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves.[275]
Templis patres illic oculos exosa viriles
leniter adclini constituere iugo.
Dedicat haec veteris Clausorum nominis heres
virgineo nullum corpore passa virum.[276]
Livia restituit, ne non imitata maritum
esset, et est omni parte secuta virum.[277]

What wanderings are these? This subject is reserved for Augustus' month. Meanwhile I must sing of Bona Dea. There is a natural knoll which gives its name to the spot. They call it the Rock, and it forms a good part of the hill. On it Remus took his stand in vain when you, birds of the Palatine, gave the first omens to his brother. Here on the gently sloping hillside the Fathers built a temple tabooed to men's eyes. It was dedicated by the heiress of the ancient name of the Clausi, who in her virgin body had never known a man. Livia restored it, so that she might imitate her husband and follow him in everything.[278]

---

[270] I 3.

[271] Cf. Bömer I, p. 19.

[272] *Diva Bona*; this is one of the two instances of the goddess being called thus; cf. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* III 637 (above, No. *34*: *Bona Diva*); see ch. III A.

[273] Bömer I, p. 230, reads here *et*, but translates "Es gibt da" (slip of the pen?).

[274] Ovid's intention when calling the site of the Bona Dea temple *bona pars montis* appears obvious (cf. ch. III B); yet, cf. Bömer II, p. 303: *pars bona = magna*; Bömer translates v. 150: "es macht ein gutes Stück des Berges (Aventin) aus." Sir J. G. Frazer, *Fasti* (= *Ovid in Six Volumes,* V), Cambridge (Mass.)-London, MCMLXXVI (1931), p. 271: "it forms a good part of the hill."

[275] Cf. *Fasti* IV 813-819; Bömer II, pp. 280-281.

[276] Frazer translates *an heiress,* Bömer *eine Erbin*; but cf. Brouwer, pp. 148-151.

[277] *Ibidem*, pp. 153-154; Frazer's text differs, besides the punctuation, in v. 158: *suum* (*virum*) (p. 270).

6. (LIVY) PERIOCHAE

Livy[279] began to write his history of Rome—*Ab Urbe Condita Libri*—when he was thirty, continuing for the next forty years. In the end the work consisted of 142 books.[280] Of this gigantic whole there are only 35 books extant: I-X and XXI-XLV. Of the parts that are lost we possess a palimpsest fragment of XCI, quoted fragments and extracts, and besides the *Periochae*, a collection of excerpts, and the Oxyrhynchus *Epitome* of the books XXXVII-XL and XLVIII-LV. The works of Florus, Granius, Licinianus, Aurelius Victor, of Eutropius, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and finally of Julius Obsequens, are further sources for our knowledge of Livy's works.[281]

Periochae

The writer of the *Periochae* gives extracts of the major events which are described in Livy's history, only touching upon the less important and anecdotal data. Besides he gives tables of contents. Thus the work is both an *epitome* and an index. Except for CXXXVI and CXXXVII the adaptions of all 142 books are preserved. They vary greatly in length, from two lines to a whole page, without a clear motive for the arrangement.[282]

CIII opens with the year 62 B.C., when Clodius entered Caesar's house during the festival in honour of Bona Dea. The trial described took place in 61.

Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita Libri, bearbeitet von W. Weissenborn-H. J. Müller, Band 10, Berlin, 1962^3.

36. Periochae lib. CIII p. 169

Catilina a C. Antonio proconsule cum exercitu caesus est.[283] P. Clodius accusatus, quod in habitu mulieris in sacrarium,[284] quo virum intrare nefas est, clam intrasset et uxorem maximi pontificis stuprasset, absolutus est.[285]

---

[278] Cf. also Frazer's translation, p. 271.

[279] Titus Livius was born at Patavium (Padua) in 59 B.C. Nothing is known of Livy's parents and of his life we have but scarce information. He had a daughter and a son, who also was a writer: Pliny refers to him as a source for his books on geography (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 297, note 3). Though Livy wrote philosophical dialogues and an epistolary treatise on rhetoric in the Ciceronian tradition (cf. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* X i 39) his fame is founded on his historiography. In Rome, he was received into the Imperial literary circles and delivered recitations from his work, thus gaining Augustus' favour. Though Livy's works reflect his knowledge of the Empire we may assume that he dwelt for the greatest part of his life at Rome and at Padua, where he died in A.D. 17 (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 296-297).

[280] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 299; also p. 300, note 3.

[281] *Ibidem*, pp. 303-306.

[282] *Ibidem*, p. 303.

[283] C. Antonius was Cicero's colleague in 63 B.C.; cf. E. Klebs, *Antonius* (19) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 2577-2582; Broughton II, 165-166.

Catiline was killed by the Proconsul C. Antonius with his army. P. Clodius, accused of having stolen in women's clothes into the sanctuary where no man shall enter, and of having committed adultery with the wife of the High Pontiff, was acquitted.

6'. Velleius Paterculus

(C.?) Velleius Paterculus counted among his ancestors, both paternal and maternal, men who had been of consequence in the history of Rome. He belonged to that section of society which during the early Empire saw its influence rise, and from which the Imperial officials and army officers were by preference selected: the Roman equestrian order together with the nobility of the Italian *municipia.*

Biographical data about Velleius Paterculus are only to be found in his own historical writings in which he is fond of frequently speaking about himself. His career was pre-eminently a military one, yet shortly after Augustus' death he was appointed Praetor on the recommendation of Tiberius.

Velleius Paterculus' history seems to have been written during a short period before A.D. 30. The author himself divided it into two books: I from primitive times to the destruction of Carthage, II from that date to Vinicius' consulship in 30. Till Augustus' rule only a concise and sketchy historical survey is given, while afterwards there is an extensive description based on the author's personal experiences.[286]

The passage below is concerned with Clodius' character, and records the trial for his violation of the ceremonies in honour of Bona Dea.

C. Vellei Paterculi ex Historiae Romanae libris duobus quae supersunt, post C. Halmium iterum edidit C. Stegman de Pritzwald, Stuttgart, 1965 (Teubner).

36'. II xlv 1 p. 59

Per idem tempus P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus, audax, quique neque dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem vellet nosset modum, malorum propositorum executor acerrimus, infamis etiam sororis stupro et actus incesti reus ob initum inter religiosissima populi Romani sacra adulterium, cum graves inimicitias cum M. Cicerone exerceret (quid enim inter tam dissimiles amicum esse poterat!) et a patribus ad plebem transisset, legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur: cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur Cicero, tamen solus petebatur.

---

[284] This is, as we know from other sources, not true because the sacrilege did not concern the Bona Dea sanctuary but the house of the Pontifex Maximus; a (possible) figurative translation of *sacrarium*: a secret place, seems out of the question; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1612, *s.v.*

[285] Cf. the 1930 edition of Weissenborn and Mueller, where *uxorem Metelli pontificis* is read.

[286] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 580-588; Shipley (see below), pp. viii-xvii; A. Dihle, *Velleius* (5) in *RE* VII A 1 (1955), coll. 637-659; *PIR*¹ III, pp. 394-395, No. 237; *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium Quae Fuerunt Ab Augusto ad Gallienum,* pars secunda, scripsit H. Devijver, Leuven, 1977 (*Symbolae* series A/Vol. 3), pp. 845-846, No. 64.

About the same time P. Clodius, a nobleman, eloquent and reckless, who recognized no limits either in speech or in action, except his own whims, energetic in carrying out his wicked schemes, moreover a man of a bad reputation on account of the incest with his sister, and summoned to appear in court for *incestum* on account of the adultery committed during the most sacred ritual of the Roman people, having conceived a violent hatred for M. Cicero (for what friendship could there be between two so different characters?), being a patrician turned plebeian, and as Tribune introduced a bill that whoever had had a Roman citizen executed without trial should be condemned to exile: though Cicero's name was not mentioned in the wording of the bill it was only meant for him all the same.

7. ASCONIUS

Q. Asconius Pedianus[287] was a well-known author of works on philological subjects, and commentaries on five of Cicero's orations, written between A.D. 54 and 57, are extant, be it only fragmentarily.[288] Asconius' work was intended for his sons, whom he keeps addressing, and this determines the tone of the work which is friendly and informal. The commentary is mainly concerned with matters of history, while grammar and rhetoric are beyond the scope of the discussion. Besides Cicero, other sources are used, such as the *Acta Populi Romani* and the historians of the period, a circumstance that to no small degree adds to the value of the work.[289]

In Pisonianam, the commentary on Cicero's oration against L. Calpurnius Piso (see above, Nos. *20* and *21*), makes indirect reference to Clodius' violation of the Bona Dea rites.

The *argumentum* on the *In Milonianam* contains the description of the meeting between Clodius and Milo, Clodius' wounding close to a shrine of Bona Dea near Bovillae and furthermore the subsequent trial in great detail. There are several references to Clodius' sacrilege (see also above, Nos. *23* and *24*).

---

[287] 9 B.C.-A.D. 76; he probably came from Padua (*Livius noster*; cf. *In Cornelianam* 68; Schanz-Hosius II, p. 732). From Quintilian's words we may conclude that as a youth he met Livy (*Institutio Oratoria* I vii 24). Asconius seems to have known also Asinius Gallus (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 733; for C. Asinius Gallus, *cos.* A.D. 8, *ibidem*, p. 745; *PIR*² I, pp. 245-249, No. 1229) and Junius Blaesus (for Q. Junius Blaesus, *cos. suff.* A.D. 10, cf. *PIR*² IV 3, pp. 330-331, No. 738).

[288] *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem* (55 B.C.), *Pro M. Scauro* (54), *Pro Milone* (52), *Pro Cornelio De Maiestate* (65), *In Toga Candida Contra C. Antonium et L. Catilinam Competitores* (64).

[289] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 731-732.

Q. Asconii Pediani orationum Ciceronis quinque enarratio, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Albertus Curtis Clark, Oxonii (1966; 1st ed. 1907) (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*).

37. In Pisonianam 15 p. 16

(-89) Quod populari illi sacerdoti sescentos ad bestias socios stipendariosque misisti.

Manifestum est P. Clodium significari.[290]

That you have sent that priest of the people innumerable allies and tributaries to fight the wild beasts.

It is obvious that P. Clodius is meant here.[291]

38. In Milonianam 27 p. 31

A. d. XIII Kal. Febr. (...)[292] Milo Lanuvium, ex quo erat municipio et ubi tum dictator, profectus est ad flaminem prodendum postera die. Occurrit ei circa horam nonam Clodius paulo ultra Bovillas, rediens ab Aricia, prope eum locum in quo Bonae Deae sacellum est;[293] erat autem allocutus decuriones Aricinorum.[294]

On 18 January (52 B.C.), Milo left for Lanuvium, the town from which he came and where he then held the office of Dictator, to appoint a Flamen there the next day. About the ninth hour he met Clodius on his homeward journey from Aricia, some way beyond Bovillae close to the site where the shrine of Bona Dea stands; for he had made a speech to the Senate of Aricia.

39. In Milonianam 39 p. 45

Illud[295] vos meminisse non dubito per Q. Fufium[296] illo quoque tempore quo de incesto P. Clodi actum est factum ne a senatu asperius decerneretur.[297]

I do not doubt that you remember that also at the time of the trial for P. Clodius' *incestum*, Q. Fufius instigated the Senate to reach a less severe decision.

---

[290] Cf. above, No. *20.*

[291] Cf. above, notes 140 and 141.

[292] "Acta etenim magis sequenda et ipsam orationem, quae Actis congruit, puto quam Fenestellam qui a. d. XIIII Kal. Febr. tradit."

[293] Because of the present tense *est*, it seems that this still holds true for Asconius' time.

[294] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Aricia* in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 822-823.

[295] Any Senator might by calling *divide* demand that each clause of a plural bill should be put to the vote separately, which Fufius did in this case. Cf. *Pro Milone* 14.

[296] See above, note 13.

[297] And sure enough, Clodius was acquitted.

40. In Milonianam 43 p. 49

(-46) Dixit C. Causinius Schola Interamnanus, familiarissimus et idem comes Clodi,[298] P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum fuisse.[299]

Hic fuit Causinius apud quem Clodius manisse Interamnae videri volebat qua nocte deprehensus est in Caesaris domo, cum ibi in operto virgines pro populo Romano sacra facerent.

C. Causinius Schola of Interamna, an intimate of Clodius and at the same time dependent on him, asserted that on the day in question Clodius had intended to stay on his Alban estate.

This was the Causinius at whose house Clodius would have it believed he had stayed the night when he was discovered in Caesar's house while the (Vestal) virgins were performing there the rites for the Roman people in secret.

41. In Milonianam 46 pp. 52-53

(-88) Senatus, credo, praetorem eum circumscripsisset.[300] Ne cum solebat quidem id facere, in privato eodem hoc aliquid profecerat.[301]

Significat id tempus quo P. Clodius, cum adhuc quaestor designatus esset, deprensus est, cum intrasset eo ubi sacrificium pro populo Romano fiebat. Quod factum notatum erat .... S.C. decretumque ut extra ordinem[302] de ea re iudicium fieret.[303]

The Senate, I suppose, would have imposed restrictions on his actions as Praetor. Even at a time when it was customary to do this it would have worked in his case, even though at the time he was a private citizen.

He is referring to the time when P. Clodius, still Quaestor designate, was caught when he entered there where the sacrifice for the Roman people was being performed. This fact was officially established .... Decree of the Senate, and it was decided that as to this judgement had to be passed by a special tribunal.

8. Seneca (The Younger)

Of the many works by Seneca,[304] the best part of them no longer extant,[305] here we are only concerned with the letters to Lucilius.

---

[298] Cf. F. Münzer, *Causinius* in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1813.

[299] Cf. Ch. Hülsen, *Albanus ager* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 1307-1308

[300] For *circumscribere,* cf. Lewis and Short, p. 340, *s.v.* II B.

[301] Watts (see above, note 171), p. 105, note b, calls this remark *Ironical.*

[302] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1277, *s.v.* C 4.

[303] Cf. R. Leonhard, *Iudicium* (1) in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 2479-2481, esp. 2480.

[304] The *rhetor* L. (?) Annaeus Seneca (cf. *PIR*^{2} I, p. 102, No. 616; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 338-342; O. Rossbach, *Annaeus* (16) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 2237-2240), had three sons. The second son, L. Annaeus Seneca, was born at Corduba (Cordova) *ca.* 5 or 4 B.C. The family was equestrian, and distinguished (cf. *PIR*^{2} I, pp. 102-104, No. 617; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 679-722;

Ad Lucilium Epistolarum Moralium Libri XX

Practical ethics is the subject of the letters which were meant as a guide for attaining happiness, and at the same time as a study of morals.[306] That the author planned to publish them is clear from the fact that he promises Lucilius the perpetuation of his name.[307]

The letters were all written after Seneca had retired from public life, after 62.[308]

Letter XVI 97, written between summer-autumn 63 and autumn 64, states: the Romans of the Empire certainly do not deserve the allegation of being more corrupt than their forefathers. From the Clodius trial is to be gathered that morals in Cato Uticensis' days were hardly any better. Man has always been prone to vice rather than otherwise, and this will always remain so. Yet, though man is given to evil, Nature has provided him with an antidote: the

---

O. Rossbach, *Annaeus* (17) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 2240-2248). As a small child, Seneca was taken to Rome in charge of an aunt, and thanks to her care he was pulled through an ailing childhood and early youth. It was this aunt that also introduced him to official life (cf. *Ad Helviam Matrem De Consolatione* XIX 2). He studied at Rome, besides rhetoric philosophy, which with money-making and viticulture was to be his lifelong favourite pursuit (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 679 - 681). He began the *cursus* as Quaestor, prob. shortly after A.D. 32 (cf. *Ad Helviam Matrem De Consolatione* XIX 2; V 4: *honores*). By Caligula's accession, he ranked already as an orator and writer of the first standing, and this nearly caused his death since it was thought an affront to the Emperor's megalomania (cf. Dio Cassius LIX xix 7). Seneca was in his mid-forties when in Claudius' first year, 41, Messalina secured his banishment, to Corsica, for adultery with Julia Livilla, an improbable charge (cf. Dio Cassius LX viii 5; LXI x 1; Tacitus, *Annales* XIII 14 42). In 49, he was recalled by Agrippina's influence and, together with Afranius Burrus (cf. *PIR*^{2} I, p. 74, No. 441; P. Von Rohden, *Afranius* (8) in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 712-713), appointed tutor to Nero, a praetorship in 50 sealing this rehabilitation. With Nero's accession in 54, he changed his tutorial for ministerial functions and in 55 or 56 he became *consul suffectus* (cf. *PIR*^{2} I, p. 103; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 679-680). In 59, Seneca and Burrus were reluctant accessories to Agrippina's murder, Seneca composing Nero's defence before the Senate (cf. Tacitus, *Annales* XIV 11; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* VIII v 18). On the death of Burrus, three years later, Seneca atempted to retire and relinquish his enormous wealth to the Emperor, who refused the gift since their relations had become strained. The retirement, however, was permitted and Seneca henceforth spent most of his leisure in Campania, seldom visiting Rome (cf. Tacitus, *Annales* XIV 52-57; XV 45). In 65 the Pisonian conspiracy foundered and one of the conspirators named Seneca among those concerned. Though the evidence was feeble Seneca did not hesitate to face the suicide ordered by the Emperor, and this with the stoical courage which he had seldom shown during his lifetime (cf. Tacitus, *Annales* XV 56: 60-65; Dio Cassius LXII xxv; Suetonius, *Nero* XXXV; see further *PIR*^{2} I, p. 104).

[305] All this pleas are lost (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 707 (1)), lines, titles, and references to a dozen of other works have been handed down (*ibidem*, p. 706). For the whole of the poetical works, cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 456-475; for his prose works, *ibidem*, pp. 679-722.

[306] The collection of 124 letters is in twenty books. We must assume that the last part is lost as Gellius mentions a 22nd book (XXII ii 3; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 703; for Lucilius Junior, cf. *PIR*^{2} V 1, pp. 103-104, No. 388; W. Kroll, *Lucilius* (26) in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), col. 1645), and lacunae in the rest of his work are most probable.

[307] *Ad Lucilium* II 21 5.

[308] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 703-704.

intuition of what is right, which is alive even in the most depraved people so that their conscience will make their lives a hell. The example is Clodius.[309]

> *Sénèque, Lettres à Lucilius,* Tome IV (Livres XIV-XVIII), texte établi par François Préchac et traduit par Henri Noblot, deuxième tirage, Paris, 1971 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

42. Ad Lucilium XVI 97 2 pp. 115-116

Credat aliquis pecuniam esse versatam in eo iudicio, in quo reus erat P. Clodius ob id adulterium, quod cum Caesaris uxore in operto[310] commiserat, violatis religionibus eius sacrificii quod pro populo fieri dicitur, sic summotis extra consaeptum omnibus viris ut picturae quoque masculorum animalium contegantur? Atqui dati iudicibus nummi sunt et, quod hac etiamnunc pactione turpius est, stupra insuper matronarum et adulescentulorum nobilium[311] stillarî loco exacta sunt.[312]

Would we believe that money played a part in that trial at which Clodius was the accused on account of the adultery he committed with Caesar's wife during the secret ritual, thus violating the rites of that sacrifice which is alleged to be performed for the people, all men so rigorously being kept outside the enclosure that even representations of male animals are covered? Nevertheless, the jurors were given money, and something even more disgraceful than this bargain was the demand to have lascivious contacts with women and boys of noble families besides.

9. Pliny The Elder

Of Pliny's oeuvre the first six works are lost.[313] The only work extant, in 102 volumes, is the *Naturalis Historia.*

---

[309] Cf. Préchac-Noblot (see below), pp. 115-116 (*Sommaire*).

[310] *Ibidem*, p. 116, note 1.

[311] *Ibidem*, note 2.

[312] For the word *stillarî,* which in the MSS rather varies, (cf. the critical apparatus, p. 116), cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1759, *s.v.*

[313] C. Plinius Secundus, Pliny the Elder, was born at Novum Comum (Como) in A.D. 23 or 24. As a boy he came to Rome for education. Following the military career appropriate to his equestrian family, he served as cavalry officer in Germany, 47-57, together with the future Emperor Titus (cf. *PIR*¹ III, pp. 51-52, No. 373; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 768-770; K. Ziegler-W. Kroll-H. Gundel-W. Aly-R. Hanslik, *Plinius* (5) in *RE* XXI 1 (1951), coll. 271-439). He practised also as a pleader, but under Nero as a precaution devoted himself to literature. He was intimate with Vespasian, under whose rule he was successively Procurator in Germany, Gallia, and Africa (for the sources, cf. *PIR*¹ III, p. 51). His last post was as admiral of the fleet at Misenum, whence, with scientific zeal, he sailed to get a closer view of the Vesuvius eruption of 24 August 79. The Younger Pliny describes the last hours of his uncle before he succumbed to asphyxiation on the beach of Castellamare (Letter to Tacitus, VI xvi). For the lost works, cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 780-783.

Naturalis Historia

Though the work was dedicated to Titus in 77, Pliny was at the time of his death in 79[314] still engaged in revising it.[315]

Pliny's great love was knowledge, but he was not a scientific observer, a superficial encyclopedist rather than a discriminating scholar.[316]

Book X is devoted to birds in all their aspects, their procreation, flight, feeding habits; bats and snakes also come up for description.[317]

The fragment quoted deals with hens as sacrificial animals: for the Bona Dea cult only black hens are suitable.

Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle, livre X, texte établi, traduit et commenté par E. de Saint Denis, Paris, 1961 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

43. Naturalis Historia X lvi (77) p. 82

Gallinarum generositas spectatur crista erecta, interim et gemina, pinnis nigris, ore rubicundo, digitis inparibus, aliquando et super IIII digitos traverso uno.[318] Ad rem divinam luteo rostro pedibusque purae non videntur, ad opertanea sacra nigrae.[319]

A good breed of fowl is recognized by the straight crest, sometimes even a double one, by the black quill-feathers, red bill, unequal toes, sometimes also by a cross one besides the four others. Hens with a yellow bill and legs are considered unclean for a sacrifice; for the mysteries black ones are used.

10. MARTIAL

Although Martial's other poems[320] were appreciated by the public he owes his real fame to his talents of describing life in all its aspects in epigrams. Eleven books appeared from 84 to 98, when Martial, grown old, was beginning to feel more and more the burden of being a client of high-born patrons, and returned to Spain. Pliny the Younger paid for his journey to his native land, where he retired to a country estate to complete his last book three years later. About 104 Pliny mourns in a letter Martial's recent death.[321]

---

[314] See note 313.

[315] In its definitive form it consisted of a preface, tables of contents, and lists of sources, and 36 books on the most diverse subjects; cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 770-780, and the *RE* article cited in note 313.

[316] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 775-777 (*Charakteristik*).

[317] Cf. De Saint Denis (see below), pp. 7-18 (*Introduction*).

[318] *Ibidem*, p. 144 (*ad* § 156), note 1.

[319] That Bona Dea's secret rites are concerned is to be concluded from the term *opertanea sacra* comparable to *in operto* in other authors.

[320] Born at Bilbilis (Cerro de Bambola) in Spain, *ca.* A.D. 40, M. Valerius Martialis was educated in his homeland. In 64 he went to Rome to try his luck there. He was received into the houses of his compatriots Seneca and Lucan, but the Pisonian conspiracy of the next year bereft him of their patronage (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 546-548; *PIR*² III, pp. 359-360, No. 77; Friedländer (see below), pp. 3-26; R. Helm, *Valerius* (233) in *RE* VIII A 1 (1955), coll. 55-85). His talents and his preference induced him to devote himself to poetry. In poverty-stricken circumstances he was compelled to seek the favour of the rich and mighty, who were not overgenerous in return for complimentary verses (cf. Friedländer, pp. 6-8). By degrees his social status rather than his wealth increased (cf. Friedländer, pp. 6, 10-11) and his poetic achievements inintroduced him to the Court. For his work in praise of the inauguration of the Flavian

Epigrammaton Libri

The epigrams betray Martial's predominating interest in his fellow-man: *hominem pagina nostra sapit.*[322] He describes Roman society, high and low, rich and poor, virtuous and corrupt, as a keen observer, in a short and vigorous phraseology.[323]

The below passage relates to the fact that festivities, and notably the Megalensian Games and the Bona Dea sacrifice (but cf. Friedländer, *l.c., infra*), will be celebrated at the Praetor's expense.[324] The costs are evidently very high, and Proculeia refuses to pay her share.
X2 was published in 98.

M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen von Ludwig Friedländer, Amsterdam, 1967 (Neudruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1886).

44. Epigram X xli (esp. v. 7) p. 132

Mense novo Iani veterem, Proculeia, maritum
  Deseris atque iubes res sibi habere suas.[325]
Quid, rogo, quid factum est? subiti quae causa doloris?
  Nil mihi respondes? Dicam ego praetor erat:[326]
Constatura fuit Megalensis purpura centum
  Milibus, ut nimium munera parca dares,[327]
Et populare sacrum bis milia dena tulisset.[328]

Amphitheatre Martial was generously rewarded: he received a military tribunate, making him a knight, and the *ius trium liberorum* though he had never married (IX xcvii 5-6; cf. Friedländer, p. 6).

[321] III xxi.

[322] X iv 10.

[323] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 552-557 (*Charakteristik*).

[324] Consul or Praetor, cf. ch. IV A.

[325] Cf. Friedländer, p. 132, *ad* xli, v. 2.

[326] *Ibidem*, v. 4.

[327] *Ibidem*, vv. 5-6.

[328] *Ibidem*, v. 7: "*populare sacrum*: Wohl das epulum Jovis an den ludi plebei (13. November). Vgl. Mommsen CIL I 406 s. Marquardt StV III 349 u. 499." For *sacra popularia*, cf. Marquardt, *RSt* III, pp. 190-208. Nevertheless, it is hard to avoid the impression that the term *populare sacrum* here, as in many other cases, refers to the Bona Dea feast; cf. ch. IV A.

Discidium non est hoc, Proculeia, lucrum est.[329]

In the new month of Janus, Proculeia, you are going to divorce your old husband, and you kindly ask him to "pack up". What, I wonder, what has happened? What is the cause of the sudden quarrel? You do not answer me? I shall tell you myself: he was Praetor: the Megalensian purple would have cost 100,000 to hold very simple games, and the sacrifice for the people would have demanded twice 10,000. This is no divorce, Proculeia, this is a profitable transaction.

11. PLUTARCH

A not inconsiderable part of Plutarch's works, showing his wide reading and versatility, is still extant,[330] although it appears from the Lamprias catalogue, which mentions 227 works by Plutarch,[331] that a great many writings are lost.[332] His œuvre can be divided into two main categories, *Moralia* ('Ηθικά), philosophical treatises for the general public, and biographies.[333]

In both categories we find passages bearing upon Bona Dea.

Quaestiones Romanae (Αἴτια 'Ρωμαϊκά)

A collection of typical customs of the Romans, aetiologically explained, the counterpart of his *Quaestiones Graecae* (Αἴτια 'Ελληνικά), Plutarch's sources being especially Aristotle, Varro (be it indirect), Juba, and probably Verrius Flaccus.[334]

---

[329] Cf. also the edition *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata*, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W. M. Lindsay, editio altera, Oxonii (1929/1959) (without pagination).

[330] Plutarch, *ca.* A.D. 46 to after 120, was the son of Autobulus of Chaeronea, grandson of Lamprias and great-grandson of Nicarchus. It was a distinguished and wealthy family, held in great respect in Bœotia, even as late as the 3rd cent. A.D. (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, pp. 485-490; *PIR*¹ III, pp. 55-57, No. 400; K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos* (2) in *RE* XXI 1 (1951), coll. 636-962). When Nero visited Greece, A.D. 66, Plutarch was at Athens, studying physics and rhetoric, but his enthusiasm was for ethics (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin, II 1, p. 486). As a mere youth, probably under Vespasian, he was sent by his home town on a mission to the governor of Achaea (*Ibidem*, pp. 486-487; p. 487, note 1). He visited Rome several times and gave lectures there. He knew also North Italy (*Ibidem*, p. 487, and notes 2, 3, 4). Plutarch's versatility and humanity procured him influence even at the Imperial Court (*Ibidem*, p. 487, and note 14). According to Suidas, Trajan honoured him with a consulship and appointed him counsellor to the governors of Achaea (*Ibidem*, p. 487, and note 15). He also found favour with Hadrian and during the first three years of Hadrian's reign Plutarch seems to have been Procurator of Achaea (*Ibidem*, p. 488, and notes 2 and 3). Despite all these honours bestowed upon him by Rome, he remained a faithful patriot, accepting various offices in his home town Chaeronea (*Ibidem*, p. 488). Artimidorus of Daldis tells us that Plutarch foresaw his death in a dream, prob. A.D. 127 (*Onirocritica* IV 72; cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 489). After his death, his sons continued publishing his works (*Ibidem*, pp. 489-490).

[331] Cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 490, note 4.

[332] Though the greatest caution should be exercised as in Antiquity a great many writings were falsely ascribed to Plutarch; *ibidem*, p. 490 and note 5.

[333] As regards the dates of the various works, little information is available, but is seems probable that the biographies were composed late in his life; *ibidem*, pp. 490-491; for his works, pp. 490-524.

Quaestio XX is concerned with the customs in the Bona Dea cult.

> *Plutarch's Moralia* in fifteen volumes, IV, 263 D-351 B, with an English translation by Frank Cole Babbitt, London-Cambridge (Mass.), MCMLXII^3 (*The Loeb Classical Library*).

45. Quaestiones Romanae XX (p. 268 D-E Stephanus) p. 34

"Διὰ τί τῇ γυναικείᾳ θεῷ, ἣν Ἀγαθὴν καλοῦσιν,[335] κοσμοῦσαι σηκὸν αἱ γυναῖκες οἴκοι μυρσίνας οὐκ εἰσφέρουσι, καίτοι πᾶσι φιλοτιμούμεναι χρῆσθαι τοῖς βλαστάνουσι καὶ ἀνθοῦσι;"

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ μυθολογοῦντες ἱστοροῦσι, Φαύνου μὲν ἦν γυνὴ τοῦ μάντεως, οἴνῳ δὲ χρησαμένη[336] κρύφα καὶ μὴ λαθοῦσα ῥάβδοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκολάσθη μυρσίνης, ὅθεν μυρσίνην μὲν οὐκ εἰσφέρουσιν, οἶνον δ'αὐτῇ σπένδουσι, γάλα προσαγορεύουσαι;

Ἢ πολλῶν μὲν ἁγναὶ μάλιστα δ'ἀφροδισίων τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐκείνην ἐπιτελοῦσιν; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξοικίζουσι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ἄρρεν ἐξελαύνουσι τῆς οἰκίας,[337] ὅταν τὰ νενομισμένα τῇ θεῷ ποιῶσι. τὴν οὖν μυρσίνην ὡς ἱερὰν Ἀφροδίτης ἀφοσιοῦνται· καὶ γὰρ ἣν νῦν Μουρκίαν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι,[338] Μυρτίαν τὸ παλαιὸν ὡς ἔοικεν ὠνόμαζον.[339]

"Why is it that the women when they put up in their houses a shrine to the Women's Goddess, whom they call the Good Goddess, bring in no myrtle, though they take pride in making use of all kinds of growing and blooming plants?"

Is it because, as the mythologists relate, this goddess was the wife of the seer Faunus, and after having been found out drinking wine in secret[340] was beaten by her husband with myrtle twigs; and is it therefore that they do not bring in myrtle, but in her honour pour libations of wine, which they call milk, however.

Or is it because they abstain from many things, and particularly from sexual pleasures, when celebrating this religious service? For they not only exclude their husbands from the houses but they also remove everything male when performing the customary rites in honour of the goddess. Now, as the myrtle is sacred to Aphrodite they shun it on religious grounds. For the goddess they now call Aphrodite (Venus) Murcia, in ancient times, it seems, they styled Myrtia.

Vitae Parallelae (Βίοι Παράλληλοι)

In later life Plutarch wrote his biographies of generals and statesmen, mostly in pairs: a Greek, a Roman, and a comparison. Twenty-three of such pairs have survived, and besides four single lives. Four comparisons are missing.[341]

---

[334] *Ibidem*, pp. 514-515; Ziegler, *l.c.*, coll. 859-862.

[335] Cf. Babbitt, p. 34, note *a*; see below, No. *67*.

[336] Cf. Babbitt, p. 34, note b (reference to 265 B).

[337] Cf. Babbitt, p. 35, note *c*; see below, Nos. *46, 49, 51*.

[338] See ch. VI A 3 *Myrtle*).

[339] *Ibidem*.

[340] *Ibidem*, 2 (*Wine*).

Life of Cicero[342]

In connection with the miracle that takes place at Cicero's house at the time of his consulship and the Catilinarian crisis,[343] Plutarch has many particulars to relate about Bona Dea and her cult; likewise in connection with the Clodius scandal—which is discussed in greater detail, however, in the *Life of Caesar*.[344]

> *Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae,* recognoverunt Cl. Lindskog et K. Ziegler, vol. I-fasc. 2, iterum recensuit K. Ziegler, Lipsiae, MCMLIX.

46. Life of Cicero XIX p. 332

ἤδη δ'ἑσπέρας οὔσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου παραμένοντος ἀθρόως, προελθὼν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ προπεμφθείς, παρῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου γειτνιῶντος, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γυναῖκες κατεῖχον ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις ὀργιάζουσαι θεόν, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Ἀγαθήν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Γυναικείαν ὀνομάζουσι. θύεται δ'αὐτῇ κατ'ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γυναικὸς ἢ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων παρουσῶν.[345]

Now that night had fallen and the people stood waiting in great numbers, Cicero stepped forward, reported to the citizens, and was next escorted home: thence he went to a friend's house nearby as his own house was used by women with secret rites celebrating the festival of a goddess, called the Good Goddess by the Romans, by the Greeks the Women's Goddess. Every year, at the house of the Consul sacrifice is made to her by his wife or mother in the presence of the Vestal virgins.

47. Life of Cicero XX p. 333

Ταῦτα[346] τοῦ Κικέρωνος διαποροῦντος, γίνεταί τι ταῖς γυναιξὶ σημεῖον θυούσαις. ὁ γὰρ βωμός, ἤδη τοῦ πυρὸς κατακεκοιμῆσθαι δοκοῦντος, ἐκ τῆς τέφρας καὶ τῶν κατακεκαυμένων φλοιῶν φλόγα πολλὴν ἀνῆκε καὶ λαμπράν. ὑφ'ἧς αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι διεπτοήθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἱεραὶ παρθένοι τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἐκέλευσαν ᾗ τάχος χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κελεύειν, οἷς ἔγνωκεν ἐγχειρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μέγα πρός τε σωτηρίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ φῶς διδούσης. ἡ δὲ Τερεντία—καὶ γὰρ οὐδ'ἄλλως ἦν πρᾳεῖά τις οὐδ'ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ'ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδοῦσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ—ταῦτά τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφρασε καὶ παρώξυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κόϊντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἑταίρων Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος,[347] ᾧ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἐχρῆτο πράξεις.[348]

---

[341] Cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, pp. 517-521; Ziegler, *l.c.*, coll. 895-914.

[342] The Greek parallel is Demosthenes; cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 520; Ziegler, *l.c.*, coll. 899 and 900.

[343] 63 B.C.

[344] See below, No. *49*.

[345] Cf. ch. III A.

[346] On the one hand he was accused of too weak an attitude towards the conspirators, and on the other hand their connections prevented him from acting too severely.

While Cicero was greatly worried over these events the women received a sign during the sacrifice, For, though the fire seemed to be out, a high and bright flame leapt up from the altar from the hot embers and charred bark. This caused a panic among the other women but the holy virgins pressed Cicero's wife Terentia to call on her husband as quickly as she could asking him to do what he thought fit to save the country, since the goddess had given him a light as a sign of salvation and fame. Terentia now—for she was otherwise no weak woman either, and by nature not without courage, but an ambitious woman and, if we are to believe Cicero himself, she shared his political cares rather than letting him share the domestic ones—informed him of what had happened, and urged him to take action against the men; likewise did his brother Quintus and Publius Nigidius, a philosopher friend, whom he used to consult most frequently and most intensively on State affairs.

48. Life of Cicero XXVIII pp. 342-343

Ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο πολλοῖς ἐπαχθής, καὶ οἱ μετὰ Κλωδίου συνέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην λαβόντες. ἦν Κλώδιος ἀνὴρ εὐγενής, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ νέος, τῷ δὲ φρονήματι θρασὺς καὶ αὐθάδης. οὗτος ἐρῶν Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρεισῆλθε κρύφα, λαβὼν ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας· ἔθυον γὰρ ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος οἰκίᾳ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ παρῆν ἀνὴρ οὐδείς· ἀλλὰ μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι καὶ μήπω γενειῶν ὁ Κλώδιος ἤλπιζε λήσεσθαι διαδὺς πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίαν διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. ὡς δ'εἰσῆλθε νυκτὸς εἰς οἰκίαν μεγάλην, ἠπόρει τῶν διόδων, καὶ πλανώμενον αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσα θεραπαινὶς Αὐρηλίας τῆς Καίσαρος μητρός, ᾔτησεν ὄνομα. φθέγξασθαι δ'ἀναγκασθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φήσαντος ἀκόλουθον Πομπηίας ζητεῖν Ἄβραν τοὔνομα,[349] συνεῖσα τὴν φωνὴν οὐ γυναικείαν οὖσαν ἀνέκραγε καὶ συνεκάλει τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δ'ἀποκλείσασαι τὰς θύρας καὶ πάντα διερευνώμεναι, λαμβάνουσι τὸν Κλώδιον, εἰς οἴκημα παιδίσκης ᾗ συνεισῆλθε καταπεφευγότα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου γενομένου, Καῖσαρ τε τὴν Πομπηίαν ἀφῆκε, καὶ δίκην τις <τῶν δημάρχων> ἀσεβείας ἐγράψατο τῷ Κλωδίῳ.[350]

---

[347] P. Nigidius Figulus; cf. W. Kroll, *Nigidius* in *RE* XVII 1 (1936), coll. 200-212; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 552-554; Broughton II, p. 194.

[348] Cf. Kroll, *l.c.*, coll. 200-201.

[349] Cf. Liddell and Scott, p. 3, *s.v.*

[350] The last part seems to be corrupt for, according to *Life of Caesar* X (below, No. *49*), εἷς τῶν δημάρχων was the man to level the charge: L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (see above, note 31).

Owing to this he became a burden to many, and Clodius and his followers conspired against him, the occasion being as follows. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but impertinent and arrogant by nature. In love with Caesar's wife Pompeia he stole into Caesar's house dressed and equipped as a female harper; for the women were celebrating at Caesar's house that secret sacrifice to which men had no admittance, and there was no man present; but since he was still a youth and without beard Clodius hoped he would not be noticed by the women when he went in secretly to meet Pompeia.

But because he entered a large house in the dark he got lost in the corridors and walking about he was noticed by a servant of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, who inquired after his name. Forced to speak he claimed to be looking for a servant of Pompeia's, called Abra, but she heard by his voice that she was not dealing with a woman: she uttered a loud shriek thus calling the women together. After locking the doors and searching the whole house they managed to get hold of Clodius who had fled into the closet of the girl with whom he had entered. When this affair became the topic of the day Caesar repudiated Pompeia, and one of the Tribunes of the People brought an action against Clodius for the sacrilege.

Life of Caesar[351]

The Clodius affair offers Plutarch an opportunity to speak not only of the scandal but also to enter at length into Bona Dea's nature and her cult.

Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae, iterum recognovit Carolus Sintenis, vol. III, editio stereotypa, Lipsiae, MCMIX.

49. Life of Caesar IX-X pp. 372-374

Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι ταραχῶδες ἀπ'αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχη τις ἄχαρις τῷ Καίσαρι συνηνέχθη περὶ τὸν οἶκον. Πόπλιος Κλώδιος ἦν ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν εὐπατρίδης καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ λαμπρός. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν ἐπὶ βδελυρίᾳ περιβοήτων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος. Οὗτος ἤρα Πομπηίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀκούσης. 'Αλλὰ φυλακαί τε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν, ἥ τε μήτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Αὐρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, περιέπουσα τὴν νύμφαν ἀεὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένην αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὴν ἔντευξιν. Ἔστι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις θεὸς ἣν 'Αγαθὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Γυναικείαν. Καὶ Φρύγες μὲν οἰκειούμενοι Μίδα μητέρα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι φασί, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ νύμφην Δρυάδα Φαύνῳ συνοικήσασαν, Ἕλληνες δὲ τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τὴν ἄρρητον. Ὅθεν ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηνὰς κλήμασιν ἑορτάζουσαι κατερέφουσι, καὶ δράκων ἱερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον. Ἄνδρα δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδ'ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ὀργιαζομένων· αὐταὶ δὲ καθ'ἑαυτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες πολλὰ τοῖς 'Ορφικοῖς ὁμολογοῦντα δρᾶν λέγονται περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. Ὅταν οὖν ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθήκῃ χρόνος, ὑπατεύοντος ἢ στρατηγοῦντος ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξίσταται καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τὴν οἰκίαν παραλαβοῦσα διακοσμεῖ. Καὶ τὰ μέγιστα νύκτωρ τελεῖται, παιδιᾶς ἀναμεμιγμένης ταῖς παννυχίσι καὶ μουσικῆς ἅμα πολλῆς παρούσης.[352]

---

[351] The Greek parallel is Alexander; cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 520.

[352] Cf. Juvenal's description, below, No. *51*.

X Ταύτην τότε τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πομπηίας ἐπιτελούσης, ὁ Κλώδιος οὔπω γενειῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λήσειν οἰόμενος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σκευὴν ψαλτρίας ἀναλαβὼν ἐχώρει, νέᾳ γυναικὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐοικώς. Καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεῳγμέναις εἰσήχθη μὲν ἀδεῶς ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδυίας θεραπαινίδος, ἐκείνης δὲ προδραμούσης, ὡς τῇ Πομπηίᾳ φράσειε, καὶ γενομένης διατριβῆς, περιμένειν μὲν ὅπου κατελείφθη τῷ Κλωδίῳ μὴ καρτεροῦντι, πλανωμένῳ δ'ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ περιφεύγοντι τὰ φῶτα προσπεσοῦσα τῆς Αὐρηλίας ἀκόλουθος ὡς δὴ γυνὴ γυναῖκα παίζειν προὐκαλεῖτο, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς τὸ μέσον εἷλκε, καὶ τίς ἐστι καὶ πόθεν ἐπυνθάνετο. Τοῦ δὲ Κλωδίου φήσαντος ἅβραν[353] περιμένειν Πομπηίας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένην, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ γενομένου καταφανοῦς, ἡ μὲν ἀκόλουθος εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησε κραυγῇ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄχλον, ἄνδρα πεφωρακέναι βοῶσα, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν διαπτοηθεισῶν ἡ Αὐρηλία τὰ μὲν ὄργια τῆς θεοῦ κατέπαυσε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεκάλυψεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς θύρας ἀποκλεῖσαι κελεύσασα περιῄει τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ζητοῦσα τὸν Κλώδιον. Εὑρίσκεται δ'εἰς οἴκημα παιδίσκης, ᾗ συνεισῆλθε, καταπεφευγώς· καὶ γενόμενος φανερὸς ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξελαύνεται διὰ τῶν θυρῶν. Τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα καὶ νυκτὸς εὐθὺς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπιοῦσαι τοῖς αὑτῶν ἔφραζον ἀνδράσι, καὶ μεθ'ἡμέραν ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως λόγος, ὡς ἀθέσμοις ἐπικεχειρηκότος τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ δίκην οὐ τοῖς ὑβρισμένοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλοντος. Ἐγράψατο μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλώδιον εἷς τῶν δημάρχων[354] ἀσεβείας, καὶ συνέστησαν ἐπ'αὐτὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, ἄλλας τε δεινὰς ἀσελγείας καταμαρτυροῦντες καὶ μοιχείαν ἀδελφῆς, ἡ Λευκούλλῳ συνῳκήκει.[355] Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς ὁ δῆμος ἀντιτάξας ἑαυτὸν ἤμυνε τῷ Κλωδίῳ, καὶ μέγα πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὄφελος ἦν ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ δεδοικότας τὸ πλῆθος. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν Πομπηίαν, μάρτυς δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίκην κληθεὶς οὐδὲν ἔφη τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου γιγνώσκειν. Ὡς δὲ τοῦ λόγου παραδόξου φανέντος ὁ κατήγορος ἠρώτησε "Πῶς οὖν ἀπεπέμψω τὴν γυναῖκα;" "Ὅτι" ἔφη "τὴν ἐμὴν ἠξίουν μηδὲ ὑπονοηθῆναι." Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν οὕτω φρονοῦντα τὸν Καίσαρα λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενον ὡρμημένῳ σώζειν τὸν Κλώδιον. Ἀποφεύγει δ'οὖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένοις τοῖς γράμμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδόντων, ὅπως μήτε παρακινδυνεύσωσιν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταψηφισάμενοι μήτε ἀπολύσαντες ἀδοξήσωσι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις.[356]

.... but an unpleasant thing happened to Caesar in his domestic life. Publius Clodius was a man of patrician descent, and well-known for his wealth and eloquence. But in crime and recklessness he could hold his own against any of those notorious for their loathsome behaviour. He was in love with Pompeia, Caesar's wife, and she was agreeable. But the women's apartments were closely watched over and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a prudent woman, by keeping an eye on the young woman rendered a meeting between the lovers an always difficult and dangerous enterprise.

---

[353] See above, note 349.

[354] See above, note 350.

[355] Cf. F. Münzer, *Clodius* (67) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 107.

[356] I.e. with the *Optimates*.

The Romans have a deity whom they call the Good Goddess, just as the Greeks name her the Women's Goddess. And the Phrygians, making her one of themselves, assert that she was the mother of King Midas, the Romans that she was a Dryad married to Faunus, the Greeks, further, that she was the one of Dionysus' mothers whom none may name. Whence the women decorate the ceiling of the hall where they celebrate her festival with vine twigs, and a sacred serpent is placed beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is a sacrilegious act for a man to come near or to be in the house when the secret rites are performed. During the religious service the women are rumoured to do many things among themselves that resemble the Orphic mysteries. Now, when the day of the festival comes round, a Consul's or a Praetor's wife takes over and arranges everything, after her husband, with anything male, has left the house. The most important part of the ceremonial is performed by night, when revelry attends the all-night celebrations and much music too is heard.

When on that occasion Pompeia was in control of the feast, Clodius, still without a beard and therefore thinking he was not running any risk, turned up, dressed and equipped as a female harper thus resembling a young woman. And, when finding the doors open, he was securely admitted by the servant who was in the plot, and while she went ahead to tell Pompeia which took some time, Clodius not daring to wait where she had left him began to wander about the large house, trying not to come near the lamps; yet, one of Aurelia's slave girls ran into him, inviting him—as from woman to woman—to play something, and when he refused she pulled him into the light asking him who he was and whence he came. When Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (Chambermaid, which was also her name) his voice gave him away, and the servant shrank back with a scream and ran off towards the light and the crowd calling out that she had discovered a man. While the other women were panicking, Aurelia ordered the rites in honour of the goddess to be discontinued, and covered the sacred objects, and after having had the doors locked she herself made the round of the house with torches in search of Clodius. He was found hiding in the closet of the girl with whom he had entered; and discovered he was turned out of the house by the women.

That very night, the women after returning home told their husbands what had happened, and the next morning the news that Clodius had committed sacrilege spread about the town, and that he had to answer for this not only to those whom he had insulted but also to State and gods. Consequently one of the Tribunes of the People brought an action against Clodius for sacrilege, and the most prominent Senators joined forces against him giving evidence of all kinds of horrible dissipations, such as incest with his sister, Lucullus' wife.

However, the people opposed their endeavours and took Clodius' side, which was a great support for him as the jury was disheartened and afraid of the people. Caesar immediately repudiated Pompeia, yet summoned to give evidence at the trial, he feigned ignorance of the rumours about Clodius. As these words seemed rather paradoxal to the prosecutor he asked Caesar: "Why then have you repudiated your wife?" Caesar answered: "Because I thought that my wife should be above suspicion even." Some claim that Caesar spoke thus really thinking so, others, however, that to oblige the people he was anxious to save Clodius. The latter was subsequently acquitted as the majority of the jurors cast their votes with the letters (*i.e. A(bsolvo) and C(ondemno)*) jumbled together lest they should run the risk of convicting him by a majority, or by acquitting him should be held in bad repute with the aristocracy.

12. Juvenal

Juvenal was probably born in A.D. 67 (or thereabout). Little is known about his career. According to a late antique biography he still performed as a declamator when middle-aged, and it was only shortly after 100 that his first, still extant, satires were published.[357] All the poems that were preserved were published under Trajan and Hadrian. We do not know of any reactions by contemporaries: it is not before the fourth century that he is mentioned.[358]

Juvenal left five books of satires in hexameters, arranged in order of publication. With much pathos he satirizes the moral corruption of his contemporaries, notably of Senators and other prominent people; only in the last two books his satirizing has lost some of its edge.[359]

In book I, satire 2, an attack on people who commit sodomy, Juvenal describes how men celebrate the Bona Dea mysteries in a perverse manner.

D. Junii Juvenalis Saturarum Libri V, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen von Ludwig Friedländer, erster und zweiter Band, Darmstadt, 1967 (unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1895).

50. I ii 82-90 pp. 173-175

foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu[360]
nemo repente fuit turpissimus, accipient te[361]
paulatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt[362]
frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo
atque Bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae[363]
et magno cratere Deam. sed more sinistro[364]
exagitata procul non intrat femina limen:
solis ara deae maribus patet. "ite profanae"
clamatur "nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu."[365]

---

[357] D. Junius Juvenalis was born at Aquinum (Aquino), between A.D. 45 and 65, possibly in 50 (cf. I iii 319; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 565-567; Friedländer, (see below), pp. 14-16; *PIR*² IV, pp. 337-338, No. 765; F. Vollmer, *Iunius* (87) in *RE* X 1 (1918), coll. 1041-1050).

[358] Cf. I i 25; Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 565-566; Martial refers to one *facundus Iuvenalis,* but does not know him as a satirist (cf. VII xxiv; XII xviii; Schanz-Hosius II, p. 565, note 1; Friedländer, p. 6). Like Martial, Juvenal was very poor, lived at Rome as a dependant of the rich, in later life, however, enjoying a small allowance; for the dates of publication, cf. Friedländer, pp. 6-14; for his poverty and hate for the rich, pp. 20-25; the bettered circumstances, pp. 35-36; his biography (4th-5th cent.), pp. 3-4.

[359] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 567-573; see also Friedländer's introductory remarks upon each satire.

[360] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 82.

[361] *Ibidem, ad* v. 83.

[362] *Ibidem, ad* v. 84.

[363] *Ibidem, ad* v. 86.

[364] *Ibidem, ad* v. 87 (*crater* seems to refer to *mellarium*); *more sinistro*: cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1167, *s.v. mos* II: "by a perverted custom;" Friedländer: "nach verkehrter Sitte; " cf. also P. De Labriolle-F. Villeneuve, *Juvénal, Satires,* Paris, 1971¹⁰, p. 18: "renversant le rite."

[365] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 90. Except for the punctuation, De Labriolle-Villeneuve's text (see note 364, above) does not differ. Neither does *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae,* edidit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W. V. Clausen, Oxonii, MCMLIX, p. 46.

And one day you will act even more disgracefully than wearing this garment: no one has ever degenerated all of a sudden, and gradually you will be received amidst those who, at home, wear long ribbons round their foreheads and hide their necks under necklaces trying to mollify Bona Dea with the belly of a young sow and a large crater. But here it is the world in reverse: no woman shall cross the threshold but shall be driven away. Only men may approach the altar of the goddess. "Go, you uninitiated of the female sex," is heard. "here no flautist plays her flute."

Book two is a merciless diatribe against immoral and affected women. The fragment quoted gives a description of the festival of Bona Dea as an opportunity for sexual dissipations.

The book was published after A.D. 115.[366]

51. II vi 314-345 pp. 321-325

nota Bonae secreta Deae, cum tibia lumbos[367]
incitat et cornu pariter vinoque feruntur[368]
attonitae crinemque rotant ululantque Priapi[369]
maenades, o quantus tunc illis mentibus ardor
concubitus, quae vox saltante libidine, quantus
ille meri veteris per crura madentia torrens.
lenonum ancillas posita Saufeia corona[370]
provocat ac tollit pendentis praemia coxae[371]
ipsa Medullinae fluctum crisantis adorat;[372]
palma inter dominas virtus natalibus aequa.[373]
nil ibi per ludum simulabitur, omnia fient
ad verum, quibus incendi iam frigido aevo[374]
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit.[375]
Tunc prurigo morae impatiens, tum femina simplex,[376]
ac pariter toto repetitus clamor ab antro[377]
"iam fas est, admitte viros". iam dormit adulter:[378]

---

[366] Cf. Friedländer's introduction, pp. 278-281; pp. 8-10; Schanz-Hosius II, p. 568.

[367] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* vv. 314-334; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 71, note 1.

[368] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* vv. 314, 315.

[369] *Ibidem, ad* v. 316.

[370] *Ibidem, ad* v. 320.

[371] *Ibidem, ad* v. 321.

[372] *Ibidem, ad* v. 322.

[373] *Ibidem, ad* v. 323.

[374] *Ibidem, ad* v. 325.

[375] *Ibidem, ad* v. 326.

[376] *Ibidem, ad* v. 327.

[377] *Ibidem, ad* v. 328: "*ab antro* aus dem innern Raum; falls antrum nicht hier eine uns unbekannte Bedeutung und Beziehung hat;" De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 71: "sous les voûtes."

[378] *Iam,* thus Friedländer, cf. *ad* v. 329: "Ob iam dormit oder si dormit den Vorzug verdient, ist kaum zu entscheiden;" De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 71: *si*; Clausen, p. 83: *dormitat adulter.*

illa iubet sumpto iuvenem proprerare cucullo;
si nihil est, servis incurritur; abstuleris spem
servorum, venit et conductus aquarius; hic si
quaeritur et desunt homines, mora nulla per ipsam
quo minus imposito clunem summittat asello.
atque utinam ritus veteres et publica saltem[379]
his intacta malis agerentur sacra, sed omnes
noverunt Mauri atque Indi quae psaltria penem[380]
maiorem, quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones,[381]
illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus,[382]
intulerit, ubi velari pictura iubetur[383]
quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figuras.
et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis? aut quis[384]
simpuvivum ridere Numae nigrumque catinum[385]
et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas[386]
ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?[387]

The mysteries of Bona Dea are known when the flute stirs the loins and Priapus' maenads delirious with music and wine whirl round with flying hair and uttering loud shrieks. Oh, how strong is then the desire for the pleasures of the bed that sways their senses, what cries now passion is roused, how abundantly streams that old wine down their wet legs. With a wreath for a prize Saufeia challenges the panders' girls, and she carries off the prize for her well-balanced hip-swaying, but she herself admires the rhythm of Medullina's rolling haunches; the two ladies share the palm: their performances equal their descent. Nothing will be play there, everything that will be done there is real, so that Laomedon's son, already stiff with age, and Nestor with his hernia, can still be roused. Then lechery does not allow of delay, then woman is mere woman, and from all quarters under the vault is heard the repeated cry: "This is the moment, show in the men". Should the adulterer be asleep already: she commands the youth to put on his capuchin and hurry; should there be nothing, they force themselves upon the slaves; and should the hope of slaves appear to be idle, then turns up the watercarrier at a good price; and should even he be not available and no men present, there is no reluctance at all to offer the buttocks to an ass standing over them.

---

[379] *Cf. Friedländer, ad* v. 335, with the, hardly acceptable suggestion: "Erst von hier ab spricht Juvenal von dem im Hause des Consuls oder Praetors zu Anfang des Decembers von den vornehmsten Frauen Roms pro populo gefeierten Nachtfest ..." (but cf. III ix 115-117 = No. *52*, below, where there is another mention of Saufeia in connection with the sacrifice for the people).

[380] Friedländer, *ad* v. 337.

[381] *Ibidem, ad* v. 338; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 72, note 1; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 334-336.

[382] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 339; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 72: *mus*: *le rat*; cf. Lewis and Short, pp. 1178-1179, *s.v. mus*: "a mouse ... The ancients included under this name the rat, marten, sable, ermine ....". I think the description of the tiniest animal, the mouse, being conscious of its manhood rather more amusing.

[383] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 340.

[384] *Ibidem, ad* v. 342; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 72, note 2.

[385] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 343.

[386] *Ibidem, ad* v. 344.

[387] *Ibidem, ad* vv. 342-345.

Oh that the ancient rites, at least the public ceremonies were celebrated not disgraced by these vices; bit every Moor and Indian knows what female harper brought in a penis bigger than two of Caesar's *Anticatones* whence even a mouse conscious of its manhood flees, where every painting representing figures of the other sex must be covered. And what man then did scorn the divine command? Or who had the courage to ridicule Numa's ladle and black bowl and the fragile dishes of the Vatican Hill? But now, what altars have not their Clodius?

Satire III is a dialogue between the poet and the catamite Naevolus who complains of his calling no longer being paying.[388] The passage below aims at showing that wine flows plentifully during Bona Dea's festival.

52. III ix 115-117 p. 445

115 sed prodere malunt
arcanum, quam subrepti potare Falerni,
pro populo faciens quantum Saufeia bibehat.[389]

But they prefer to betray a secret rather than drink as much stolen Falernian wine as Saufeia used to enjoy at the sacrifice for the people.

13. SUETONIUS

Much of C. Suetonius Tranquillus' work is lost.[390] Among the extant writings there are twelve biographies of Roman Emperors, *De Vita Caesarum*, from Caesar to Domitian, complete except for the first chapters of *Divus Julius* (Caesar). The work was dedicated to his patron C. Septicius Clarus,[391] but the dedication is lost together with the beginning. The publication dates from about A.D. 121.[392]

---

[388] Cf. Friedländer's introductory note, p. 433; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 114.

[389] Cf. Friedländer, *ad* v. 117; De Labriolle-Villeneuve, p. 119, note 4.

[390] About Suetonius not much information is available. He was probably born at Rome, *ca.* A.D. 69, belonged to the equestrian order and was the son of Suetonius Laetus, who had been *tribunus angusticlavius* of the 13th legion at Bedriacum (between Cremona and Hostilia, near modern Calvatone) in A.D. 69 (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 48-50; *PIR*¹ III, pp. 278-279, No. 695; A. Stein, *Suetonius* (1) in *RE* IV A 1 (1931), col. 591 (the father); G. Funaioli, *Suetonius* (4), *ibidem,* coll. 593-641). His youth the author spent under the Flavians (*Domitianus* XII: "Interfuisse me adulescentulum memini ..."; *Nero* LVII: "adulescente me" (twenty years after Nero's death) ... cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 48-49). He tells us more about his later life, for which we also have the Younger Pliny's letters as a source (cf. I xviii; xxiv; III viii; V x; X xciv, with Trajan's answer, xcv; Schanz-Hosius III, p. 49). Suetonius was given a rhetorical education and practised law for a time, not taking part in political life, however. Appointed a military tribune through Pliny's influence, he had the post transferred to a relative (cf. Pliny, *Letters* III viii). Without fulfilling the conditions, he received from Trajan the *ius trium liberorum* (Pliny, *Letters* X xciv). All this between A.D. 96 and 112. Later, under Hadrian, Suetonius became a secretary (*ab epistulis*) to the Emperor, prob. through the influence of his patron C. Septicius Clarus, who was Praetorian Prefect (119-121 or 122; cf. Schanz-Hosius III, p. 49). Both were dismissed by the Emperor, when Hadrian made the court etiquette regarding his wife Sabina more formal and banished from Court all intimates who continued to associate with her in the former, friendly manner (cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Aelius Spartianus, *Hadrianus* XI 3; Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 49-50). Hereafter, nothing is heard of Suetonius. He seems to have devoted the rest of his life to literature. he died about A.D. 140 (?) (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, p. 49; Ailloud, see below, pp. XI-XII; *PIR*¹ III, p. 279: A.D. 161 or 162).

Both passages quoted, from *Divus Julius*, touch upon Clodius being suspected of having an affair with Caesar's wife Pompeia, and upon his violation of the Bona Dea rites.

Divus Julius

Suétone, Vies des douze Césars, Tome I, *César-Auguste,* texte établi et traduit par Henri Ailloud, quatrième tirage, Paris, 1967 (*Collection des Universités de France*).

53. Divus Julius VI 3 p. 5

In Corneliae autem locum[393] Pompeiam duxit Quinti Pompei[394] filiam, L. Sullae neptem; cum qua deinde divortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio, quem inter publicas caerimonias[395] penetrasse ad eam muliebri veste tam constans fama erat, ut senatus quaestionem de pollutis sacris decreverit.[396]

However, instead of Cornelia he married Pompeia, Quintus Pompeius' daughter, L. Sulla's granddaughter; afterwards he divorced her, suspecting her of having been dishonoured by Publius Clodius about whom were circulating such persistent rumours of his entering her house in women's clothes during the ceremonies celebrated for the people, that the Senate ordered an inquiry concerning sacrilege.

54. Divus Julius LXXIV 4 pp. 49-50

in Publium Clodium, Pompeiae uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caerimoniarum reum,[397] testis citatus negavit se quicquam comperisse, quamvis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide rettulissent; interrogatusque, cur igitur repudiasset uxorem: "Quoniam", inquit "meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere."[398]

---

[391] Cf. *PIR*^{1} III, p. 201, No. 302; A. Stein, *Septicius* (4) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1557-1558.

[392] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 50-55; Ailloud, pp. XVIII-XLII.

[393] Cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (413) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 1596.

[394] Cf. F. Miltner, *Pompeius* (40) in *RE* XXI 2 (1952), col. 2252.

[395] Cf. Ailloud, p. 5, note 1.

[396] Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I xiii 3 (=No. *2,* above).

[397] Cf. Ailloud, p. 50, note 1.

[398] Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Caesar* X (=No. *49*).

Summoned as a witness against Publius Clodius, the lover of his wife Pompeia and for that very reason charged with sacrilege, he (Caesar) declaimed all knowledge of the matter though his mother Aurelia as well as his sister Julia before the same judges had declared that the whole story was true. When asked what then had made him repudiate his wife he answered: "Since I think that my family ought to be free from both suspicion and crime."

13'. APPIAN

Appian (Ἀππιανός) of Alexandria was born, at the latest, under Trajan and came to Rome under Hadrian, where after some time and through the agency of his friend Fronto he rose to hold the office of Procurator (in Egypt?).

About A.D. 160 he writes his Ῥωμαϊκά as an expression of his admiration for the magnificence of the Roman Empire. The work, consisting of separate stories with titles of their own, covers the whole of Roman history from Aeneas down to his own time (i.e. the wars of Trajan against the Getans and Arabs).[399]

The passages quoted both relate to Clodius having violated the rites of Bona Dea.

> *Appian's Roman History*, with an English Translation by Horace White, in four volumes, III, Cambridge (Mass.)—London, MCMLVIII (*The Loeb Classical Library*; based on the ed. Mendelsohn-Viereck 1905).

54'. Bella Civilia II ii 14 p. 254

... δημάρχους δὲ ᾑρεῖτο (sc. Καῖσαρ) Οὐατίνιόν τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπίκλην, ὅν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικί· ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐεργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἑτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

As Tribunes of the People Caesar chose Vatinius and Clodius surnamed Pulcher, though the latter had brought upon himself a disgraceful suspicion during religious ceremonies intended for women, and this in connection with Julia, the wife of Caesar himself; though Caesar did not take him to court, as Clodius was extremely popular with the people, yet he divorced his wife; others, however, brought an action against him for sacrilege during the religious rites, and Cicero acted as the public prosecutor. When Caesar was summoned as a witness he refused to give evidence against Clodius but even appointed him Tribune of the People, and this as a move against Cicero who was already publicly expressing his suspicion of the common endeavours of the Triumvirs to establish the monarchy. Thus they allowed profit to override scandal, favouring the one antagonist to have their revenge on the other. It also appears that Clodius on his part had first rendered Caesar a service by helping him to obtain the proconsulship of Gaul.

---

[399] Cf. E. Schwartz, *Appianus* (2) in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 216-237; Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, pp. 751-753; *PIR*² I, p. 182, No. 943.

Appiani Historia Romana, vol. 1, edd. P. Viereck et A. G. Roos, editio sterotypa correctior. Addenda et corrigenda adiecit E. Gabba, Lipsiae, MCMLXII.

54''. Σικελική frgm. 7 p. 62

ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ Πoῦλχερ ἐπίκλην, τοῦτ'ἔστιν εὐπρεπής, τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἤρα. καὶ ἁρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὄντα ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαΐου παρελθεῖν οἷα γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναις γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ'ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον, ἐξελαθῆναι.

That the patrician Clodius surnamed Pulcher, i.e. "handsome", was in love with Gaius Caesar's wife. He dressed up as a woman, from top to toe—he did not yet have a beard—and came to Gaius' house as a woman, at night, when only women were admitted as mysteries were being celebrated there. He lost his way when his guide had gone, and was discovered by the others because he spoke, and was turned out.

14. FESTUS

Sextus Pompeius Festus lived in the late second century. He was a grammarian and epitomized Verrius Flaccus' *De Verborum Significatu.*[400] The excerpts are arranged alphabetically in twenty books, eleven of which, however, are lost. Festus, in his turn, was in the 8th century edited by Paulus Diaconus (see below, No. 25). Festus dedicated his work to Artorius Rufus.[401] He was also contemplating to write a second work which was to contain his dissenting views, and to be entitled: *Priscorum Verborum cum Exemplis.*[402]

Two passages in Festus' work mention Bona Dea and particulars of her cult.

Festus, De Verborum Significatu cum Pauli Epitome, edidit W. M. Lindsay, Lipsiae, MCMXIII (Teubner).[403]

---

[400] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 361-367, esp. 362-366; for Festus, p. 362 and note 1, p. 363; *PIR*¹ III, p. 66, No. 462; R. Helm, *Pompeius* (145) in *RE* XXI 2 (1952), coll. 2316-2319.

[401] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 363; *PIR*² I, p. 238, No. 1190; A. Stein, *Rufus* (12) in *RE* I A 1 (1914), col. 1206.

[402] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 363.

[403] Cf. *Glossaria Latina,* vol. IV (*Placidus, Festus*), ed. J. W. Pirie-W. M. Lindsay, Paris, 1930; pars II (*Festus*), ed. W. M. Lindsay, p. 178 (No. *55*), pp. 382-383 (No. *56*).

55. s.v. *Damium* p. 60

Damium sacrificium quod fiebat in operto in honore Deae Bonae;[404] dictum a contrarietate quod minime esset δαμόσιον, id est publicum. Dea quoque ipsa *Damia* et sacerdos eius *damiatrix* appellabatur.[405]

The *Damium* was a sacrifice which took place in secrecy in honour of Bona Dea; it was thus named because of its opposite meaning, as it was least of all δαμόσιον, i.e. public. Also the goddess herself was called *Damia,* and her priestess *damiatrix.*

56. s.v. *Religiosus* pp. 348-350

Religiosus est non mod[ic]o deorum sanctitatem magni aestimans sed etiam officiosus adversus homines. Dies autem religiosi quibus nisi quod necesse est nefas habetur facere; quales sunt sex et triginta *atri* qui appellantur et *Alliensis*[406] atque [h]i quibus *mundus patet.*[407] <Religiosum ait> esse Gallus Aelius (15)[408] quod homini ita facere non liceat ut, si id faciat, contra deorum voluntatem videatur facere. Quo in genere sunt haec: in aedem Bonae Deae virum introire; adversus mystic[i]a[e] (?? auspicia?) legem ad populum ferre; die nefasto apud praetorem lege agere. Inter *sacrum* autem et *sanctum* et *religiosum* differentias bellissime refert: sacrum aedificium consecratum deo; sanctum murum qui sit circum oppidum; religiosum sepulcrum ubi mortuus sepultus aut humatus sit satis constare ait, sed ita portione (?) quadam et temporibus eadem videri posse. Siquidem quod sacrum est, idem lege aut instituto maiorum sanctum esse puta[n]t <ut> violari id sine poena non possit. Idem religiosum quoque esse qui non iam (quoniam?) sit aliquid quod ibi homini facere non liceat; quod si faciat, adversus deorum voluntatem videatur facere. Similiter de muro et sepulcro debere observari ut eadem et sacra et sancta et religiosa fiant sed quomodo [quod] supra expositum est cum de sacro diximus.[409]

---

[404] For the unusual order, cf. ch. III A.

[405] Cf. below, Nos. *69* (Ps.-Placidus) and *71* (Paulus Diaconus).

[406] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 93, *s.v. Allia*: "... Alliensis, e, adj., of or pertraining to Allia: dies, of this battle, considered ever after as a dies nefastus ...". Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 444; Latte, *RR*, p. 205, note 4.

[407] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1175, *s.v. Mundus* II B 2 d: "Euphemistically for the Lower World, the infernal regions. The opening into this mundus was at Rome, in the Comitium, and was kept covered with a stone (lapis manalis); three times in the year, on the 24th of August, on the 5th of October, on the 8th of November, days sacred to the gods of the infernal regions, this round pit was opened, and all sorts of fruits were thrown into it as offerings ...". Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 234-235; Latte, *RR* pp. 141-143.

[408] C. Aelius Gallus; Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 597; E. Klebs, *Aelius* (58) in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 492-493.

[409] P. 424 (Lindsay).

Religiosus means not only having great respect for the sanctity of the gods but also being ready to serve mankind. *Dies religiosi*, furthermore, are the days when it is considered sinful doing anything except what is necessary; to this group belong thirty-six of them called *atri*, further the *dies Alliensis* and the days when the "netherworld" (? *mundus*) is open. Gallus Aelius asserts that *religiosus* stands for all a man must not do, so that, should he do it all the same, it is evident that he acts against the will of the gods. The following come within this category: a man's visit to the temple of Bona Dea; introducing a bill in the Assembly of the People against the mystical rules (?? *auspices*); and lodging a complaint with the Praetor on a day when this is forbidden.

Besides he expounds excellently the differences between *sacer* and *sanctus* and *religiosus: sacer* is the building consecrated to a god; *sanctus* is the wall surrounding the town; *religiosus* is the tomb where the deceased is buried or interred; these differences, by his account, are beyond dispute, however, in such a way that, to a certain extent and under certain circumstances (?) they may be considered to have the same meaning. He is of the opinion that if something is indeed *sacer* it is also *sanctus* by virtue of law or tradition, so that it cannot be violated without punishment; that in that case it is also *religiosus*, since (?) it is a thing that a man must not do there; should he do it all the same, he is considered to act against the will of the gods. The same rules are to be observed when a wall or tomb is concerned so that at the same time they should become *sacer* and *sanctus* as well as *religiosus,* yet in such way as was expounded above, where we spoke about *sacer.*

15. TERTULLIAN

Tertullian was born about A.D. 160; he died after 200. At first he was a rhetor, and perhaps identical with a contemporary lawyer of the same name. After 197 he appeared as an apologist of Christianity. His Greek tracts are all lost; of the Latin apologetic works a considerable part is still extant. His tendency of holding independent views in religious matters made him clash with the Catholic Church. He had read the principal pagan (Greek as well as Latin) authors, which stood him in good stead in his struggle against paganism.[410]

Ad Nationes

This is an attack on paganism, in two books: in the beginning of the first book the writer criticizes the pagans for their ignorance of Christianity and the aversion arising from it. The very word *Christian* evokes hatred and calls for punishment. The defence of Christianity is followed by an attack on paganism: the crimes the pagan charges the Christian with are essentially his own. If the Christians have an Ass-God, all pagan deities are personified animals.

---

[410] Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus came from the Roman province of Africa and was born of pagan parents. His father was a centurion, and Tertullian himself was educated for the law (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 272-274 (biography); 274-333 (works); *PIR*^{1} III, pp. 205-206, No. 324; H. Koch, *Tertullianus* (1) in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 822-844). He seems to have lived for a time at Rome, but about 195 to have returned (as a Christian) to his hometown Carthage, where he stayed for the rest of his life (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 272-274). Though probably remaining a layman, he devoted his pen to the furtherance of the Christian religion. Between 202 and 207, he broke with the Church and joined the Montanistic Sect (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 273 and 274), fighting the same church whose fervent apologist he had been. It is known from St Jerome that he attained a very great age, but the year of his death is unknown ("Fertur vixisse ad decrepitam aetatem"; *De Viris Illustribus* LIII; cf. Schanz-Hosius III, p. 273; *PIR*^{1} III, p. 204).

Varro's *Antiquitates*[411] are Tertullian's source fot the pagan view of a god, in Varro's line of thought connected with a) philosophers, b) poets, and c) states. Consequently, three groups of gods can be distinguished: physical, mythical, and national gods. The first group arises from speculation, the second from myth, and the third from law. Tertullian levels his fiercest criticism at the first category. After his attack on pagan gods in general, he turns to challenging the Roman deities, for which Varro again supplies him with material. The latter had subdivided his gods into *di certi, incerti,* and *selecti.* Tertullian ridicules the *di incerti* and *selecti* preferring another division, also Varro's: gods the Romans share with other nations and specifically Roman gods. He first discusses the latter category, and does so very disparagingly, just as the Roman abstractions are exposed. The shared gods are Greek and adapted by the Romans.

The work concludes with an attack on the proposition that the great power of the Romans should be attributed to their religious views, and with the exhortation to try and find Him (the Christian God) who rules the nations and to Whom also the Romans owe their power.[412]

The date is A.D. 197.[413]

Bona Dea's chastity is likely to have arisen from causes other than a good and moral attitude.

Q.S.Fl. Tertulliani Ad Nationes Libri II, cura et studio J. G. Ph. Borleffs = *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani opera,* pars I, *opera catholica, adversus Marcionem,* Turnholti, MCMLIV (*Corpus Christianorum, series Latina,* I, *Tertulliani opera,* I).

57. Ad Nationes II ix 22 p. 57

Si Fauni filia pudicitia praecellebat, ut ne conversaretur quidem inter viros aut barbaria aut conscientia deformitatis aut rubore insaniae paternae,[414] quanto dignior Bona Dea Penelopa, quae inter tot vilissimos amatores deversata obsessam castitatem tenere protexit?[415]

---

[411] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 564-567.

[412] *Ibidem,* III, pp. 275-278.

[413] *Ibidem,* pp. 277-278.

[414] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Faunus* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1454-1460; Wissowa, *RKR,* pp. 208-219; Latte, *RR,* pp. 83-89.

[415] For Bona Dea's *pudicitia,* cf. below Nos. *63* (Lactantius) and *67* (Macrobius).

If Faunus' daughter excelled in chastity to such a degree that she refused to be in the company of men, be it from barbarism, be it from being conscious of her plainness, be it for shame of her father's insanity, how much more praise than Bona Dea Penelope deserves, who amidst so many loathsome suitors succeeded in protecting her besieged chastity by shunning their company?

16. DIO CASSIUS

When he was about forty years of age (*ca.* 195, under Septimius Severus) Dio Cassius decided to devote himself to historiography. And, as he tells us himself,[416] he first wrote a work on *The Dreams and Omens* of Septimius Severus.[417] When this found general acceptance he conceived the plan to write a history of Commodus. He then began the preliminary study for a comprehensive Roman history. Whenever he could afford the time he withdrew to Capua to give himself to this ambitious task. His belief in a divine mission to accomplish it was repeatedly strengthened by visions, which inspired him not to be deterred by the enormous difficulties. He spent no less than ten years (from 200 onwards) collecting the material, and in the next twelve years he proceeded with the work as far as Septimius Severus' death, 211.[418] The period from 211 till his second consulship in 229 he must have completed during the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235).[419]

῾Ρωμαϊκὴ ῾Ιστορία (or ῾Ρωμαϊκά)

The whole of the Roman history, from Aeneas' disembarkation down to A.D. 229, comprises eighty books.[420]

---

[416] LXXII 23. Cassius Dio Cocceianus (about A.D. 155-235) was the important Greek historian of the Empire. He came of a family of dignitaries at Niceae in Bithynia. The famous Dio Cocceianus, later Chrysostomus, was a relative (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, pp. 361-367; *PIR*² III, pp. 21-23, No. 93; W. Schmid, *Dion* (18) in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 848-877). His father, Cassius Apronianus, was governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia (cf. *PIR*² II, p. 113, No. 485; E. Groag, *Cassius* (27) in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1681-1682). He himself settled in Rome in A.D. 180, in the first years of Commodus' reign, entered the Senate, became Praetor in 193, *consul suffectus* before 211, *cos. II,* together with the Emperor Alexander Severus, in 229 (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, pp. 795-799; *PIR*² II, pp. 115-117, No. 492; E. Schwartz, *Cassius* (40) in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1684-1722). Under Macrinus, in 218, he was mediator between Pergamum and other parts of the province Asia, and after the accession of his patron Alexander Severus he went as Proconsul to Africa and, later, to Dalmatia and Pannonia (Superior), where he because of his extreme discipline incurred the soldiers' hatred, and this to such a degree that the Emperor advised him in his second consulship to keep away from Rome (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, p. 796). In 229, he retired, feigning poor health, and he lived the last part of his life in Bithynia (*ibidem*).

[417] Cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, p. 796 and note 1.

[418] *Ibidem*, pp. 796-797.

[419] Two other works are ascribed to Dio Cassius in Suidas' catalogue: a *History of Trajan*, prob. part of the Roman History and published separately, and a *Biography of Arrian* (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, p. 797).

[420] *Ibidem*.

The question what sources Dio Cassius drew on is not always easy to answer. The basis seems to have been the old annalistic tradition, Polybius, Livy (esp. for the last decades of the Republic, from 68 B.C.; see books XXXVI ss.), the annalists of the Empire—Tacitus may have been used—, and finally all kinds of memoirs; the contemporary events Dio Cassius describes on his own authority. Annalistic in plan, especially concentrated on political aspects the work is an account in a rhetorical style; Thucydides and Demosthenes are his stylistic examples.[421]

The first passage below relates to the miracle in Cicero's house during the Bona Dea festival in 63 B.C. The second to Clodius' entry into Caesar's house during the same festival in 62 B.C.

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt, edidit U. Ph. Boissevain, vol. II, Berolini, MDCCCLXXXXVIII.

58. XXXVII 35 3-4 p. 414

Ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε·[422] παρασκευαζομένων δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἴκτῳ τοῦ τε Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι,[423] προπυθόμενος τοῦθ'ὁ Κικέρων τό τε Καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρᾷ προκατέσχε, καί τινα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ λαβών, ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἤρθη, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δή τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε, καί σφας συνταράξας τε καὶ ἐκφοβήσας ἔπεισε θάνατον τῶν συνειλημμένων καταγνῶναι.[434]

Therefore all this did not come off; while many, slaves as well as freemen, some for fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and the rest, were preparing to free them all and rescue them from death, Cicero learned of it beforehand, and by night had Capitol and Forum occupied by troops.

At daybreak he began to have high hopes on account of a divine sign, for during the sacrifice for the people celebrated in his house by the Vestals the fire unaccountably burst into a very high blaze. Therefore he ordered the Praetors to have the people swear the military oath in case soldiers should be needed, and he himself in the meantime called a meeting of the Senate, and by intimidating and frightening the Senators he managed to prevail upon them to condemn the prisoners to death.

---

[421] *Ibidem*, pp. 798-799.

[422] I.e. the intimation that Crassus was one of the conspirators; cf. XXXVII 35 1-2.

[423] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, *cos.* 71 B.C., Praetor II in 63; cf. F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (240) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1399-1402; Broughton II, pp. 102, 121, 166.

[424] Cf. also the ed. *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Rerum Romanarum libri octaginta* ab Immanuele Bekkero recogniti, tomus prior, Lipsiae, MDCCXLIX, pp. 144-145, with slight differences of punctuation.

59. XXXVII 45 1-2 p. 419

Κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔν τε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἅπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι παρά τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἄγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν, αἰσχύναντος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἁλώσεται διὰ τὴν ἑταιρείαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ λεγομένῳ, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικῆσαι ἔτ'αὐτῇ δύνασθαι, διότι καὶ ὑπωπτεύθη ἀρχὴν μεμοιχεῦσθαι· τὴν γὰρ σώφρονα χρῆναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδ'ἐς ὑποψίαν αἰσχρὰν ἀφικνεῖσθαι.[425]

Though at this time Publius Clodius dishonoured Caesar's wife in Caesar's house, and this during the celebration of the ritual that the Vestal virgins, in accordance with the ancestral tradition, used to perform at the house of Consuls or Praetors, forbidden to the whole of the male population, Caesar did not bring an action against him knowing too well that Clodius thanks to his confederates would not be sentenced, but he did repudiate his wife with the argument that although he discredited the rumours he could no longer live with her as she had incurred the suspicion of adultery: for a woman of high morals not only ought not to do wrong but also should take care not to bring upon herself the suspicion of dishonesty.

17. Scriptores Historiae Augustae:

Aelius Spartianus

Thirty biographies of Emperors, Caesars, Usurpers, from Hadrian to Numerian (117-285), are ascribed to six historians: Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus.[426] To the first author, Aelius Spartianus, seven *vitae* are ascribed (Hadrian, Aelius, Didius Julianus, Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, Geta).[427]

As regards Aelius Spartianus there is no information available, and the dating of the *Historia Augusta* raises many questions.[428]

The fragment below mentions the temple of Bona Dea among Hadrian's building activities.

The Scriptores Historiae Augustae, with an English Translation by D. Magie, in 3 vols., I, Cambridge (Mass.)—London, MCMLXVII (first printed 1921) (*The Loeb Classical Library*).[429]

---

[425] Cf. Bekker (see note 424), p. 148.

[426] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 51-62.

[427] *Ibidem*, p. 54.

[428] *Ibidem*, pp. 52 and 56; Magie (see below), pp. xi-xxxii (Introduction).

[429] Cf. also the ed. by E. Hohl, with addenda by Ch. Samberger and W. Seyfarth, Leipzig, 1971 (*Teubner*).

60. De Vita Hadriani XIX 11 p. 60

fecit et sui nominis pontem et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim[430] et aedem Bonae Deae.[431]

He also built the bridge named after himself, the tomb on the bank of the Tiber, and the temple of Bona Dea.

18. ARNOBIUS

Of Arnobius of Sicca Veneria (Africa) a work has come down to us entitled *Adversus Nationes* (with St Jerome: *Adversus Gentes*) and consisting of seven books.[432] Arnobius is to be dated about 300 (cf. below). Before his conversion to Christianity he had been a rhetor. The composition of the work points to haste, and its contents go to prove that the author is not yet conversant with the various fields of Christianity.

Adversus Nationes refers to the persecution under Diocletian, whose edicts are still in force so that the period 303-310 is a likely date for the work.[433]

Adversus Nationes I

At the beginning of the first book Arnobius says that he is anxious to disprove the assertion that the world has been degenerating since the advent of Christianity. Christianity has not effected a real change in the nature of things. Another allegation—that the world can no longer boast the care of the gods—is the immediate cause for Arnobius to write the apology of his religion.[434]

Among the gods who feel aggrieved by the worship of Christ is Bona Dea.

> *Arnobii Adversus Nationes libri VII,* recensuit C. Marchesi, Aug. Taurinorum-Mediolani-etc., 1953, seconda edizione (*Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*).[434']

61. Adversus Nationes I 36 p. 30

Si vobis iucundum est, amici, edissertate, quinam sint hi dii, qui a nobis Christum coli suam credant ad iniuriam pertinere: Ianus Ianiculi conditor et civitatis Saturniae Saturnus auctor; Fenta Fatua, Fauni uxor, Bona Dea quae dicitur sed in vini melior et laudabilior potu;[435]

---

[430] Cf. Magie, p. 60, note 3; Platner-Ashby, pp. 336-338, fig. 34.

[431] Cf. Magie, p. 60, note 4.

[432] St Jerome relates that Arnobius was a prominent orator at Sicca in Africa under Diocletian. One of his pupils was Lactantius (see below, No. 19). Having been a fervent antagonist of Christianity, he was converted by visions. The bishop of Sicca, however, demanded evidence of the conversion and induced Arnobius to write a polemic against the heathen, and hereafter he was received into the church (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 407-408; A. Jülicher, *Arnobius* (1) in *RE* II 1 (1895), coll. 1206-1207).

[433] St Jerome's information seems to agree with the facts: the work which we know may actually have been written by the Arnobius mentioned by him (cf. Schanz-Hosius, *l.c.*).

[434] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 408-413, esp. 408-409.

If you do not mind, friends, expound who are these gods who think our worship of Christ an insult to themselves. Janus, the builder of the Janiculum, and Saturn, the founder of the Saturnian state; Fenta Fatua, Faunus' wife, who is called the Good Goddess (Bona Dea), but was better and more laudable at drinking wine.

Adversus Nationes V

The fifth book is a reproach to the historians. Myths are as important to them as they are to the poets. Arnobius gives an analysis of the myths.[436]

The passage below deals with wine and myrtle in myth and cult of Bona Dea.

62. *Adversus Nationes* V 18 pp. 271-272

Sed sacrorum innumeri ritus atque adfixa deformitas singulis corporaliter prohibet universa nos exsequi: quinimmo, ut verius exprimamus, a quibus <dam> nos ipsi consilio et ratione deflectimus, ne dum explicare contendimus cuncta, expositionis ipsius contaminationibus polluamur. Fentam igitur Fatuam, Bona quae dicitur Dea, transeamus, quam murteis caesam virgis, quod marito nesciente seriam meri ebiberit plenam, Sextus Clodius indicat sexto de diis graeco,[437] signumque monstrari quod, cum ei divinam rem mulieres faciunt, vini amphora constituatur obtecta nec myrteas fas sit inferre verbenas, sicut suis scribit in causalibus Butas.[438]

But the innumerable religious rites and the repugnant character of each of them discourage us from describing them all one by one: indeed, to put it more explicitly, we deliberately turn away from some of them and automatically in order not to be tainted by the mere exposition in our endeavours to expound all the data.

Therefore let us pass Fenta Fatua over, who is called the Good Goddess (Bona Dea) and of whom Sextus Clodius in the sixth book—in Greek—of his *The Gods* tells us that she was beaten to death with myrtle twigs because without the knowledge of her husband she is said to have emptied a full vessel of pure wine; the proof of the truth of the story brought forward is that when the women celebrate her festival a vessel of wine stands in the room covered with a cloth, and it is forbidden to bring in myrtle twigs, as Butas writes in his *The Causes of Things.*

[434'] Cf. also the ed.: *Arnobe, contre les Gentils*, livre I, texte établi, traduit et commenté par Henri Le Bonniec, Paris, 1982 (Collection des Universités de France), p. 161 (texte), pp. 292-294 (commentaire) (I 36). See also I 282, Le Bonniec, p. 154 (texte), pp. 263-264 (comm.).

[435] See ch. VI A 2 (*Wine*).

[436] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, p. 410.

[437] *Ibidem*, I, p. 583 (3); J. Brzoşka, *Clodius* (13) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 66-67.

[438] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 200; G. Knaack, *Butas* (2) in *RE* III 1 (1897), col. 1080.

19. Lactantius

We have only little information about *Caecilius Firmianus qui et Lactantius,* 250-317 (?), the Christian Cicero.[439] St Jerome mentions him as a pupil of Arnobius, informing us at the same time that his early work had been written on African soil. Before his conversion he had been invited by Diocletian to accept a post as a teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia (Bithynia), 303. In later life (317) he was appointed tutor of Prince Crispus in Treves by Constantine.[440]

Divinae Institutiones I

The first book of the *Divinae Institutiones* is entitled *De Falsa Religione.* with the specific intention of exposing religious errors, polytheism being the most important of them. Lactantius is anxious to prove that there is only one god, which implies that the gods of polytheism are human.[441]

It was only owing to the repentance of her husband, who killed her, that Bona Dea became a goddess. Lactantius refers here to a passage from Varro's *Antiquitates.*[442]

> *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti opera omnia, accedunt carmina eius quae feruntur et L. Caecilii qui inscriptus est de mortibus persecutorum liber,* recens. S. Brandt et G. Laubmann, I: *Divinae Institutiones et Epitome Divinarum Institutionum,* recens. S. Brandt, Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, MDCCCLXXXX (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XIX).

63. *Divinae Institutiones* I 22 9-11 pp. 89-90

sed ut Pompilius aput Romanos institutor ineptarum religionum fuit, sic ante Pompilium Faunus in Latio, qui et Saturno avo nefaria sacra constituit et Picum patrem inter deos honoravit et sororem suam Fentam Faunam eandemque coniugem consecravit; quam Gavius Bassus[443] tradit Fatuam nominatam, quod mulieribus fata canere consuesset ut Faunus viris, eandem Varro scribit[444] tantae pudicitiae fuisse, ut nemo illam quoad vixerit praeter suum virum mas viderit nec nomen eius audierit, idcirco illi mulieres in operto sacrificant et Bonam Deam nominant. et Sextus Clodius in eo libro quem Graece scripsit,[445] refert Fauni hanc uxorem fuisse; quae quia contra morem decusque regium clam vini ollam ebiberat et ebria facta erat, virgis myrteis a viro ad mortem usque caesam; postea vero cum eum facti sui paeniteret ac desiderium eius ferre non posset, divinum illi honorem detulisse; idcirco in sacris eius obvolutam vini amphoram poni.[446]

---

[439] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, p. 413-414; H. Lietzmann, *Lactantius* (1) in *RE* XII 1 (1924), coll. 351-356.

[440] Though educated for the law, he did not practise (cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 413 and 414). It was not until late in life that he became a Christian. When the persecution broke out there came an end to his tenure and he probably left Bithynia in 305/306, still engaged in writing his ambitious work on religious instruction (*Ibidem*). His destination is not known. If he is the author of *De Mortibus Persecutorum* Lactantius was back in Bithynia by 311-313, after the edict of (partial) toleration issued by Galerius (*Ibidem*).

[441] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 416-423.

[442] Cf. B. Cardauns, *M. Terentius Varro, Antiquitates rerum divinarum* in *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Litt.* (Mainz), 1976, I, p. 92 (frgm. 218).

[443] To this author are ascribed: *De Origine (Verborum et) Vocabulorum*; *De Diis*; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 585-586; G. Funaioli, *Gavius* (11) in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 866-868.

But just as Pompilius had introduced an absurd religious system among the Romans so, before Pompilius, it had been done in Latium by Faunus who instituted abominable rites in honour of his grandfather Saturn, worshipping his father Picus among the gods and deifying his sister—also his wife—Fenta Fauna. From Gavius Bassus we learn that she was called Fatua since she used to foretell women their fate, as Faunus did men. Varro writes that she also displayed such great modesty that no man, except her own husband, has ever seen her during her lifetime or has ever heard her name. This is why women offer sacrifice to her in secret and call her Bona Dea. And Sextus Clodius tells us in the book that he wrote in Greek that she was Faunus' wife; since against a Queen's code of decency she had secretly emptied a full jug of wine and had got drunk she was beaten to death by her husband with myrtle twigs; however, when he afterwards repented his conduct and missed her sorely he conferred divine honour on her; it is for this reason that during her festival a vessel of wine covered with a cloth is set up.

Divinae Institutiones III[447]

De Falsa Sapientia is the title of the third book, its purpose being to censure the errors of the philosophers who want to search the universe. Man can acquire true knowledge only from God, not from philosophers.

Men are barred from the sphere of Bona Dea.

64. Divinae Institutiones III 20 3-4 p. 245

Romae et in plerisque urbibus scimus esse quaedam sacra quae aspici a viris nefas habeatur. abstinent igitur aspectu quibus contaminare illa non licet, et si forte vel errore vel casu quopiam vir aspexit, primo poena eius, deinde instauratione sacrificii scelus expiatur.[448] quid his facias qui inconcessa scrutari volunt? nimirum multo sceleratiores qui arcana mundi et hoc caeleste templum profanare inpiis disputationibus quaerunt quam qui aedem Vestae aut Bonae Deae aut Cereris intraverit. quae penetralia quamvis viris adire non liceat, tamen a viris fabricata sunt.[449]

---

[444] See above, note 411.

[445] See above, note 437.

[446] See ch. VI A 2 (*Wine*).

[447] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 419-420.

[448] Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I xiii 3 (=No. *2,* above).

We know that in Rome and most towns there exist certain religious rites which must not be beheld by men. Thus those who must not defile them refrain from beholding them, and should a man have seen them by mistake or accident the crime will be atoned for first by punishing him and then by making the sacrifice anew.

What to do then with those who want to investigate that which is taboo? Those who with godless arguments seek to desecrate the mysteries of the universe and this celestial temple are most certainly far greater sinners than the man who has entered the temple of Vesta, that of Bona Dea, or of Ceres. Though men are not permitted to approach these sanctuaries they were nevertheless built by men.

Institutionum Epitome

After 314 Lactantius himself made an excerpt of his *Institutiones*. The *Epitome* is not a mere abstract of the main work but a free, shorter version with the same contents.[450]

The passage quoted corresponds with No. *63* hereabove.

65. Institutionum Epitome 17 1 p. 687

Has omnes ineptias primus in Latio Faunus induxit, qui et Saturno avo cruenta sacra constituit et Picum patrem tamquam deum coli voluit et Fentam Faunam coniugem sororemque inter deos conlocavit ac Bonam Deam nominavit.[451]

Faunus was the first to introduce all this nonsense into Latium; he initiated the sanguinary rites in honour of his grandfather Saturn and wanted his father Picus to be worshipped as a god and included his wife and sister, Fenta Fauna, among the gods, calling her Bona Dea.

20. SERVIUS

Servius' studies were centred upon Virgil, and this resulted in a commentary on the poet's works, for which Servius made ample use of earlier Virgil criticism, esp. Aelius Donatus.[452]

---

[449] Cf. Lugli-Grosso, *Circus Max.*, pp. 309-310.

[450] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 423-424.

[451] See ch. III A.

[452] Servius, called Marius or Maurus Servius Honoratus in MSS. from the 9th cent., ranks among the more prominent grammarians and commentators. His origin is not known, but the scene of his activities is Rome; cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 172-177; P. Wessner, *Servius* (8) in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1834-1848.

The idea of Virgil having been not only a poet but also a prophet of great wisdom and knowledge, and that only an exhaustive commentary was required to offer the reader this knowledge is the ever recurring principle of the work.[453] Intended as it was for teaching it mainly gives grammatical, rhetorical, and stylistic points, however without neglecting the subject-matter. Thus the commentary is of greater significance for the history of teaching than for our knowledge of Antiquity.[454]

The date is the fourth century.[455]

Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, recensuerunt Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen, 4 vols., Lipsiae, MDCCCLXXXI-MCMII (vol. II: MDCCCLXXXIV).

In Vergilii Aeneidos librum octavum commentarius

In the etymological interpretation of the name Faunus Bona Dea is also mentioned—here his daughter.

66. In Aeneidos VIII 314 II p. 244

HAEC NEMORA INDIGENAE FAUNI 'indigenae', id est inde geniti, αὐτόχθονες. et sciendum secundum Hesiodi theogoniam primo deos genitos, inde hemitheos, post heroas, inde homines innocentes, ultimos sceleratos: quem et hic nunc ordinem servat. *sane, sicut supra* <VII 48> *dictum est, Faunus Pici filius dicitur, qui a fando, quod futura praediceret, Faunus appellatus est: quorum etiam responsa ferebantur. hic Faunus habuisse filiam dicitur †omam castita*[456] *et disciplinis omnibus eruditam, quam quidam, quod nomine dici prohibitum fuerat, Bonam Deam appellatam volunt. hos Faunos etiam Fatuos dicunt, quod per stuporem divina pronuntient, quidam Faunum appellatum volunt eum quem nos propitium dicimus.*[457]

---

[453] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, p. 172.

[454] *Ibidem.*

[455] *Ibidem*, p. 175: the Servian commentary is found in a longer and a shorter version; but the longer form was not printed until 1600, by Pierre Daniel, who regarded it as the original Servius (cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, p. 175; II, pp. 102-110 (*Erhaltene Vergil-Kommentare*). The shorter version, however, bore Servius' name, the other being anonymous. In the 19th cent., G. Thilo showed that the so-called *Servius Auctus* or *Servius Danielis* consisted of (a) Servius and (b) the remains of a much more learned commentary which he attributed to some Irish monk of the 7th or 8th cent. Afterwards it was assumed that the additions in the *Servius Danielis* are virtually parts of the commentary by Aelius Donatus (cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 102-103; IV 1, p. 175; H. J. Thomson, *Servius Auctus and Donatus* in *The Classical Quarterly* 21 (1927), pp. 205 ss.).

[456] In the critical apparatus these solutions are to be found: "*Faunam castitate* Heinsius *bonam castitate* Burmannus *omnium castissimam* Masvicius *Romam. castitate* Bursianus *Liter. Centralbl.* 1859 p. 609 cf. *ad Aen.* I 273 et 277. *summa castitate* Iordanus (Preller *Roem. Mythol.* ed. 3 p. 400 adnot. 1)."

[457] Cf. Elisabeth Smits, *Faunus*, Leiden, MCMXLVI (diss.), esp. pp. 1-4.

THESE WOODS (were once home to) THE INDIGENOUS FAUNS (and Nymphs): 'indigenous', i.e. born there, autochthon. And it should be remembered that according to Hesiod's Theogony the gods were born first, next the demigods, then the heroes, then the innocent, and finally the sinful people: he also sticks to this order here.

Doubtless, as was said above (VII 48), Faunus is alleged to be Picus' son, who was called Faunus from *fari* (to prophesy), because he could foretell the future: their oracles were also handed down.

It is said that this Faunus had a daughter, the chastest of all women (?) and well-trained in all skills. Some assert that she was called the Good Goddess (*Bona Dea*) since it was forbidden to call her by her name.

These Fauni are also called Fatui because they utter divine prophesies in a state of stupor. There are those who maintain that Faunus was the name of the god whom we call the propitious one.

21. Macrobius

Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, *vir clarissimus et illustris* (MSS) is possibly identical with the Macrobius mentioned in the *Codex Theodosianus* as *praefectus praetorio Hispaniarum* (from 399), *proconsul Africae* (410), *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (422).[458]

There is little known about Macrobius' origin and life.[459] Three works have come down to us: *De Differentiis et Societatibus Graeci Latinique Verbi,*[460] *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis,*[461] *Saturnalia.*

Some scholars, however, doubt whether the works mentioned were written by one and the same Macrobius. They are dated anyway in the early fifth century.[461a]

Saturnalia

Macrobius' principal work, a symposium in seven books and entitled *Saturnalia* has not come down to us completely. It was meant for his son Eustachius and consisted of excerpts from Greek and Latin authors, shaped into dialogues.

On the eve of the Saturnalia there is a meeting of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, St Ambrose's well-known adversary,[462] Caecina Albinus,[463] the grammarian

---

[458] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 189-191; P. Wessner, *Macrobius* (7) in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), coll. 170-198; Davies, pp. 1-2; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 98-102 (*Le vicaire des Espagnes 399-400)*; 102-123 (*Un proconsul d'Afrique en 410*); 123-126 (*Le praepositus sacri cubiculi de 422*).

[459] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, p. 191; Flamant, *o.c.*, pp. 93-95.

[460] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 195-196; Flamant, *o.c.*, pp. 233-239, 244-252.

[461] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 189-191; Flamant, *o.c.*, pp. 148-171.

[461a] Cf. A. Cameron, *The Date and Identity of Macrobius* in *JRS* LVI (1966), pp. 25 ss.

[462] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 192-195; Davies, pp. 5-6; R. Klein, *Symmachus, eine tragische Gestalt des ausgehenden Heidentums,* Darmstadt, 1971 (=*Impulse der Forschung,* Band 2); *Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar, die dritte Relatio des Symmachus und die Briefe 17, 18 und 57 des Mailänder Bischofs Ambrosius,* Darmstadt, 1972 (=*Texte der Forschung,* Band 7), pp. 17-30; Flamant, *o.c.*, pp. 36-45; cf. also Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 119-129.

[463] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 192-195; Davies, pp. 7-8; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 62-64.

Servius,[464] Furius Albinus,[465] Avienus[466] at the house of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, philosopher and worshipper of the pagan gods and admirer of the ancient Roman authors.[467] They have come together to discuss scholarly subjects.[468]

Macrobius' contribution is the lay out while the contents are derived from earlier authors. Though many writers are cited Macrobius need not be supposed to have made a thorough study of their works: his sources are few in number, and surprisingly enough he does not mention authorities such as Plutarch and Gellius from whom he borrowed considerably.

The praise of Virgil is the main theme of the work, and the *Saturnalia* certainly are of major importance in the history of Virgilian poetry.[469]

Macrobius, Saturnalia, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1970 (2 vols).

About the name of the month of May (Maia = Bona Dea).

67. Saturnalia I 12 20-29 I, pp. 57-59

Affirmant quidam, quibus Cornelius Labeo consentit,[470] hanc Maiam, cui mense Maio res divina celebratur, Terram esse, hoc adeptam nomen a magnitudine, sicut et Mater Magna in sacris vocatur; assertionemque aestimationis suae etiam hinc colligunt quod sus praegnans ei mactatur, quae hostia propria est Terrae.[471] Et Mercurium ideo illi in sacris adiungi dicunt, quia vox nascenti homini terrae contactu datur; scimus autem Mercurium vocis et sermonis potentem.

(21) Auctor est Cornelius Labeo huic Maiae, id est Terrae, aedem Kalendis Maiis dedicatam sub nomine Bonae Deae,[472] et eandem esse Bonam Deam et Terram ex ipso ritu occultiore sacrorum doceri posse confirmat. Hanc eandem Bonam Deam Faunamque et Opem et Fatuam pontificum libris indigitari: (22) Bonam, quod omnium nobis ad victum bonorum causa est; Faunam,

---

[464] See above, No. 20; cf. further Davies, p. 9; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 78-84.

[465] The MSS all read Furius Albinus, but the correct form of the name seems to be Ceionius Rufius Albinus; cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 142 and 530; Davies, pp. 7-8; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 58-62.

[466] Possibly the son of the poet Rufius Festus Avienus; cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, p. 17; Davies, pp. 8-9; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 75-78 and 79-83.

[467] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 139-141; Davies, pp. 4-5; Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 26-36.

[468] Together with other famous scholars of the time. The imitation of Plato's Symposium is obvious: e.g. the discussion is related to Decius by Postumianus, who though absent had been informed by Eusebius.

[469] Cf. Davies, pp. 17-23; cf. also Schanz-Hosius IV 2, p. 193.

[470] Cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 181-182; G. Wissowa, *Cornelius* (168) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1351-1355; Mastandrea, esp. pp. 56-65 (*Labeone fonte di Macrobio* ...).

[471] See ch. VI A 5 (*The (pregnant) sow*).

[472] See ch. III A.

quod omni usui animantium favet; Opem, quod ipsius auxilio vita constat; Fatuam a fando, quod, ut supra diximus, infantes partu editi non prius vocem edunt quam attigerint terram.[473]

(23) Sunt qui dicant hanc deam potentiam habere Iunonis ideoque regale sceptrum in sinistra manu ei additum.[474] Eandem alii Proserpinam credunt, porcaque ei rem divinam fieri, quia segetem quam Ceres mortalibus tribuit porca depasta est.[475] Alii Χθονίαν Ἑκάτην,[476] Boeotii Semelam credunt.[477]

(24) Nec non eandem Fauni filiam dicunt obstitisseque voluntati patris in amorem suum lapsi, ut et virga myrtea ab eo verberaretur, cum desiderio patris nec vino ab eodem pressa cessisset. Transfigurasse se tamen in serpentem pater creditur et coisse cum filia.[478]

(25) Horum omnium haec proferuntur indicia: quod virgam myrteam in templo haberi nefas sit, quod super caput eius extendatur vitis qua maxime eam pater decipere tentavit, quod vinum in templum eius non suo nomine soleat inferri, sed vas in quo vinum inditum est mellarium nominetur et vinum lac nuncupetur, serpentesque in templo eius nec terrentes nec timentes indifferenter appareant.[479]

(26) Quidam Medeam putant, quod in aedem eius omne genus herbarum sit, ex quibus antistites dant plerumque medicinas, et quod templum eius virum introire non liceat, propter iniuriam quam ab ingrato viro Iasone perpessa est.[480]

(27) Haec apud Graecos ἡ θεὸς γυναικεία dicitur,[481] quam Varro Fauni filiam tradit, adeo pudicam ut extra γυναικωνῖτιν numquam sit egressa, nec nomen eius in publico fuerit auditum, nec virum umquam viderit vel a viro visa sit, propter quod nec vir templum eius ingreditur.[482]

(28) Unde et mulieres in Italia sacro Herculis non licet interesse, quod Herculi, cum boves Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitienti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies nec ex eo apparatu viris gustare fas esset. Propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum, et Potitio ac Pinario sacrorum custodibus, iussit ne mulierem interesse permitterent.[483]

---

[473] *Ibidem.*
[474] See ch. VI A 6.
[475] *Ibidem.*
[476] *Ibidem.*
[477] *Ibidem.*
[478] See ch. VI A 1-4.
[479] *Ibidem.*
[480] *Ibidem.*
[481] See ch. III A.
[482] See ch. VI A 1.
[483] Cf. above, No. *32* (Propertius IV ix 21-70).

(29) Ecce occasio nominis, quo Maiam eandem esse et Terram et Bonam Deam diximus, coegit nos de Bona Dea quaecumque comperimus protulisse.[484]

Some authors, with whom Cornelius Labeo agrees, assert that the Maia to whom sacrifice is offered in the month of May is Earth, and that she was given this name because of her great size (*magnitudine*), just as she is called the Great Mother in her rites. That their opinion is true they further infer from the practice of sacrificing to her a pregnant sow, which is the victim proper to Earth. They also say that therefore Mercury is associated with the goddess in the rites because a newborn baby is given the faculty of speech by contact with the earth, and, as we know, Mercury is the god of utterance and speech.

Cornelius Labeo states that to this Maia, i.e., Earth, under the name of Bona Dea a temple was dedicated on the Calends of May, and this author affirms that the identity of Bona Dea with Earth can be inferred from the more secret cult rites themselves. He adds that in the books of the Pontiffs this same goddess is invoked as Bona Dea, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua:

Bona (Good) because she is for us the source of all that is good for the maintenance of life; Fauna because she graciously takes care (*favet*) of all the needs of living creatures; Ops because it is on her help (*ops*) that life depends; Fatua, from speech (*fari*), because, as we have said above, infants at birth cannot utter a sound until they have touched the earth.

There are those who say that this goddess has the power of Juno, and for that reason is represented with the royal sceptre in her left hand. Others believe that she is identical with Proserpine, and that a sow is offered to her because a sow has eaten off the crops which Ceres gave to mortals. Others again hold the view that she is Hecate of the Netherwold, and the Bœotians believe that she is Semele.

It is said too that she was the daughter of Faunus, and that she resisted the amorous advances of her father who had fallen in love with her, so that he even beat her with myrtle twigs because she did not yield to his desires though she had been made drunk by him on wine. It is believed that the father then changed himself into a serpent, however, and under this guise had intercourse with his daughter.

In support of all this the evidence is adduced that the presence of a myrtle twig in her temple is sacrilege; that over her head a vine extends its shoots, as it was especially with this that her father attempted to seduce her; that it is the custom to bring wine into her temple not under its own name but the vessel containing the wine is called honey-jar and the wine milk; and that there are serpents living in her temple which, indifferent to their surroundings, neither cause nor feel fear.

Some think she is Medea, because all kinds of herbs are found in her temple, from which the priestesses mostly make medicines which they distribute, and because no man may enter her temple on account of the wrong she suffered at the hands of her thankless husband Jason.

In Greece she is called the Women's Goddess, of whom Varro tells us that she was the daughter of Fauna, and so modest that she never left the women's quarters, that her name was never heard in public, and that she never saw a man nor was seen by a man, for which reason in fact no man enters her temple.

---

[484] Cf. also the ed. F. Eyssenhardt, *Macrobius*, Lipsiae, MDCCCLXVIII (2nd ed. 1893), pp. 62-64.

This is also the reason why in Italy women are not allowed to take part in the rites of Hercules. For, when Hercules with Geryon's cattle was journeying over the fields of Italy, a woman, in reply to his request for water to quench his thirst, said that she was not allowed to give him any because it was the feast of the Women's Goddess and no man was permitted to taste of anything that was concerned with it. Hercules therefore, when he intended to institute a sacrifice, solemnly forbade women to be admitted, ordering Potitius and Pinarius who were in charge of the rites not to allow any woman to be present.

Behold how the occasion of discussing the name identifying Maia with Terra and Bona Dea, as said, urged us to relate all that is available about Bona Dea.

22. MARTIANUS CAPELLA

Between 410 (?), the year of Alaric's sack of Rome, and 429, the year of the Vandal conquest of North Africa, Martianus Capella of Carthage wrote a work that he himself may have called *Disciplinae* but that Fulgentius mentions in 520 as *Liber de Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae.*[485]

It is an encyclopaedia written as an allegoric version of the story of the marriage of Mercury and Philology. It is a *Satura* of mixed prose and verse, influenced by Varro's *Menippeae* and in style largely based on Apuleius.[486] The work is dedicated to his son.

The wedding covers the first two books whereas the seven others deal with the Liberal Arts (the seven bridesmaids).[487]

Varro is the principal source, yet others are used too,[488] even though the author does not always seem to understand the data he passes on.

Among the primitive creatures there are some female characters bearing names which elsewhere are considered the original names of Bona Dea.

Martianus Capella, ed. A. Dicky-J. Préaux, Stutgardiae, MCMLXXVIII^2 (Teubner).

---

[485] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 166-170; P. Wessner, *Martianus* (2) in *RE* XIV 2 (1930), coll. 2003-2016.

[486] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, p. 166; I, pp. 556-560 (Varro's *Saturae Menippeae*); III, pp. 100-136 (Apuleius), esp. 132-134 (*Charakteristik*).

[487] In the encyclopaedia the Arts appear as people with characteristic clothes and attributes. Each of them delivers an exposition of her talents. The gods form no mute audience but show their interest in the explanations (cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 166-168). Varro is not Martianus Capella's only source: for rhetoric (book 5), he uses Aquila and Fortunatianus (cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1, pp. 181-182 (Aquila Romanus), pp. 148-149 (Atilius Fortunatianus); IV 2, p. 169); for geometry (book 6), Pliny and Solinus (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis,* books II-VI, see above, *ad* No. 9; for Solinus, cf. Schanz-Hosius III, pp. 224-227; IV 2, p. 169); for music (book 9), Aristides Quintilianus (cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, pp. 894-896; Schanz-Hosius IV 2, p. 169).

[488] Varro had been the first to compose an encyclopaedia of the Liberal Arts for the Roman world (*Disciplinarum libri IX*; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 567-568). The 5th and 6th centuries boast two similar works: that by Martianus Capella and that by Cassiodorus (cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 92-109).

68. Martianus Capella II 167 p. 69

ipsam quoque terram, qua hominibus invisa est, referciunt longaevorum chori, qui habitant silvas, nemora, lucos, lacus, fontes ac fluvios appellanturque Panes, Fauni,†Fones, Satyri, Silvani, Nymphae, Fatui Fatuaeque vel Fantuae vel etiam Fanae, a quibus fana dicta, quod soleant divinare.[489] hi omnes post prolixum aevum moriuntur ut homines, sed tamen et praesciendi et incursandi et nocendi habent praesentissimam potestatem.[490]

Also the earth itself, where it is inaccessible to men, is peopled with hosts of creatures of the past inhabiting woods and forests, sacred groves, lakes, springs and streams, and bearing names such as *Panes, Fauni, Fones* (?),[491] *Satyri, Silvani, Nymphae, Fatui* and *Fatuae* or *Fantuae* as well as *Fanae,* from which name the word *fanum* (sanctuary) is derived because they are wont to foretell the future. They all die after a long and happy life, just as mortals, yet nevertheless they possess effective powers to know the future and to descend upon people unawares and harm them.

23. PLACIDUS

One Placidus is mentioned as the compiler of the most important glossary that has come down from the close of Antiquity (5th/6th century), and this in three versions from which the original glossary must be reconstrued. It is a compilation of two different works, one of them based upon marginal notes on works of Republican poets. It does not go beyond the letter P, and draws, among others, upon Plautus.[492]

The compiler, Christian and great enemy of the pagan gods, lived in the sixth century, in the period between Donatus, whom he quotes, and Isidore, who draws upon him.[493]

The glossary frequently corresponds with Festus' interpretation and is linguistically very important for our knowledge of Old Latin. The sources mentioned are: Varro, Cornutus, Pliny, Quintilian, and Donatus, but it is not unlikely that also Gellius, Servius, and Macrobius should have been used.[494]

Under the heading *Damium* there is found an shorter version of Festus' interpretation.[495]

---

[489] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 725, *s.v. fanum* (deriving from *fari*), referring to Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VI 55; Paulus Diaconus, pp. 78 and 83 (Lindsay); Cicero, *De Divinatione* I xli 90.

[490] Cf. Elisabeth Smits, *Faunus,* Leiden, MCMXLVI (diss.), esp. pp. 46-77.

[491] Cf. the deity Fonio at Aquileia; see ch. I, No. 109.

[492] The other work, with its more detailed explanations—for a number of words not only of a grammatical but also substantial, historical, and geographical nature—terminates with the letter Z (cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 257-261).

[493] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 257 and 258.

[494] *Ibidem*, pp. 258-260.

[495] Cf. above, No. 14 (*55*), below, No. 25 (*71*: Paulus Diaconus).

Glossaria Latina, vol. IV, *Placidus, Festus, Placidi Glossae,* ediderunt J. W. Pirie-W. M. Lindsay, Paris, 1930.

69. s.v. *Damium* p. 59

D
Damium: sacrificium quod in operto fit,
quod Bonae Deae mulieres faciunt.[496]

s.v. *Damium* p. 60

D
Damium: Bonae Deae sacrum.[497]

Damium: a sacrifice offered in secret,
which the women offer in honour of Bona Dea.

Damium: the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea.

24. ISIDORE

Isidorus Hispalensis (*ca.* 570-636) was bishop of Seville (600/601-636) and is one of the most important links between ancient and mediaeval learning.

Besides other works,[498] he wrote: *Etymologiae* (or *Origines*), divided into twenty books, a much used encyclopaedia, not only concerned with the seven Free Arts but also with geography, laws, medicine, natural history, omens, gems, food and drink, in short with anything the author thought worth knowing, and this on the basis of etymology.[499]

Isidore does not often mention his sources but it is clear that for his information he has consulted a large series of authorities, among others Pliny and Suetonius.[500]

Fatua, one of the original names for Bona Dea, is discussed in the fragment quoted.

Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxonii (1971; first edition 1911) (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).*

---

[496] Cf. the critical apparatus: "D. 1. *bene d.* G. Cf. Anthol. 21. Cf. Fest. 60, 1 *Damium* ..... (see above, No. *55*). Cf. 31."

[497] Cf. the critical apparatus: "31. *bene* G. Cf. 1."

[498] *Chronica; Historia Gothorum; De Natura Rerum*; *Differentiae*; *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*; cf. Schanz-Hosius III, IV 1 and 2, *passim* (see alphabetical index); D. Schenk-A. Schmekel-H. Philipp, *Isidoros* (27) in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 2069-2080; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1959.

[499] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 2, pp. 246-257 (*Glossographie*).

[500] Cf. Schanz-Hosius IV 1 and 2, *passim* (see alphabetical indices).

70. Etymologiae X 103 vol. I (without pagination)

F

Fatuus ideo existimatur dictus, quia neque quod fatur ipse, neque quod alii dicunt intellegit. Fatuos origine duci quidam putant a miratoribus Fatuae, Fauni uxoris fatidicae, eosque primum fatuos appellatos, quod praeter modum obstupefacti sunt vaticiniis illius usque ad amentiam.[501]

It is assumed that Fatuus is thus called because he neither understands what he declares himself nor what others say. Some think that the Fatui are descended from the admirers of Fatua, Faunus' prophesying wife, and that originally they were called fools (*fatui*) as they became exceedingly bewildered by her prophecies and turned insane.

25. Paulus Diaconus

It is beyond question that the writer of the *Epitome* Paulus is identical with Paulus Diaconus (720/730-*ca.* 797) the historian of the Longobards.[502] After Festus, Paulus was the second to edit Verrius Flaccus' work *De Verborum Significatu* in an abridged form—by the end of the eighth century.

In an introductory letter to Charlemagne Paulus mentions Festus' more extensive work and goes on to say: ''ex qua ego prolixitate superflua quaeque et minus necessaria praetergrediens et quaedam abstrusa penitus stilo proprio enucleans, nonnulla ita, ut erant posita, relinquens hoc vestrae celsitudini legendum compendium obtuli.[503]

Consequently it is obvious that Paulus barely provides any amplifications of his own, so that, just as in the case of Festus, we are confronted with Verrius Flaccus' work.''[504]

The passage quoted has the *Damium* for its subject.

Sexti Pompei Festi de Verborum Significatu cum Pauli Epitome, Thewrewkianis copiis usus edidit Wallace M. Lindsay, Lipsiae, MCMXIII.

71. Epitome s.v. *Damium* p. 60

Damium sacrificium, quod fiebat in operto in honore Deae Bonae, dictum a contrarietate, quod minime esset δαμόσιον, id est publicum. Dea quoque ipsa Damia et sacerdos eius damiatrix appellabatur.

Damium is the sacrifice that was offered in secret in honour of Bona Dea, and was thus called on account of its opposite meaning since it was least of all δαμόσιον, i.e. public. Also the goddess herself was called *Damia* and her priestress *damiatrix.*

---

[501] See ch. III A.

[502] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 362-366; IV 1, p. 78 and *passim* (see alphabetical index).

[503] Cf. Lindsay (see below), p. 1.

[504] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 362-366; F. Brünhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* I (1975), pp. 257 ss.; 546 (literature).

PART TWO

THE GODDESS AND HER CULT

CHAPTER THREE

THE GODDESS

A) *The "name" of the goddess*

The very vague designation of the goddess involves a variety of manifestations, if not conversely.

Bona Dea is not a name.[1] However, in the course of time there was a change of opinion and in the end the title did come to be looked upon as a name. Indications of the truth of the assumption that Bona Dea was indeed considered a name are the use of epithets with the two words,[2] and the fact that adjective and substantive have sometimes become one word,[3] in which case only the second part of the combination is declined.[4]

Yet there are proofs to be found both in the epigraphic data and in the literary sources that Bona Dea was not a name in Antiquity, and that there was no need for it to be considered as such, whether the goddess was mentioned in a theoretical context or in one involving expression of personal religious feelings.

---

[1] Cf., besides the ancient sources, quoted in the text, Peter *Bona Dea*, col. 789: "Bona Dea ist an und für sich eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für eine Heil und Segen spendende Göttin. In Rom aber und auch im übrigen Italien wurde unter dieser allgemeinen Bezeichnung eine bestimmte Göttin verehrt, deren eigentlichen Namen auszusprechen nicht erlaubt war." Saglio, *Bona Dea*, p. 725: "Bona Dea—Nom, ou plutôt surnom tenant lieu d'un nom qui n'était point divulgué, par lequel on désignait, chez les Romains, une déesse de fécondité également invoquée pour qu'elle fît fructifier la terre et pour qu'elle donnât aux femmes des enfants." Wissowa, *Bona Dea*, coll. 686-687: "Bona dea, im römischen Kulte Beiwort verschiedener weiblichen Gottheiten, nachher zum Eigennamen geworden, wie bei den Picentern und Umbrern die gleichbedeutende Cupra dea." Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 216: "... wohl aber kommt ihr (i.e. Fauna) noch ein zweiter Name zu, *Bona Dea*, ursprünglich ein blosses Attribut der Göttin (wie duonus cerus), das aber nachher zum Eigennamen geworden ist und den Namen Fauna ganz verdrängt hat." H. J. Rose, *Bona Dea* in *OCD*, p. 140: "... a Roman goddess worshipped exclusively by women. Her proper name was allegedly Fauna." Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 243: "Die wenig ausgeprägte Bedeutung ihres Namens liess der Auffassung der Bona Dea ziemlich grossen Spielraum. Verschiedenen Ortes galt sie als Schutzgottheit im Sinne eines Genius loci. Schliesslich ist "bona dea" auch zum blossen Attribut anderer Göttinnen geworden; Juno, Venus Cnidia und Isis werden so genannt, und oft scheint zwischen der einen und der anderen Gottheit keine klare Grenze gezogen zu sein. So berichtet Macrobius (Sat. I, 12, 23 = ch. II, No. 21/*67*): sunt qui dicant hanc deam potentiam habere Iunonis ideoque regale sceptrum in sinistra manu ei additum. Das besagt nichts anderes, als dass auch die bildliche Gestalt der Göttin synkretistischen Abwandlungen unterworfen war." Latte, *RR*, p. 228: "Ihr Name war eine unmittelbare Uebersetzung des griechischen 'Αγαθὴ Θεός (cf. below note 18)."

[2] See below, C).

[3] Cf. ch. I, Nos. 8, 31. 67.

[4] Besides ch. I, 8, 31, 67, possibly also 12, 22, 60, 100. The reading *Bona dea* (*Bona* written with a capital, *dea* with a small letter), as if *Bona* were the proper name and *dea* a mere attributive adjective, must be considered unfounded (*Bonadea* or *Bonadia* may be accepted in the cases referred to); cf., e.g. Wissowa, *Bona Dea*; Purser's ed. of Cicero's letters; Kasten's ed. of Cicero's *In Pisonem*; Boulanger's ed. of Cicero's *Pro Milone* (see ch. II, No. 1); Šašel, No. 260 (= ch. I, No. 127).

"Bona Dea is that goddess whose *name* must not even be known by men", Cicero expressly declares.[5] "Faunus' wife was such a virtuous woman that, except for her husband, no man has ever seen her during her lifetime or heard her *name*"; on the authority of Varro Lactantius informs us that it was for this reason that the Roman women worshipped her in secret and *called* her Bona Dea.[6] Also Servius, in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*, states that according to his sources Faunus' daughter was *called* Bona Dea since it was forbidden to utter her *name*.[7]

Macrobius puts forward a wide range of interpretations of the goddess. Discussing the name of the month of May he says that on the Calends of May a temple was dedicated to Maia under the name of Bona Dea; he then identifies Bona Dea with the Earth, who in turn is again the same as Maia. Macrobius, too, emphasizes that Bona Dea is a title of address, and is able to enumerate a series of goddesses, all of whom may be identified with Bona Dea. These are all reasons why in this text Bona Dea is not primarily to be looked upon as a proper name.[8]

Besides these considerations of a speculative nature, the sources also provide indications of the authors' personal feelings. These are more likely to correspond to the generally accepted views on the goddess because they do not start from a mythical datum but are concerned with the *practice* of religion.

After Cicero's exile, part of his house on the Palatine was converted into a shrine, consecrated by Clodius to the goddess Libertas.[9] Cicero tried to recover the house and to have the consecration annulled by declaining loudly against the wrong he had suffered. In the heat of his oration against Clodius he asked himself: "But what kind of goddess is this?" And immediately he gave himself the answer: "It must be a Good Goddess as she owes her dedication to you, does she not?"[10]

Similarly, Cicero uses *Bonam* in his assertion that that goddess whose name must not be known by men is called a *Good Goddess* by Clodius—naturally, as she pardoned him for having committed so great a crime: his entry into the house where her mysteries were being celebrated.[11]

Despite the circumstance that in Latin the article does not exist and a word is often capable of two interpretations, here no difficulty seems to present itself and the indefinite article appears to be correct in the translation. It must have been clear to any hearer that in the first passage Cicero alludes to Bona Dea,[12] at the same time using *Bonam* as a predicative adjective to Libertas, which name immediately follows the words quoted. The emphasis laid on the adjective, in the second passage, indicates that the emotional value is most definitely felt as such in this part of the combination, which therefore cannot have been considered an inseparable proper name.

---

[5] *De Haruspicum Responsis* XVII 37 (=ch. II, No. *17*).

[6] *Divinae Institutiones* I 22 10; *Institutionum Epitome* 17 1 (=ch. II, Nos. *63* and *65*).

[7] *In Vergilii Aeneidos Librum Octavum Commentarius* v. 314 (=ch. II, No. *66*).

[8] *Saturnalia* I 12 20-29 (=ch. II, No. *67*).

[9] Cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 133-137; Liebeschuetz, pp. 18; 31; 53, note 4.

[10] *De Domo Sua* XLI 109-XLII 110 (=ch. II, No. *12*).

[11] *De Haruspicum Responsis* XVII 37 (=ch. II, No. *17*).

Whether, in a letter to Lentulus,[13] it was Cicero's intention to express a close association between *Bonam Deam* and, one line further down, *bonos viros* is not provable, but Ovid's design seems to be clear enough when he says that the site of Bona Dea's temple "pars bona montis (ea) est".[14]

The omission or replacement of the adjective *Bona* which also may go to show that it was not considered an inseparable part of the formula *Bona Dea* once again strongly suggests that Bona Dea did not have to be taken as a name. Lygdamus, for example, speaks of the *Laudandae sacra Deae,*[15] just as Propertius calls the goddess *Feminea Dea.*[16]

The space between adjective and substantive, sometimes considerable and resulting from a metrical necessity or a stylistic design of the poet, is nevertheless an indication that either part of Bona Dea was recognized as having a meaning of its own.[17]

And the translation of the words in the Greek sources indicates a similar meaning.[18]

This argument is also borne out by Arnobius' ironical words: one of the gods who think the worship of Christ an insult to themselves is "Fenta Fatua,

---

[12] Cf. Wuilleumier (see *ad* ch. II, Nos. *14-19*), p. 150, note 2: "Nouvelle allusion ironique aux mystères de la Bonne Déesse violés par Clodius."

[13] *Ad Familiares* I ix 15 (=ch. II, No. *22*).

[14] *Fasti* V 150 (=ch. II, No. *35*).

[15] *Elegia* V 8 (=ch. II, No. *31*): the text is based on the ed. by Ponchont. Cf. also *Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres,* recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Iohannes Percival Postgate, editio altera, Oxonii (1959/1905; without pagination): in this edition *celandae* is found for *laudandae*—a definition certainly justifiable as a Bona Dea epithet (Ponchont does not mention this variant). Illustrative is a Pertinax coin calling *Mens* not *Bona*, as is usual, but *Laudanda*; cf. R. Peter, *Mens* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), col. 2800.

[16] IV ix 25 (=ch. II, No. *32*).

[17] Cf. Juvenal I ii 86-87: "atque Bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae / et magno cratere Deam;" II vi 314: "nota Bonae secreta Deae" (=ch. II, Nos. *50* and *51*).

[18] Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* XX; *Life of Cicero* XIX; *Life of Caesar* IX: 'Αγαθὴν (ch. II, Nos. *45, 46, 49*). In each of these cases Plutarch, says that 'Αγαθὴ (i.e. *Bona*) corresponds to Greek Γυνανκεία. Latte's assertion, *RR*, p. 228, that Bona Dea's name is a direct translation of Greek 'Αγαθὴ Θεός, is therefore unfounded. Cf. also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I 12 27 (=ch. II, No. *67*), who states that this goddess is called by the Greeks ἡ θεὸς γυναικεία. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 241, says that 'Αγαθὴ Θεός as a *name* does not exist in Greek.

Faunus' wife, who is called the *Good* Goddess but was *better* and more laudable at drinking wine".[19]

With these data from classical literature two inscriptions may be compared, though they provide less explicit evidence of the views on the designation of the goddess than the authors' information. The first is an epitaph found at Velletri in which Antonia, Quintus' daughter, is possibly styled *Dea Bona Pia.*[20] The designation *Bona Dea* is found in an inscription found near the main entrance of the Villa Torlonia on the Via Nomentana. Whether or not it refers to the woman mentioned, Poblicia Cale,[21] seems questionable because of the word *sacrum* in the text.[22] But as confusion tends to arise and we have to ask ourselves whether in these two inscriptions *Bona Dea* stands for the name of the goddess, or for the title of a mortal, already tells in favour of the argument. With this obscurity may be compared the joint appearance of *Bona Dea* and the name of a(nother) goddess in a number of inscriptions, a matter to be dealt with presently.

As seen in the Antonia epitaph, besides the customary order, *Bona Dea,* the inverted sequence is also found. This phenomenon occurs both in literary and epigraphic sources, if only rarely.[23] But, rare or not, *Dea Bona* suggests that *Bona* was felt as a detached and subordinate epithet.

Four times, in epigraphic sources, we come across Bona Dea so closely associated with the name of another deity that it is difficult to decide which part of the combination is the weightier. Firstly there is a dedication from Rome, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,[24] *Bonae Deae Veneri Cnidiae*; then there is an inscription found *Ad Alt-Ofen in ipso Danuvio unweit der Schiffswerfte*, now in the Budapest National Museum,[25] and dedicated *Fortun(ae) Con/servatrici et Bon(a)e D/eae Iuno/ni*; the third example was found either at Aumale or at Gorfa Uled Selama,[26] a dedication *Deae [Bonae V]aletudini Sanc(tae)*; the fourth inscription of this series again comes from Rome, and reads *Bonae Deae / Hygiae.*[27] It is rather difficult to decide to which of the deities mentioned each of the inscriptions is addressed—but perhaps we do not need to decide. When the dedication is thought to be addressed to one deity[28]—in the first example above, to Venus—the problem remains, as already stated, that Bona Dea was also considered a proper name. It was occasionally realized, however, that this had not been the case originally, and the combination of words was analysed.

---

[19] *Adversus Nationes* I 36 (= ch. II, No. *62*). *Melior*: this comparative is actually found as a Fortuna epithet; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 262, note 6: "... eine spezifisch umbrische Verehrungsform scheint Fortuns melior zu sein (references to *CIL* XI 4216, 4391, 4770; XIV 2873)."

[20] Ch. I, No. (47). Cf. Liebeschuetz, p. 66, who speaks of a form of canonization of mortals. Whether this is the case here, however, is questionable.

[21] Ch. I, No. 43; *ILS* III 1, p. 520, *ad* 9437: "Bona Dea mulier appellata." With the greatest caution it may be wondered whether *Cale* should be considered a theophoric *cognomen*. The current translation of *Bona* into Greek is 'Αγαθή (cf. above, note 18), yet Καλή is certainly a possibility: Καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός corresponds to *bonus* when a moral quality is emphasized. See below, B).

[22] For the use of *sacer*, cf. Festus, *s.v. Religiosus* (= ch. II, No. *56*): *sacer* is a term proper to a deity, *religiosus* is said of a tomb.

[23] Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome, s.v. Damium* (= ch. II, No. *71*); for epigraphic data, cf. ch. I, Nos. 63, 83, 141. Cébeillac's assertion, p. 521, note 2, that the order Dea Bona is not found in the literature, is not true. Her reading in this context *deae Bonae piae* (cf. above, note 4) is surprising, as is her commentary: "il est difficile de mettre en parallèle le texte du *CIL*, X, 6595 (= D. 8069): *deae Bonae piae*, car l'expression *dea Bona* n'est pas *nude dicta,* mais accompagnée d'un autre qualificatif, *pia.*" Cf. below, C), where many an "autre qualificatif" is discussed.

[24] Ch. I, No. 24.

[25] Ch. I, No. 129.

Considering the long series of inscriptions in which Bona Dea figures in her own right, and moreover the fact that the first inscription comes from Rome with its State cult of Bona Dea as an independent deity, this dedication would be too great an exception for us to assume that in this instance *Bona Dea* merely serves as an epithet to *Venus Cnidia.* For the present we need only ask ourselves if we have here a joint dedication to the two goddesses resulting from a shared quality which allows them to be spoken of simultaneously.

For an explanation of the second inscription there are more data available than for an interpretation of a joint appearance of Bona Dea and Venus. First of all, the order in the Budapest dedication deserves some attention. It strikes us forcibly that *Fortunae* precedes *Conservatrici.* This epithet can only be looked upon as an attribute of Fortuna. *Bonae Deae* precedes *Iunoni.* Although this order can scarcely be brought forward as an argument it cannot be overlooked. As most prose inscriptions are couched in simple language there is no cause to suspect deliberate chiasm. However, it would present a strange picture if *Iunoni* is supposed to be subordinate to *Bonae Deae.* It would not seem too far-fetched to assume that it concerns here a case analogous to the above Bona Dea—Venus Cnidia combination. A relation Bona Dea—Juno presents fewer problems than the other example since much closer ties between these two goddesses were thought to exist. Macrobius, for instance, relates that Bona Dea was represented with the same attribute as Juno: the sceptre. This because she shared Juno's power. And this assertion would be confirmed by a representation on a relief found in Rome, *sub Caelio, hortis Matthaeiis,* except that the inscription belonging to its contradicts this.[29] It might be assumed that in the Budapest inscription Fortuna's capacity of Conservatrix is emphasized; also that in the combination Bona Dea—Juno a common quality could be the reason for mentioning the two goddesses together, a common quality which was of greater significance to the worshipper who erected the dedication than the individual characters of the two goddesses. If this is true it is not to be said that either Bona Dea is invoked as Juno or Juno as Bona Dea.

---

[26] Ch. I, No. 141.

[27] Ch. I, No. 21.

[28] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218: "... in einer Reihe von Beispielen ist sogar Bona dea einfach als Attribut zu dem Namen einer andren Gottheit hinzugetreten;" cf. his notes 1 and 9. Latte, *RR*, p. 231, note 3: "Zum reinen Epitheton ist der Name *CIL* VI 76 (= ch. I, No. 24: B. D. Venus Cnidia) geworden." Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, p. 1014: "difficilmente per identificazione delle due divinità," but pp. 1014-1015: "A Venere e non alla Bona dea si dovrà riferire la lapide." Hey, *Bona Dea*, p. 2071: "cum nominibus aliarum dearum." Yet, these are all non-committal assertions, and argument is apparently thought unnecessary.

Bona Dea in her capacity as a goddess of medicine, a capacity we are familiar with both from classical literature and from epigraphy, is so closely connected with Valetudo—Salus—Hygia that in many cases the term identification does not seem to be out of place. On the basis of this the combinations of names in the last two examples are better looked upon as compounds, elucidated in one instance by an adjective which in other instances is not unusual as an epithet of Bona Dea (*Sancta*).[30] It does not seem necessary to insist on an analysis.

In comparing these epigraphic data with the evidence in ancient literature, it will become even more evident that we should not try to establish too well-defined a distinction between the goddesses who are mentioned together in the Bona Dea matter.

From Propertius' account in which he describes Hercules' encounter with the Bona Dea worshippers, it is apparent that the rites celebrated in honour of this goddess leave Hercules with the impression that they take place in honour of Juno, or at least that they resemble the latter goddess's cult.[31] Hercules says:[32]

> If you were offering to the embittered Juno, even then my stepmother would not have denied me her waters.

It could be argued that the *coniunctivus* (*irrealis*) being used speaks against the above translation, and that Hercules' train of thought could be interpreted as follows:

> I see that you are offering to a different goddess so that you should not decline my request, which would even be complied with if it concerned a sacrifice to Juno who hates me.[33]

---

[29] Cf. *CIL* VI 787 ("hortis Matthaeiis sub Caelio. Vesta sedens, dextra pateram serpenti praebens, sin. sceptrum tenens, caput diademate ornata; FABRETTI"): Vestae sacrum / C. Pupius Firminus et / Mudasena Trophime; cf. also Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, pp. 243-244, and fig. 8 (p. 243) (The findspot as referred to by Greifenhagen, p. 244, note 1: *sub hortis Matthaeis*, strikes me as rather strange).

[30] Cf. ch. I, Nos. 19, 70, 141 (Sancta, Sanctissima).

[31] IV ix 21-70 (=ch. II, No. *32*).

[32] Vv. 43-44.

[33] Cf. J. G. Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome*, New York, 1910 (= *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, vol. IV, part II), p. 239. Cf. also Camps, p. 143, *ad* v. 43: "why, if the goddess you served were cruel Juno herself, even she, harsh stepmother though she

However this may be, comparison requires resemblance. Would Hercules have thought of Juno at all if the meeting of the women had not reminded him of the ritual in honour of his stepmother?

A weightier argument than "Hercules' train of thought" is the poet's intention. When we consider that Propertius borrowed this myth as far as its subject matter is concerned from Varro, that Varro in this is also Macrobius' source, that Macrobius emphasizes Bona Dea's many-sidedness (crediting Bona Dea and Juno with the same qualities and, consequently, with the same attributes[34]) then all this creates the impression that mentioning Bona Dea and Juno in one breath was done deliberately by Propertius. The circumstance that Juno is referred to and not some other deity who in her character also shows similarities to Bona Dea, has, of course, to do with Hercules' relationship to his stepmother, which, as we know, is the basis of his fame in the myths about him. The enmity between Bona Dea and Hercules, arising from his meeting the goddess's worshippers (who deny him water) and which is reflected in the ritual around the Ara Maxima,[35] could be defined as a counterpart of the Juno—Hercules enmity.

The following data, about the name of the goddess found in literature without direct parallels in epigraphy, compel us to be cautious with our interpretation.

Festus, for example, relates that the goddess also bore the name of Damia, just as her priestess was called *damiatrix* and the sacrifice offered to her *damium.*[36] Festus' work is an epitome of *De Verborum Significatu* by Verrius Flaccus, who wrote under Augustus,[37] and it deserves attention that Festus, living towards the end of the 2nd century,[38] uses the past tense in his informa-

---

is, would not have shut her door and refused me water.... *The wording of the apodosis* non claussiset aquas ... suas *shows that the protasis* si ... sacrum faceretis *means in effect* if you were priestresses of Juno (instead of whatever goddess it is) and this were Juno's temple, *rather than simply* if you were (now) engaged in sacrificing to Juno." It seems that Camps in his translation of *sacrum faceretis* intends to express an iterative; a progressive/durative, however, is preferable in my opinion. And the plusquamperfectum *clausisset* is quite acceptable as already in v. 25 there was a reference to *loca clausa,* and therefore the refusal of water would not have been considered too strange by Hercules. In Paganelli's ed. (p. 157), these verses are translated: "L'acariâtre Junon, si c'était à elle que vous sacrifiiez, toute marâtre qu'elle est, ne m'aurait pas interdit ses fontaines." (Unfortunately, Piccaluga, though making the Hercules episode the starting-point of her study, omits the vv. 37-50).

[34] *Saturnalia* I 12 23 (= ch. II, No. *67*); cf. also, above, note 1 (end).

[35] Cf. Propertius IV ix 67-70 and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I 12 28 (= ch. II, Nos. *32* and *67*). The source for both is here Varro. For the reasons that induced Propertius to draw attention to ritual restored by Augustus, cf. A. Dieterich, *Die Widmungselegie des letzten Buches des Propertius* in *RhM,* Neue Folge 55 (1900), pp. 191-221; Liebeschuetz, p. 62 (note 9) and pp. 36-37 (also for Varro's part in this).

[36] *S.v. Damium* (= ch. II, No. *55*).

[37] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 361-366; A. Dihle, *Verrius* (2) in *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), coll. 1636-1645.

[38] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, pp. 362 and 363, note 1; *PIR*^{1} III, p. 66, No. 462; R. Helm, *Pompeius* (145) in *RE* XXI 2 (1952), coll. 2316-2319.

tion about Bona Dea—Damia. This might indicate that he is referring to a tradition dating from the Augustan religious revival no longer applicable to his own time.

As late as the sixth century the word *damium* is used by Placidus for *Bonae Deae sacrum,* but he does not mention a corresponding name for the goddess herself.[39] But Festus' words are literally quoted by Paulus Diaconus in the time of Charlemagne.[40]

The value to be attached to this designation of Bona Dea is altogether conditional upon the reliability of a single source, Verrius Flaccus. The time of his activity as a writer is one of an (artificial) revival of the old traditions, also in the religious sphere. These traditions, already insisted upon by Caesar to prove his "droit divin",[41] were no less used by his successor to give his rule the legality it needed so badly. Augustus' marriage to Livia creates the link between the old nobility and the ruler, who, as we know, comes from the party of the *populares,* and in spite of his adoption into the patrician Julian family can hardly boast noble descent. Manifestations of his desire to be considered the preserver of the old traditions are no doubt the restoration of the temple of Mater Magna (by himself), and that of Bona Dea (by his wife). This activity of Livia, by descent as well as by former marriage an outstanding representative of the old nobility, notably of the patrician Claudian family,[42] fits in excellently with Augustus' ambitious plans.[43] Considering these circumstances, one may wonder whether Verrius Flaccus wanted to keep in step with a fashion which, as far as Bona Dea is concerned, is apparent from the activity in building sanctuaries for her during these very years.

That the name of Damia was current in Rome is evident from the title of her priestess—with its typically Roman ending—*damiatrix.* Yet, whether Damia was actually Bona Dea remains questionable. Could it be that Bona Dea was locally identified with this Damia and that Verrius Flaccus knew of this (by accident?)? Considering the circumstance that the identification Bona Dea—Damia can only be traced back to this one source, the great value attached to this information by various scholars is to be regarded with caution, the more so when the existing conditions which gave rise to much speculation in the field of religion are taken into account (See also above, *Introduction*).

---

[39] *Glossae, s.v. Damium* (=ch. II, No. *69*).

[40] *Epitome, s.v. Damium* (=ch. II, No. *71*).

[41] Cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (the whole; e.g., pp. 8-18: *The Ancestral Tradition*); pp. 17-18, the funeral oration for his aunt Julia (cf. p. 318, where Weinstock asserts that Caesar's *father,* on the maternal side, comes of the family of the Marcii Reges, which is not true: his *aunt* does); Octavian imitates this principle: his mother, Atia, copulates with a serpent (p. 14); cf. also p. 181: In 47 B.C., Varro expected of Caesar a restoration of the Roman religion (dedication of the *Antiquitates*); see further E. Wistrand, *Caesar and Contemporary Society,* Göteborg (1978) (=*Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora* 15), pp. 29-32; 55; 56-58.

[42] Cf. *PIR*^{2} V 1, pp. 73-79, No. 301; Lotte Ollendorff, *Livius* (37) in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), coll. 900-924.

[43] Cf. Wistrand, *o.c.,* pp. 8-9.

Lactantius, on the authority of Varro, records[44] that Faunus' sister who was at the same time his wife, called Fenta Fauna (or Fatua elsewhere), was so chaste that during the whole of her lifetime no man, except her own husband, had seen her or heard her name and that, for this reason, the women offered sacrifice to her in secret, calling her Bona Dea. To Gavius Bassus, another of Lactantius' sources, her name is Fatua and she foretells women's fortunes, as Faunus does men's.[45] Sextus Clodius, a third source, tells that she was Faunus' wife, who, on account of drunkeness, was beaten to death with myrtle twigs by her husband. Afterwards, however, Faunus repented and confered divine honour upon her.[46] Lactantius recites his sources without comment. The three theories, dissimilar in some respects, appear to be based upon either the goddess's supposed name, thought to be derived from *fatum,* or on an observance from her rites: a wine-jar stood covered in the room during the ritual in honour of Bona Dea. With this usage the information given by other sources corresponds, that in her cult wine was called milk, the wine-jar honey-pot.[47]

What is more important here is the apparent confusion in the time of Lactantius both about the goddess's character and about her name. The law that forbids men to enter the temples of Vesta, of Bona Dea, and of Ceres is brought forward by the same author as a point of resemblance between these goddesses.[48] This analogy in the rule applicable to the temples of the three goddesses is, as an indirect source, significant for the character of the goddesses themselves. The exclusion of men from the cult of Bona Dea is a topic that, from Cicero's days onwards, is emphasized repeatedly in the literary sources. Cicero himself had every reason to assign so much importance to this point, which he could use as an argument in his attacks on Clodius, who, as is known, was said to have violated this law. Cicero is so important a source for later writers about Bona Dea and everything associated with her that caution regarding the literary data is necessary. Fortunately these data are supported by archaeological evidence: the temples of Bona Dea which have been excavated show that these cult centres were walled, thus enclosed complexes. This, however, need not point to the exclusion of men only, but of any outsider.[49] That men were worshippers of the goddess, however, is proved by the epigraphic data.

---

[44] *Divinae Institutiones* I 22 9-11; cf. also *Institutionum Epitome* 17 1 (=ch. II, Nos. *63* and *65*). For Varro, see Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 555-578; H. Dahlmann, *Terentius* (84) in *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), coll. 1172-1277.

[45] Gavius Bassus was a contemporary of Cicero's and was prob. still alive in post-Republican days; cf. *PIR*² IV, p. 20, No. 95; Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 585-586; G. Funaioli, *Gavius* (11) in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 866-868.

[46] Sextus Clodius, Mark Antony's teacher of Greek and Latin rhetoric, wrote a work *About the Gods* in Greek (cf. also Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* XX=ch. II, No. *45*); cf. Schanz-Hosius I, p. 583; Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 377; J. Brzoska, *Clodius* (13) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 65-67. It may be significant that these sources were written at a time when Ciceros action against the Tribune of the People, Clodius, for a while made the Bona Dea cult the focus of public attention.

[47] Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* XX (=ch. II, No. *45*); Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*V 18 (=ch. II, No. *62*); Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I 12 25 (=ch. II, No. *67*); cf. also Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 202-223 (2: *Il Vino*).

[48] *Divinae Institutiones* III 20 3-4 (=ch. II, No. *64*); cf. also the epithet *Cereria* borne by Bona Dea in an Aquileian inscription ch. I, No. 112); from many a passage in the literary sources it is known that the Vestals took part in the Bona Dea ritual, see ch. II, *passim.*Finally, the Wilton House relief may be remembered (cf. above, note 29), and the altar at Naples as well (ch. I, No. 81).

In examining Lactantius' information one must conclude that he leaves the responsibility for the data concerning the goddess herself, confused as they are, to his sources. In recording the important rule of her cult he does not mention an informant but assumes responsibility for it himself. One may wonder whether this may indicate a continued existence of the cult in his days, though not according to one definite system but depending on personal interpretation.

Arnobius, Lactantius' near contemporary,[50] calls the goddess not Fenta Fauna but Fenta Fatua, saying that she went by the name of Bona Dea. Although Lactantius and Arnobius are contemporaries they give different versions of the name—which is significant. From this it might be concluded that either one of them has not read his sources properly—Sextus Clodius and Butas in the case of Arnobius[51]—or, and this would be more important for a historical survey of the Bona Dea cult, that, due to influences from outside, in the time of Lactantius and Arnobius the possibilities of personal interpretation assumed such proportions that the cult itself no longer shows a definite pattern, and the goddess is no longer recognizable as an unchangeable idea: the name that is chosen also determines the picture the worshipper has of the goddess's character.

As stated above, the greatest variety of interpretations is found with Macrobius. In expounding the name of the month of May he writes:[52]

> Some authors, with whom Cornelius Labeo agrees,[53] assert that the Maia to whom sacrifice is offered in the month of May is Earth, and that she was given

---

[49] Cf. for the privacy, Von Sydow, p. 394.

[50] Cf. ch. II, note 432.

[51] For Sextus Clodius, see above, note 46; Butas, prob. a freedman of the Younger Cato, wrote Αἴτια in elegiac verse after Callimachus, which dealt with Roman manners and customs in an aetiological manner; cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 1, p. 324; Schanz-Hosius II, p. 200; G. Knaack, *Butas (2) in RE* III 1 (1897), col. 1080.

[52] *Saturnalia* I 12 20-29 (=ch. II, No. *67*).

[53] See ch. II, note 470.

this name because of her great size (*magnitudine*), just as she is called the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*) in her rites. That their opinion is true they further infer from the practice of sacrificing to her a pregnant sow, which is the victim proper to Earth. They also say this is why Mercury is associated with the goddess in the rites because a newborn baby is given the faculty of speech by contact with the earth, and Mercury, as we know, is the god of utterance and speech.

(21) Cornelius Labeo states that to this Maia, i.e. Earth, under the name of Bona Dea a temple was dedicated on the Calends of May; and this author affirms that the identity of Bona Dea with Earth can be inferred from the more secret cult rites themselves. He adds that in the books of the Pontiffs this same goddess is invoked as Bona Dea, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua:

(22) *Bona* (Good) because she is for us the source of all that is good for the maintenance of life; *Fauna* because she graciously takes care (*favet*) of all the needs of living creatures; *Ops* because it is on her help (*ops*) that life depends; *Fatua*, from speech (*fari*), because, as we have said above, infants at birth cannot utter a sound until they have touched the earth.

(23) There are those who say that this goddess has the power of Juno, and for that reason is represented with the royal sceptre in her left hand. Others believe that she is identical with Proserpine, and that a sow is offered to her because a sow has eaten off the crops which Ceres gave to mortals. Others again hold the view that she is Hecate of the Netherworld, and the Bœotians believe that she is Semele.

(24) It is said too that she was the daughter of Faunus, and that she resisted the amorous advances of her father who had fallen in love with her, so that he even beat her with myrtle twigs because she did not yield to his desires though made drunk by him on wine. It is believed that the father then changed himself into a serpent, however, and under this guise had intercourse with his daughter.

(25) In support of all this the evidence is adduced that the presence of a myrtle twig in her temple is sacrilege; that over her head a vine extends its shoots, as it was especially with this that her father attempted to seduce her; that it is the custom to bring wine into her temple not under its own name but that the vessel containing the wine is called honeyjar and the wine milk; and that there are serpents living in her temple which, indifferent to their surroundings, neither cause nor feel fear.

(26) Some think she is Medea, because all kinds of herbs are found in her temple, from which the priestesses mostly make medicines which they distribute; and because no man may enter her temple on account of the wrong she suffered at the hands of her thankless husband Jason.

(27) In Greece she is called the Women's Goddess, of whom Varro tells us that she was the daughter of Faunus, and so modest that she never left the women's quarters, that her name was never heard in public, and that she never saw a man nor was seen by a man, for which reason no man enters her temple.

(28) This is also the reason why in Italy women are not allowed to take part in the rites of Hercules. For, when Hercules with Geryon's cattle was journeying over the fields of Italy, a woman, in reply to his request for water to quench his thirst, said that she was not allowed to give him any because it was the feast of the Women's Goddess and no man was permitted to taste of anything that was concerned with it. Hercules therefore, when he intended to institute a sacrifice, solemnly forbade women to be admitted, ordering Potitius and Pinarius who were in charge of the rites not to allow any woman to be present.

> (29) Behold how the occasion of discussing the name identifying Maia with Terra and Bona Dea, as said, urged us to relate all that is available about Bona Dea.

In chapter 12 of *Saturnalia* I, Praetextatus is the one who is invited to continue his learned exposé about the division of the year.[54] From the outset it is clear how much value is attached to the old Roman traditions. It was Romulus who arranged the year, and the first ancestors of the Roman people gave their names to the first two months of the year; March was named after Mars, April after Venus who, as we know, is said to have risen from the foam of the sea (ἀφρός).[55] The name of the month of May, too, goes back to traditions of oldest Rome.[56] Many sources are mentioned, but we should not allow ourselves to be misled by this; by the end of the Imperial Age with all its lexica, collections of anecdotes, and doxographies it was not thought necessary to study the original sources. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to make out which contribution is which in these borrowings from borrowings.[57]

The setting of Macrobius' symposium is Rome, symbol of the eternal Empire towards the close of Antiquity. Those who take part are the leaders of the aristocracy and of the sciences (also a kind of nobility). The Saturnalia, the counterpart of the Christian feast of Christmas, have been chosen as the date of the discussion.[58]

This is the last attempt to save the traditions of ancient Rome, which gives a certain complexion to the data. In the last line of the text quoted, the form *comperimus* is noticeable. The use of this verb, meaning *to collect data,* makes it clear that especially for this occasion the author studied the sources concerning the Bona Dea question, not merely indulging in what is generally known. Apparently it does not strike Praetextatus (i.e. Macrobius) as strange that he finds himself in a position to compare so large a number of goddesses with Bona Dea. The aim of Neo-Platonism—to find a divine principle, of which gods and goddesses are only facets—is certainly not alien to such endeavours to establish an assimilation. But Macrobius does not offer a conclusion of his own. Without expressing a preference, Macrobius enumerates the data from his sources side by side, shifting off the responsibility for the theories he puts forward to the sources he repeatedly refers to, whether he mentions these by name or not. Macrobius does not pass any criticism on the various stories, nor does he give any interpretation; and so we are much inclined to assume that, from his own experience, he does not know a thing about Bona Dea and her cult. But the survey is still interesting, though the whole story tells of an attempt to revive the traditions that have died. Just as in Augustus' days the aristocratic Bona Dea was thought to be suited to assist in reviving the old Roman traditional values, so she now, much later, seems to be playing the same part.

---

[54] See ch. II, note 467; see also Chastagnol, pp. 171-178, No. 69.

[55] I 12 5-15.

[56] I 12 16-19.

[57] Cf. Flamant, *Macrobe,* pp. 2-3.

[58] *Ibidem*, pp. 17-25.

It is a striking feature, of the greatest importance for the current subject, that in the same passage Macrobius presents *Bona Dea* as a title as well as an independent name. When Bona Dea is compared with Ops, Fauna, and Fatua it is certain that we are dealing with a proper name. In a previous passage, however, Macrobius contended that *Bona Dea* is the appellation under which a temple was dedicated to Maia on 1 May.

Secondly it strikes us that the intrinsic value of the formula is really understood (by Cornelius Labeo): the *Good* Goddess is the giver of the *good* things of the earth; the resemblance with the qualities of Ops and Fauna are obvious is this respect.[59]

Another point deserves attention: invariably Bona Dea is *compared* with other goddesses, and only in one instance is the name used as the title of another deity (after this usage Bona Dea's independence is again immediately brought out). In the identification Maia—Terra—Bona Dea none of these three is considered the central deity but all are described as equal. Macrobius' arguments in favour of Bona Dea's independence also contradict his earlier statement that *Bona Dea* is a title of Maia. Bona Dea is identical with Terra, which is clear from her (own) ritual; and she has the same independence as Ops, Fauna, or Fatua, all three of them definitely distinct conceptions. She has the power of Juno and that is why she carries the same attribute as that goddess, the royal sceptre. It is unthinkable that these goddesses should be considered one and the same; only their characters and their outward appearances are similar. Next Macrobius declares that his informants consider Bona Dea and Proserpine (Chthonian Hecate, Semele) identical, no distinction of importance being made in this case either.

The aetiological stories in which Bona Dea figures either as Fauna or as Medea are explicitly told on the basis of their αἰτίαι.

---

[59] For Fauna, see R. Peter, *Fauna* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1453-1454; W. Otto, *Faunus* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2054-2073, esp. 2073; J.-A. Hild, *Faunus* in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 1021-1024, esp. 1021 and 1022; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 216; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, p, 344 ("Fauna n'est guère qu'un nom, qui ne prend consistance que dans des légendes où, femme, fille ou sœur de Faunus, elle est passée dans le roman, et dans le roman hellénisant. Sous le vocable de Bona dea, elle reçoit en décembre un culte d'État, mais secret—strictement de femmes—haut en couleur, mais grec: c'est une Damia, importée sans doute de Tarente, et peut-être par un contresens, quand cette ville eut été conquise en 272"); Latte, *RR*, p. 229, note 1: Latte considers the origin of Bona Dea-Fauna and her myths the story of Egnatius Mecennius, who surprised his wife in the act of drinking wine and beat her to death (cf. F. Münzer, *Egnatius* (28) in *RE* V 2 (1905), coll. 1997-1998). For Ops, see G. Wissowa, *Ops* in *ML* III 1 (1897-1902), coll. 931-937; J.-A. Hild, *Ops* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 211-212; G. Rohde, *Ops* (3) in *RE* XVIII 1 (1939), coll. 749-758; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 203-204; Latte, *RR*, pp. 72-73.

Unfortunately, the present tense which is used in enumerating the temple rites, as a basis for the myths, hardly conveys anything of an answer to the question whether Macrobius' words also are applicable to his own time. For this exposition begins with a present tense: *Horum omnium haec proferuntur indicia* .... The same applies to the explanation of Bona Dea's title *The Women's Goddess* from the Hercules episode. Though the traditions may have been full of meaning to Macrobius, to his contemporaries they were, perhaps, mere folklore.[60]

Bona Dea's power of assimilation is very great. She is apt to adopt the name of the person or of the place she is supposed to protect. Sometimes her epithet is an indication of the illness against which her help is invoked or which she has cured. She also bears titles which adorn the names of other goddesses.[61] So it is no wonder that Macrobius avails himself of every attribute or other characteristic of goddess and cult he comes across in his sources to compare Bona Dea with other deities; unhesitatingly he then presents his readers with his findings. In this respect literary and epigraphic sources correspond to a great extent.

The definition of the goddess is an explicit example of a (deliberately?) vague appellation.[62] Nevertheless, it seems most likely that it was evident to anyone in Antiquity what special goddess was meant whenever the formula *Bona Dea* was used. True, in character and outward appearance she bears much resemblance to other goddesses—as is clear from inscriptions and literature—but a complete identification is the exception rather than the rule. Even Macrobius, who makes so many goddesses resemble Bona Dea, or conversely Bona Dea so many goddesses, mentions in every separate case one aspect they have in common: an attribute, a sacrificial animal—or in comparing her with Medea, knowledge of magic art—medicine.

Though Bona Dea's manifestations are large in number they have a limit: it is decidedly not true that any goddess can be represented as *a* Bona Dea—indeed the Bona Dea inscriptions are too few in number for this—nor can Bona Dea assume *any* quality or attribute of any given goddess. The literary sources in particular are very explicit on this point; and a direct study of the epigraphic information—i.e. to consider an inscription as an independent source of knowledge and not as a mere point of comparison for other data—is also very illuminating.[63]

---

[60] Cf. the Christian authors who deal with the subject, Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius (ch. II, Nos. 15, 18, 19).

[61] As *Felicula* she is Felix Asinianus' personal goddess; as *Galbilla* the tutelar goddess of the *horrea Galbiana*; as *Oclata* she concerns herself with eyesight; the title *Cereria* she shares with Mater Magna; *Regina Triumphalis* with Isis, and *Regina* with Juno; see epigraphical index.

[62] But cf. Marouzeau.

[63] Cf., e.g., ch. I, No. 31: in the studies of this inscription, predecessors and their mistakes are cited again and again by later scholars who have no personal acquaintance with the piece. This results in a continually wrong interpretation.

I make the following suggestion: although Bona Dea is not a name, the term is used as the definition of a particular goddess; as such it has the impact of a proper name.[64]

B) *The adjective bonus/bona*[65]

As already stated above Bona Dea strikes us as an outstanding example of an appellation expressing a very vague and, superficially rather meaningless idea.[66] The second part of the names of the gods, or mostly divine conceptions, which are defined by the adjective *bonus/bona,* does express a clear meaning—e.g. Bonus Eventus, Bona Fortuna, or Bona Mens. The appellation Bona Dea, on the other hand, would certainly be far from explicit if it had not been for the fact that her character can be deduced from her (other) epithets, from the comments on her name and character by the ancient writers, and from data found in epigraphic sources.

We may wonder whether the many aspects of the adjective have given rise to the goddess's many-sided character, or whether the variety of the goddess's capacities suggested such a many-sided, and consequently vague, appellation.

Bonus and *Bona* occur as epithets not only as a further definition of deities and divine conceptions. In Latin poetry they are also found as a descriptive adjective of mortals, and of that species that ranks between gods and men.[67] In the Bona Dea sphere, this use can be illustrated by means of two inscriptions.[68] In the above discussion of the "name" of the goddess, I already have referred to these dedications, one of which creates the impression of being addressed to Bona Dea, the other, however, seems to describe the deceased as *Dea Bona Pia.* The confusion arising from so close a connection of the name of a deceased woman and the title of a goddess tends to make us assume that in the second case some kind of "canonization" might be meant.[69]

---

[64] Cf. the analogous case of Mater Magna, not a name but a definition. Yet, it is immediately clear which goddess is meant. Cf. A. Rapp, *Kybele* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 1638-1672, esp. 1638: "Kein Eigenname bestimmte ursprünglich ihr allumfassendes Wesen; sie hiess schlechthin die "Grosse Göttin", die "Grosse Mutter", oder auch nur die "Mutter"." Thus in more modern times, the words Our Lady for a Roman Catholic stand only for the Virgin Mary.

[65] The adjective as part of the goddess's name has been compared to Picene and Umbrian *cupra* (cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 159: *nam cyprum Sabine bonum*); cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 216, note 5; Latte, *RR*, p. 60. For the etymology, cf. Walde, p. 94, Ernout-Meillet I, p. 73.

[66] Cf. also *Bonus Puer,* found without further elaboration in several inscriptions (*CIL* III 1131, 1134, 1137, from Apulum-Apta Julia, and VIII 2665, from Lambaesis-Tazzût; more often however, the formula is followed by Phosphorus or Azizus, names of the morning star; cf. H. Steuding, *Bonus Puer* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), col. 797. Thus in the North of England, Apollo was worshipped as *Deus Maponus* (*maponos* = Old Welsh *mapon* or *mabon, a boy, a male child*; cf. J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, London-Edinburgh, 1888 (= *The Hibbert Lectures* 1886), pp. 21-22).

[67] Cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 112. *Bonus/Bona* is also found as *cognomen*. And even a theophoric name may be concerned on a sepulchral monument from Mitrovitz (Sirmium), where the name Aurelia *Bona* is coupled with Restitutius *Silvanus* and Aurelius *Martius* (cf. the suggestion about Poblicia Cale, above, note 21), cf. Šašel No. 273; this *cognomen* may precede the *nomen*: *Bona* Titacia, cf. Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, p. 304.

[68] See ch. I, Nos. (47) and 43. In epitaphs, the adjective emphasizes often moral qualities of the deceased, cf., e.g., *EE* V 633 = *ILS* 858; *CIL* VI 1779 = *ILS* 1259. This moral sense of the word is clearly expressed when coupled with *integer,* cf., e.g., *CIL* III 8361 = *ILS* 1443; *CIL* VI 1700 = *ILS* 1249.

A survey of the meanings of the term *bonus* shows that this word offers as large a number of aspects as *good*[70] First of all, as an adjunct to nouns denoting persons it has the meaning *good = morally good*, and may be compared with Greek καλὸς κἀγαθός; a *vir bonus* is a man who is morally good, an honest man, a man of good standing in the community. This meaning leads to the use of *boni* (sometimes *homines boni*) for the "better classes of society".[71] With nouns denoting persons in regard to their functions, offices, occupations, and qualities, the adjective expresses *excellence.*

With nouns denoting things, *bonus* is used with things concrete to express excellence: *bonum caelum*: *good temperature*; *bonum solum*: *good soil.* With things astract the word refers to well-being, physical and of mind and soul. It may also be a definition of external, artistic, and literary value and usefulness, resulting in translations such as *favourable, prosperous, lucky, fortunate.*

Another meaning is *good = large, considerable*; *good = noble, of good family, of noble extraction, of honourable birth.*

Referring to goodwill, kindness, faithfulness, *bonus* is used in certain phrases, such as *bona venia* (ablative): *with the kind permission* (of the person addressed); *bona pax*: *without quarrelling*: *bona amicitia*: *faithful, undisturbed friendship.* In particular phrases the word is used in a very comprehensive sense.[72]

As an epithet of the gods *Bonus* shows great similarity to *Optimus.*[73] We come across Bonus Mercurius beside the very frequent Jupiter Optimus (Maximus).[74] Besides this use of *Bonus* as a further definition of the proper name of a deity, the adjective is also found as *part* of the name of a god, such as Bona Dea, or, more often, as part of the name of a deified idea, such as Bona Spes, Bona Mens, or Bonae Tempestates.[75]

---

[69] See above, note 21, and cf. Weinstock, *Divius Julius*, pp. 248-249 (*Pietas*); Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 140.

[70] Cf. Lewis and Short, pp. 243-247, *s.v.*

[71] Cf. *optimas* (*optimates*), *ibidem*, p. 246; cf. also Liddell and Scott, p. 869, *s.v.* καλοκἄγαθός, p. 870, *s.v.* καλός III, p. 4, *s.v.* ἀγαθός. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 137.

[72] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 244 (B 1) and p. 245 (B 1 k and C).

[73] *Optimas = bonus vir* (see above, note 71); cf. also Marouzeau.

[74] *Bonus Mercurius,* cf. Carter, *Epitheta,* p. 68; *Jupiter Optimus,* cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 53; Marouzeau.

[75] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Spes* in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 1295-1297; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 329-331; J.-A. Hild, *Spes* ('Ελπίς) in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 1430-1431; K. Latte, *Spes* in *RE* III A 2 (1929), coll. 1634-1636; R. Peter, *Mens* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 2798-2800, esp. 2798; Wissowa,

A study of the use of the word in the Bona Dea sphere and an analysis on the basis of the general data as regards the meaning of the adjective will serve to deepen insight into the value which the worshipper in Antiquity attached to the formula Bona Dea.

I already referred to the possibility of Cicero's deliberate use of *Bona Dea* and *boni* in the same context, the writer describing the better classes of society as *boni*.[76] A translation of Bona Dea as "The Respectable Goddess" would certainly not be correct but it does not seem unlikely that in connection with *boni* Cicero perhaps recognizes in her a protectress of good morals.

In the epithet *Laudanda*, used by Lygdamus in place of *Bona* to define the goddess, it does not seem difficult to recognize a moral quality: *laudanda*: *laudable*.[77] Plutarch's translation of *Bona* by Ἀγαθή tends to show that also in Greek the moral quality in the Latin adjective was appreciated.[78] By saying that Faunus' daughter excelled in *pudicitia* and (therefore) was called Bona Dea, Tertullian makes it clear that he, too, was aware of this moral quality in *Bona*.[79] In his play on words *Bona (Dea)—melior* (though the goddess was called *Good* she was *better* at drinking wine) Arnobius emphasizes the meaning *good = excelling in something*. But we may wonder whether the author perceived *Bona* by itself to have a similar purport. We had perhaps better pay attention to the play on words than to a possible interpretation of the goddess's character. We might assume: "she was not (morally) good for she indulged in excessive wine drinking".[80] Like Tertullian, Lactantius tells us that she owed her name to her *pudicitia*, which does accentuate the moral aspect.[81] With Servius we find an analogous meaning.[82]

Good = well disposed is the obvious meaning when the expressions used in connection with her festival, *pro populo, pro salute populi Romani*, ὑπὲρ τοῦ

RKR, pp. 313-315, esp. 313; J.-A. Hild, *Mens* in *DA* III-II (1918), p. 1720; E. Marbach, *Mens* in *RE* XV 1 (1931), coll. 936-937; H. Steuding, *Tempestates* in *ML* V (1916-1924), coll. 360-361; C. Koch, *Tempestates* in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 479-480; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 578; Latte, *RR*, p. 438. Cf. further, e.g., *Bonus Eventus*: F. Robiou, *Bonus Eventus* in *DA* I-I (1877), p. 737; G. Wissowa, *Bonus Eventus* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 795-797; E. Aust, *Bonus Eventus* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 715-716; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 267; A. Von Domaszewski, *Bonus Eventus* in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 24, pp. 73-79 (= *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1909, XII, pp. 121-128). *Bona Fortuna*: cf. R. Peter, *Fors* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1500-1503; *Fortuna, ibidem*, coll. 1503-1549; W. F. Otto, *Fortuna* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 12-42; J.-A. Hild, *Fortuna*, Τύχη in *DA* II-II (1918), pp. 1264-1277; Latte, *RR*, p. 182.

[76] See above, note 10.

[77] See ch. II, No. *31*; cf. also Arnobius' definition of the goddess: *melior et laudabilior* (*vini potu*); ch. II, No. *61*.

[78] See ch. II, Nos. *45, 46, 49*; cf. Liddell and Scott, p. 4, *s.v.*

[79] See ch. II, No. *57*.

[80] *Ibidem*, No. *61*.

[81] *Ibidem*, No. *63*.

[82] *Ibidem*, No. *66*.

δήμου, need further explanation.[83] Cicero interprets this quality of the goddess in a personal way saying that Bona Dea is so well disposed towards Clodius as to forgive him his unheard-of crime.[84] This interpretation of *Bona* is clearly worded by Macrobius in his exposition of the name of the goddess: she is invoked "as Good because she is the source of all that is good for the maintenance of our life".[85] The use of the term by Ovid when describing the site of the Bona Dea temple has been referred to above: *pars bona montis.* The play on words—as with Lactantius—is more important: that part of the hill that is dedicated to *Bona* Dea is *bona.* The purport of the term deserves attention in the second place only. *Bona* meaning *magna* is not the obvious solution here, certainly not in a quantitative sense, at most in a qualitative sense.[86] An interpretation *good=favourable* seems more acceptable, the more so as the site is still further defined by the information that it was here Remus consulted the *auspicia.* Doubtless he chose this spot since he expected a favourable result because of its situation.[87]

Little, or rather not theoretical at all, as these documents are, the epigraphic sources only then come to our aid for an interpretation of the value of *Bona* when this adjective is further elucidated by the addition of another epithet or when the text of the inscription refers to a special quality of the goddess. It looks as if Calpurnia's dedication to the goddess aims at presenting as extensive a survey of the goddess's qualities as possible.[88] An epithet primarily relevant in this context is *Conservatrix = She who preserves.*[89] A comparison suggests itself with the protective qualities of the goddess as apparent from the formula *pro populo* in the literary sources. Another title which Bona Dea bears in the dedication by Calpurnia, *Potens mentium bonarum et remediorum,* might exemplify such aspects of *Bona* as express mental well-being and physical health. This capacity of the goddess, namely her manifestation as a deity of medicine, is also apparent from four other inscriptions, one of which is dedicated to her *pro salute*;[90] the second expresses gratitude *pro salute reciperata.*[91] The dedications *Deae Bonae Valetudini Sanctae*[92] and *Bonae Deae Hygiae*[93], referred to above in a different context, also serve as examples of this manifestation of the goddess.

---

[83] *Ibidem,* Nos. *1, 2, 8, 10, 16, 17, 25* (Cicero), *42* (Seneca), *52* (Juvenal), *58* (Dio Cassius).

[84] *Ibidem,* No. *12.*

[85] *Ibidem,* No. *67* (cf. also "Faunam quod omni usui animantium favet").

[86] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 245 (*bonus* B 2 g): *Good = large, considerable*; C 8.

[87] See ch. II, No. *35*; cf. ch. II, note 274.

[88] Ch. I, No. 127.

[89] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 430, *s.v.*

[90] Ch. I, No. 90; cf. also Weinstock, *Divius Julius*, pp. 167-174; 219.

[91] Ch. I, No. 138'.

[92] Ch. I, No. 141.

[93] Ch. I, No. 21.

The epithets *Sancta* and *Sanctissima* given the goddess in three instances are of so general a nature that they convey hardly anything of the special qualities which distinguish Bona Dea from other deities.[94] Perhaps it is going too far to assume that they could have been felt as an additional illustration of the moral aspects of *Bona*, even though these aspects are no doubt identifiable in *sanctus* as well. The epithet *Pia* that is elsewhere joined to the name of the goddess—whether the name refers to the goddess herself or to the deceased—might sooner point that way.[95]

Obsequens, on the other hand, is again a word that has an illuminating effect on the meaning of *Bona* in Bona Dea. As far as this title is concerned (*She who is well-disposed* it means) it may be compared with the dedications *Auribus* (of the goddess) which also seem to be intended to express the favourable disposition Bona Dea is believed to show by her worshippers.[96] This willingness to help people also seems to be read in the formula *adiutorio eius*, found in a dedication to celebrate the completion of the building of an aqueduct.[97] As to this dedication, one may wonder what the point of departure had been: was the goddess invoked here in a general quality of a giver of help, or did she actually give help as she happened to be the goddess of the site where the building activities were going on? This latter supposition is credible because it becomes apparent from the rest of the text of the dedication that there was already a Bona Dea sanctuary in that place which is restored as a thanks-offering on the occasion. This, however, does not imply that the former possibility can be ruled out.

Finally, the epithet *Opifera,* in an inscription from Ostia,[98] very clearly emphasizes the meaning of *Bona* as aid-bringing.

Just as *bonus* in an expression such as *bonum solum = good soil* implies the conception of fertility, so the same quality seems to be peculiar to the goddess. In this case, too, the accompanying epithets are helpful. *Nutrix* is a clear instance.[99] *Agrestis Felicula* might define her as a goddess of the fertility of the fields, with the restrictive circumstance that the dedicant is called *Felix* and this man in *Felicula* above all wanted to portray the goddess as his personal patroness. Whether the intrinsic value of *felix* plays a part is questionable. However, there still is *Agrestis* as an indication of the goddess's supposed influence on fertility of the fields.[100] *Sevina* is a locally-confined title of the goddess, in the past interpreted as *The goddess of the sowing-seed* (?).[101] In this connection, Cereria does not seem to present any difficulties of interpretation.[102]

---

[94] Ch. I, Nos. 19, 70, 141.

[95] Ch. I, No. (47), cf. above, notes 68 and 69.

[96] Ch. I, Nos. (117), 131, 133,

[97] Ch. I, No. 70.

[98] Ch. I, No. 60; cf. Von Sydow, pp. 394-395.

[99] Ch. I, No. 22.

[100] Ch. I, No. 44.

[101] Ch. I, No. 74.

After this (brief) exposition of the various values which can be appreciated in the adjective *bonus* and which, as is apparent from explanations by ancient writers and the illustrative epithets in the inscriptions, were actually felt as being diverse, we should nevertheless realize that even those who worshipped the goddess in Antiquity did not read anything else into the appellation but *Bona Dea*: *(The) Good Goddess.* Nowadays we are not very exact in appreciating a neutral word in a specific context; we do not ask ourselves whenever using the word *good* what its exact value is (e.g. *a good fire, good family, a good teacher, good news, good health, a good time*); no more exact was the reader in Antiquity when he saw the word *bonus.* The few times that he was are exceptional and are connected with theoretical speculations by some scholar. As a general rule people read the mere formula *Bona Dea*: *(The) Good Goddess.*

C) *The epithets*

In the preceding section many an epithet was already instanced in illustration of *Bona*, whereas now the epithets will (briefly) be discussed as independent data. Yet, even if one endeavours to classify the elements of the question as distinctly as possible, precise limits can hardly be set. An analysis of the adjective as part of the appellation of the goddess elucidates the essence of her name, but the meaning of *Bona* still remains too vague to answer the question: Who is Bona Dea?

As has been established above, the literary sources shed direct light on the appellation Bona Dea, contrary to the epigraphic data, which need analysing further to offer information about the goddess's nature when her name is found without any specifying epithet. Things are different when epithets are added to her name. Yet, even then, it should be emphasized that, just as the meanings of *Bona* show great variety, the other epithets also are very diverse. To all appearance the flexibility of the primary epithet has given rise to a nomenclature of the goddess of no less flexible a nature; the secondary epithets were formed on the strength of the interpretation which, dependent upon time and place affecting the personal feelings, was attached to *Bona* in Bona Dea.

In order to understand what the epithets have to tell us, we must consult epigraphic rather than literary sources. This is not surprising since theoretical speculations are brought forward in literature about a goddess who, it may be supposed, is known by everyone, whereas in the majority of the examples epigraphic sources indicate a personal worship and, consequently, a personal interpretation of the goddess's qualities. Unquestionably Bona Dea Galbilla of Rome is as much Bona Dea as Bona Dea Castrensis of Aquileia, yet the manner in which she manifests herself and the function and capacities for which she is invoked are undoubtedly different.

---

[102] Ch. I, No. 112.

The use of the formula Bona Dea demonstrates that a particular goddess is meant who, in her vagueness, is generally accepted, whereas the epithets show which of the capacities of this goddess the worshipper wants to emphasize. The epigraphic documents are not only of great help because of the frequency of an epithet attached to the goddess's name; they are also helpful because of the circumstance that in these sources the name often occurs not by itself in a theoretical context but accompanied by the names of other deities. This has as exemplifying a value as a further definition of the goddess in the form of an epithet. For example, Bona Dea is invoked together with Silvanus and Diana on an altar found in the Baths of Caracalla.[103] From this two different conclusions may be drawn: the worshipper appreciated a bond between these three deities, and therefore invoked them together for some favour they could grant as a group because they had a capacity in common; or, perhaps, several deities were worshipped on the site of the monument so that when Bona Dea, being a local goddess, was invoked the other local deities were included in the dedication, or Bona Dea in dedications to other local gods. Even if the latter interpretation is preferred we should remember that deities worshipped in the same place resemble each other.

Such a relation to another deity may also be deduced from an epithet of the goddess when she is mentioned without the other deity, as may be illustrated by Bona Dea Cereria of Aquileia.[104] In the first place it is self-evident that this epithet credits the goddess with qualities of Ceres. Secondly, Bona Dea shares this title with Mater Magna Cereria, thus titled in another dedication from Aquileia. The epithet is not found elsewhere. Their bearing the same title and being worshipped in the same town enlightens us about the relation between Bona Dea and Mater Magna supposed to exist by their worshippers and the common capacities ascribed to these goddesses.[105]

The circumstance that Bona Dea bears the title of *Agrestis* within the walls of Rome is very significant.[106] It indicates that she can claim this capacity as her own and that the epithet is not determined by local conditions. With this title one would rather expect her to be worshipped in the country and the conclusion would be obvious. But here Bona Dea appears as a patroness of the fields in general, without a thought being given to a situation then and there implying such patronage. Even if Felix, the dedicant of this monument, is to have brought the goddess from the country as his personal patroness, it is apparent from her title in town that the qualities of a rural deity have not been forgotten. It is no less relevant that in the same inscription the goddess seems (the name is not in full) to be invoked as *Felicula.*[107] This dedication seems to contradict everything said about the goddess in the literary sources. When we bear in mind that there Bona Dea is most emphatically and repeatedly referred to as the *Women's Goddess,* that men are most religiously barred from her sphere, then the man Felix is a strange phenomenon (however far from unique as a male worshipper of the goddess). No less explicit are the literary data when emphasizing the aristocratic character of the Bona Dea cult. The fact that Felix is a *servus publicus,* indeed, hardly corresponds with that information.

---

[103] Ch. I, No. 8.

[104] Ch. I, No. 112.

[105] *CIL* V 796; cf. also Brouwer.

[106] Ch. I, No. 44.

Quite different data are to be drawn from the sharing of Bona Dea's nomenclature with Isis. When then the goddess, as appears from an inscription, is offered the same presents as Isis and when elsewhere a Bona Dea worshipper is named Isia, a picture of a relation Bona Dea-Isis becomes apparent.[108]

The epithets, always in combination with any other possible information to be drawn from the text of the inscription, are essential in helping to elucidate the following points:

(a) In the first place they supply information about specific traits in Bona Dea's character, something literary sources also give useful information about, be it in a way different from mentioning epithets.

(b) Secondly they reveal the relation between the goddess and a specific place. In literary sources we only find data about this where Bona Dea's association with the Aventine is concerned—that is when we leave out of account Cicero's record of a Bona Dea cult near Bovillae, which, of course, need not be a locally-defined worship.[109]

(c) Thirdly, there are epithets that tell us something about the ties between the goddess and her worshipper. Also on this point a comparison with the literature can be made: Cicero suggests—be it ironically—a special tie between Bona Dea and Clodius.[110]

(d) Fourthly, there is the relation revealed by them between Bona Dea and other deities. A parallel in literary sources are particularly Macrobius' very informative speculations.[111]

---

[107] The reading is not quite certain, but cf. *ILS* 3513: "Fortasse: Feliculae, ut nomen Felix indiderit Bonae deae a nomine suo."

[108] Ch. I, No. 69 (cf. *CIL* XIV 2215), No. 16.

[109] See ch. II, No. *24.*

[110] Ch. II, Nos. *6* ("iste sacerdos Bonae Deae") and *20* ("populari illi sacerdoti") put an additional emphasis on No. *12* ("At quae dea est? Bonam esse oportet, quoniam quidem est abs te dedicata!").

The various epithets will be considered in detail in their own contexts. Suffice it for the moment to say that Bona Dea without her epithets would be *The* (*A*) *Good Goddess*, without the possibility of defining what *Good* in this formula implies.

---

[111] Ch. II, No. *67*.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WORSHIPPERS

In various literary fields Bona Dea and her cult were discussed in Antiquity. With one author the elucidation of the goddess's nature fits in with a political argument (Cicero). For the mythographer she is interesting enough as to be described in an episode of his poetry (Propertius). Terms used in her ritual are no longer understood and give the grammarian occasion to discuss her (Festus and his successors). For the Greek interested in Roman antiquities an explanation of the phenomenon Bona Dea is essential (Plutarch). Rules of her cult give the moralist an opportunity to describe the corruption of morals in his days (Juvenal). Her exclusiveness is the subject of instructions to wife and lover (Tibullus, Lygdamus, Ovid). In late Antiquity she is either a paragon of old-Roman tradition (Macrobius) or an objectionable element of paganism (Lactantius, Arnobius, Tertullian). Although the aims of the various writers are different, as may be clear from what has been said above, in the literary sources five points are frequently emphasized as characteristic of the Bona Dea cult.

The worship of the goddess is a state affair, which is apparent from the expressions used to define her ritual: *publicis religionibus, populare sacrum, publica ... sacra, publicas caerimonias.*[1] The goddess's feasts are annually listed in the official calendar.[2] They are celebrated for the people: *pro populo,* ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου,[3] for the welfare of the Roman people: *pro salute populi Romani.*[4] The house of the magistrate *cum imperio*, either Consul or Praetor, is the place appointed for the celebration of the rites. Yet it is not the representative of the Roman State himself but his wife (or his mother) who conducts the ceremonies.[5]

---

[1] Ch. II, Nos. *7* (*Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia*), *44* (Martial), *51* (Juvenal), *53* (Suetonius); but cf. also Festus and Paulus Diaconus (Nos. *55* and *71*), who state: "Damium sacrificium quod fiebat in operto in honore Deae Bonae; dictum a contrarietate quod minime esset δαμόσιον, id est publicum."

[2] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 576 (*Natales templorum*); Latte, *RR*, p. 437 (*Natales templorum*), p. 444 (*Andere religiöse Feiern*).

[3] See ch. III, note 83; for the formula itself, cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 398-402.

[4] Ch. I, No. *16* (Cicero).

[5] "... fit in ea domo quae est in imperio" (Cicero, see ch. II, No. *17*; for the concept *imperium*, see Mommsen, *RS* I, pp. 44-50; J. Toutain, *Imperium* in *DA* III-I (1900), pp. 418-423; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 405; A. Rosenberg, *Imperium* in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 1201-1211; Wagenvoort, *Imperium*, especially pp. 60-72; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Imperium* in *OCD,* p. 451; J. Bleicken, *Imperium* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 1381-1383. Cf. ch. II, Nos. *46* (Plutarch) and *59* (Dio Cassius). Cicero was Consul when the Bona Dea feast was celebrated in his house; cf. ch. II, Nos. *46* and *47* (Plutarch), Gelzer, *Cicero*, p. 96; Caesar was Praetor at the time of the Clodius scandal

Bona Dea is called the *Women's Goddess,* Γυναικεία Θεός, Θεὸς Γυναικεία, *Feminarum Dea.*[6] In the myths concerning her she eschews meeting men; and modesty towards the male sex appears to be her most typical quality. Her worshippers imitate her example in this respect when observing her rites.[7] From the ceremonies in honour of the goddess, celebrated in secret and by night,[8] not only men are barred—indeed the master of the house spends the night of the festival elsewhere—[9] but also all things male are excluded and representations of anything male are to be covered.[10]

---

in his house; cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, pp. 53-54. The fact that Caesar, in addition to the praetorship, held the office of Pontifex Maximus was the reason why the rites were celebrated in the *domus publica*, but the celebration in that place did not depend upon Caesar's priesthood. Yet, it was this coincidence which offered Cicero the opportunity to attach an extra accent of disgrace to Clodius' intrusion; see ch. II, Nos. *11* and *14*, Lenaghan, p. 62. Proculeia's husband was Praetor when the feast was being organized; ch. II, No. *44* (Martial). From Plutarch's *Life of Caesar* X (= ch. II, No. *49*) it is evident that when a man is discovered among the women who are celebrating the feast Aurelia, Caesar's mother, orders the ritual to be stopped and the sacred objects to be covered. Whether one is to infer from this that in fact it was Aurelia, not Caesar's wife Pompeia, who was in charge is uncertain. One would imagine that Pompeia would hardly have felt inclined to undertake anything from the moment when her "lover" was discovered. In IX Plutarch had already explained that Aurelia closely watched her daughter-in-law all the time, and that indeed it was for this reason that Clodius seized the opportunity to visit Pompeia during this special night. Here lack of initiative therefore is not strange. Cf. also Terentia's attitude at the celebration in Cicero's house (Plutarch; ch. II, No. *47*).

[6] Ch. II, Nos. *32* (Propertius), *45, 46, 49* (Plutarch), *67* (Macrobius).

[7] Ch. II, Nos. *57* (Tertullian) and *67* (Macrobius). Cf. the story of thirsty Hercules who asks the (female) worshippers of the goddess for water. They refuse to give him any since a man is not admitted to the celebration: ch. II, Nos. *32* (Propertius) and *67* (Macrobius).

[8] *Nocturna sacrificia* ch. II, No. *25*; Cicero); *nota Bonae secreta Deae (No. 51*; Juvenal).

[9] Wen the feast was celebrated at Cicero's house he himself spent the night at the house of a neighbour (ch. II, No. *46*; Plutarch); nor was Caesar at home when Clodius entered during the night of the ceremonies (No. *49*; Plutarch).

[10] Cicero asks Clodius whether he has ever heard of one of his forebears, people, no doubt, concerned with religious matters both of a private and a public nature, having participated in the Bona Dea ritual. Cicero also refers to the penalty for witnessing the mysteries, blindness: Clodius has been struck with mental blindness: (ch. II, No. *11*). The crime itself, i.e. the participation in the rites by a man, is called *incestus* or *incestum* (No. *14*; Cicero; cf. Lenaghan, pp. 61-62); Nos. *15* and *17*: "... aut quod oculos, ut opinio illius religionis est, non perdidisti"; *18* and *19*, Lenaghan, pp. 75-76; *2* and *22* (all, Cicero); *30* (Tibullus); *31* (Lygdamus); *32* (Propertius): Tiresias' punishment for having seen Pallas bathing is a warning to Hercules; *33* (Ovid): a woman who cannot boast beautiful hair is advised to have it dressed in Bona Dea's temple where she cannot be observed by any man; *34* (Ovid): a woman in love is instructed how to escape from her guards. How ineffective the guard appears to be when she chooses to go to forbidden places: "cum fuget a templis oculos Bona Diva virorum, / praeterquam siquos illa venire iubet"; *35* (Ovid); *42* (Seneca); *45, 48, 49* (Plutarch): Clodius, disguised as a female harper, succeeds in entering Caesar's house; *51* (Juvenal): "penem / maiorem, quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatones, / illuc, testiculi sibi conscius unde fugit mus, / intulerit, ubi velari pictura iubetur / quaecumque alterius sexus imitata figuras"; *59* (Dio Cassius); *67* (Macrobius): Macrobius proposes as the reason why men are forbidden to enter the goddess's temple, her identification with Medea, who was wronged by her husband Jason. The chastity of Bona Dea, whose name was never heard in public and who had never seen a man nor had been seen by any man. is cited as another reason to exclude men; *56* (Festus): *religiosus* means, among other things, to act against the will of the gods, e.g. "in aedem Bonae Deae virum introire."

The exclusively aristocratic character of the cult is apparent from the rule that only the *noblissimae feminae* and the Vestal Virgins are considered worthy to attend the nocturnal mysteries in honour of Bona Dea.[11]

The mysterious nature of the cult, only known to those initiated, is demonstrated by the terminology used to define the ritual: the sacrifice is made *in operto,*[12] it is named a *sacrificium occultum* and is offered *incredibili caerimonia.*[13] If the term *mysteria* really relates to the rites in honour of Bona Dea, then from three letters by Cicero, inquiring about the date of the *mysteria*, it may be concluded that this term also gives some information about the nature of the cult.[14] The story told by Propertius to explain why no women have access to the ritual initiated by Hercules at the Ara Maxima has for its principal theme the exclusion of men from the Bona Dea cult, as is apparent from the episode with the description of the hero meeting the worshippers of the *Women's Goddess.* Yet, from the terminology used, it is clear that the mysterious character aims not soleley at excluding men; this is merely one of several mysterious aspects. When Hercules approaches he hears *inclusas puellas* laugh; a grove encloses the site of the sacred ceremony, and the site itself is referred to as *loca clausa, devia limina; fores* close the entrance to the *lucus*, and a *ianua clausa* is mentioned.[15] The expression *in operto* is recognized in *opertanea sacra*, as Pliny calls the goddess's ritual.[16] Plutarch defines the festival as τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀθέατον ἀνδράσι θυσίαν;[17] and Juvenal speaks of the goddess's *secreta.*[18] One wonders what to make of the explanation found with Festus. In his interpretation of the word *damium*, i.e.

---

[11] Clodius is asked by Cicero whether he is so mad as to think that the gods cannot be propitiated, "nisi etiam *muliebribus* religionibus implicuisses" (ch. II, No. *11*). *Mulieres* detect Clodius' guise (No. *18*). Clodius is called "illa furia, <ille fur> *muliebrium* religionum" (No. *22*). Those who had caught Clodius were *noblissimae feminae* (No. *23*), and the rites themselves "nocturna *mulierum* sacrificia" (No. *25*). In the *Scholia Bobiensia* on Cicero's *In Clodium et Curionem* (No. *7*) the participants are called *matronae honestissimae*. In Propertius' narrative (No. *32*), the Bona Dea priestess says to Hercules: "Di tibi dent alios fontis: haec lympha *puellis* / avia secreti limitis una fluit." When referring to the participants Plutarch continually uses the word γυναῖκες (Nos. *45, 46, 47, 48, 49*). Juvenal (No. *50*) says that at the perserve Bona Dea feast (*more sinistro*) no *femina* is allowed to enter; he calls the participants in the regular rites *dominae* and *feminae* (No. *51*). Arnobius (No. *62*) speaks of *mulieres,* as does Macrobius (No. *67*), who also refers to them as *feminae*; cf. also Gagé, *Matronalia* pp. 100-153 (*Ordo Matronarum*). For the participation of the Vestal Virgins, cf. Nos. *2, 17* (Cicero), *46, 47* (Plutarch), *58, 59* (Dio Cassius); for exclusively female ritual, cf. Farnell; Gagé, *Matronalia*, pp. 13-24 (A survey of female ritual in Rome).

[12] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *4, 8, 28* (Cicero), *40* (Asconius), *42* (Seneca), *55* (Festus), *63* (Lactantius), *68* (Ps.-Placidus), *71* (Paulus Diaconus).

[13] Cf. ch. II, No. *17* (Cicero).

[14] Cf. ch. II, Nos. (*26*), (*27*), (*29*) (Cicero).

[15] Cf. ch. II, No. *32.*

[16] Cf. ch. II, No. *43.*

[17] Cf. ch. II, No. *48*; cf. also *46*: ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις.

[18] Cf. ch. II, No. *51.*

the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea, made *in operto*, Festus tells us that it was so called because its meaning was the very opposite, or least of all δαμόσιον.[19] According to Lactantius the festival takes place *in operto* in imitation of Bona Dea's *pudicitia* which prevented her from appearing in public.[20] Cornelius Labeo, whose remark is to be found with Macrobius, declares that *ex ipso ritu occultiore sacrorum* it may be concluded that Bona Dea and Terra are identical.[21]

The fifth and final point is that the cult is described as genuinely Roman and is reputedly associated with Rome as of old. Cicero does not know of a sacrifice as old as this, one that was given to the Romans by the Kings together with their city.[22]

This cult—part of the State religion, aristocratic, intended exclusively for women of that class, mysteries ancient and genuinely Roman in nature since the days of the Kings—concerns the Bona Dea who (still according to literary sources) was worshipped in Rome. There is nothing to be found in these sources about a worship outside Rome, except for some brief remarks which indicate that it did exist. It may be considered coincidental that Cicero refers to a Bona Dea sanctuary outside Rome. If Clodius had not met his death close to this shrine on an estate near Bovillae, and Cicero had not taken this excellent opportunity to define the murder as a punishment by the gods, we would never have heard of this Bona Dea sanctuary.[23] Lactantius writes about offerings barred to men—thus no doubt referring to the Bona Dea cult—and he tells us that they occurred *Romae et in plerisque urbibus*. This is helpful but it does not tell us anything about the goddess's cult *in plerisque urbibus* itself.[24]

These theories found in literary texts are not at all supported by data from archaeological and epigraphic sources. Indeed, this category of documentation is abundantly available as regards Rome but does not bear upon the official cult as described in the literature but upon quite different manifestations of religious feelings about Bona Dea. Outside Rome the situation is quite the reverse. Here data for the official aspect of the goddess and her cult are found in epigraphic sources. This does not apply to numerous places; here and there, however, we find that local authorities in their official capacity occupied themselves with the Bona Dea cult. And this is not the only discrepancy between the data obtained from literature and from the practice as evoked by the inscriptions.

---

[19] Cf. ch. II, No. *55*; in ancient literature more of these so-called *etymologiae ex contrario* are to be found.

[20] Cf. ch. II, No. *63*.

[21] Cf. ch. II, No. *67*.

[22] "Etenim quod sacrificium tam *vestustum* est quam hoc quod a regibus aequale huius urbis accepimus?" (ch. II, No. *17*; cf. also Nos. *16* and *51*: *ritus veteres*; Juvenal).

[23] Cf. ch. II, No. *24*; cf. also No. *38* (Asconius).

[24] Cf. ch. II, No. *64*.

The worship of the goddess is found in official and private spheres alike, from which it appears that the association with the State does not preclude manifestations of a personal nature. The aristocratic character of the cult, so much emphasized in literature, is not confirmed by the other available data. Slaves and freedmen make up a greater percentage of the worshippers than the nobility (and more than the *plebs ingenua*).[25]

Nor is the exclusion of men, one of the most important themes in the literary theories about Bona Dea and her cult, borne out by the inscriptions. The number of men mentioned within the context of Bona Dea worship in the inscriptions is definitely less than that of the women who are known as worshippers of the goddess; but a series of dedications was nevertheless erected by men. It is necessary in these cases, however, to distinguish between such dedications as were made by men in an official capacity and such as disclose personal worship. Only in the latter case is sex an element of the knowledge of the practical observance of the cult; with official dedications only men are to be expected as dedicants because, generally, they were the holders of public office.[26]

The mysterious nature of the Bona Dea worship as it appears from the texts has no counterpart in other sources which might give information. Nothing in the inscriptions suggests that worship of the goddess was shrouded in mystery. It is possible to form a reasonably clear picture of the religious institutions associated with Bona Dea. The inscriptions are explicit about the existence of cult organizations devoting themselves to the worship of the goddess; also the hierarchy of the governing committee of such organizations is known.[27] Dedicatory inscriptions and epitaphs mention priestesses—on one occasion (?) a priest—of the goddess;[28] and the enumeration of cult objects presents a picture of the way in which the rites are performed.[29] In short, both the ministers of the religion and what is used during the ritual are referred to openly. Possibly indicative of the exclusiveness emphasized in the literature, however, is the plan and the arrangement of the sanctuaries of the goddess. Such a temple complex does not resemble the detached buildings of the usual type but is a centre enclosed by a wall. This points to the exclusion of the uninitiated.[30]

---

[25] Cf. in this context the remark by Duff, *Freedmen*, pp. 129-130: "In the province of religious worship, freedmen were excluded from the College of the Augurs and from priesthoods of old Roman deities except that of *Bona Dea.* Though the Roman of the early Empire had not much faith in his ancient gods, he did not tolerate a foreign freedman offering sacrifice to the divine protectors of Rome. But he could not with reason prevent him becoming priest to those of his alien deities whom the State recognized. Freedmen could attain to the the priesthoods of the Great Mother, Isis, Mithras, or any of the external gods in whose introduction into Rome thay had been so largely instrumental. Thus freedmen were priests not only to the *Bona Dea*, but also to Cybele, the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, and to Mithras, the Persian lord of light; while in addition a number of inscriptions refer to freedmen, but do not specify the deities whom they served."

[26] Sometimes in their capacity of member of a municipal council, e.g. at Tergeste and Aquileia. Yet, dedications of a personal nature are not exceptional, ranging from the thanksgiving for the recovery from illness to invoking the protection of the goddess for property or organizations in which the dedicants are involved (see below, the lists of worshippers).

[27] See below, G.

[28] The boy Aurelius Antonius certainly is priest of, among others, Bona Dea, cf. D 3, No. *29*; in the case of Claudius Philadespotus, one may wonder, cf. D 1, No. *3*. For priestesses, cf. below.

Finally, as regards the great age of the cult and its purely Roman character we may also have our doubts, particularly where practical worship as disclosed by the inscriptions is concerned. As to the date we should realize that our sources are relatively recent. In literature Cicero provides us with the earliest information; and the first inscription concerning Bona Dea also dates from the 1st century B.C.

Also the genuinely Roman nature of goddess and cult is often contradicted by her epithets, which in many a case do not suggest Roman origin at all, and also by the foreign names of a large number of her worshippers, indicative of their foreign origin.[31]

---

[29] As to this, only a few literary sources are a help; cf. especially Plutarch's and Macrobius' descriptions (ch. II, Nos. *45, 46, 47, 49,* and *67*).

[30] See below, ch. VII.

[31] It is often very difficult to establish the nationalities of slaves and freedmen. When unmistakably Eastern names are found, such as Zmaragdus or Isia, the conclusion is obvious. Geographical names such as Italia or Picentina are not very problematic either. The Greek names of slaves and freedmen, however, are more of a problem. A study of the inscriptions relative to slaves and freedmen in Rome shows that 70% of this group had Greek names. Cf. T. Frank, *Race Mixture in the Roman Empire* in *The American Historial Review* XXI (1916), pp. 689-708. An examination of 500 names of Imperial freedmen shows that 353 of them had Greek and 147 Latin names. In Latium the percentage was 64, in Southern Italy 53, in Gallia Cisalpina 46. Cf. Duff, *Freedmen*, p. 3. So the number of slaves with a Greek name easily constitutes a majority though war in the East was relatively rare. Duff's hypothesis is that they were descended from slaves of the Republican age and that in this class the birthrate was higher than is generally assumed. In the provinces of the East, slave "breeding" was a widely spread trade and also in Italy slaves were encouraged to have children. Cf. Duff, pp. 3-4; La Piana. However, Greek names are most certainly not always an indication of Greek origin: 1/3 of the Imperial Guards had Greek names, though they were of German extraction; cf. *CIL* VI 4337-4345 and 8802-8810, *ILS* 1717-1723. Also slaves from the Spanish and Gallic countries had Greek names. Cf. Bang, Duff, p. 5, note 2; La Piana, p. 190. Slave traders, mostly Greeks, would give their slaves Greek names without consideration of their origin. Buyers mostly retained these names. It is also worth remembering that slaves from the East were thought more suitable for domestic tasks than those from the West, who mostly ended up in the *familia rustica*, a category whose inscriptions are by far in the minority when compared to those of the other group, the *familia urbana.* Cf. Duff, pp. 5-7. The reverse, however, must not be overlooked, and it is probable that Greek no less than other foreign slaves were liable to be given Latin names by their new, Latin, masters. A further difficulty is that since Alexander's conquests Greek names were already widely spread throughout the East. Cf. Duff, pp. 8-9; La Piana, *l.c.* See also Chantraine; H. Solin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom* I, Helsinki-Helsingfors, 1971 (= *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 48); *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Auctarium—Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch,* ed. H. Solin (1981).

When comparing literary and epigraphic data, one wonders why authors stress those very points which are not at all supported by what we know of the practice of the cult. It can be imagined that in later times, when Paganism and Christianity are at war, tradition in a pagan cult—whether corresponding with the practice of the moment, or not—is over-emphasized as a means of defence against the attacks of the, more recent, opponent. In this context we should merely remember Macrobius. Yet, the emphasis on the traditional values of the cult is found in writings throughout the period for which we have texts. At an earlier stage, an enforced defence against Christianity must be ruled out, but we may ask ourselves what the impact was of the stream of other religions that at other times made their appearance in the Roman Empire.

When the earliest literary source, Cicero, is compared with the earliest epigraphic data the discrepancy between the two categories of information appears already to be such as to suggest that a defence of tradition against new religious trends is considered necessary.

Only eight inscriptions may, with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, be assigned to the 1st century B.C. Older epigraphic data are not available. As these inscriptions concerning the date more or less correspond with Cicero's writings they may be used as a basis for a comparison between theory (Cicero) and practice in the earliest times for which we have information concerning Bona Dea.

Three of the inscriptions come from Rome;[32] one comes from Ostia;[33] another—only provisionally assignable to the time of the Republic—comes from Minturno;[34] one was found at Prezza near Sulmona (Sulmo in the country of the Paeligni); [35] one is from Pesaro;[36] and, finally, one comes from the North of Italy, from Staranzaro (although this one , as the example from Minturno, cannot be dated positively as Republican).[37]

The three Roman inscriptions, which first of all would qualify for a comparison with the literature (describing, as we know, Roman conditions), would contradict immediately some of the main points of the theory about Bona Dea. The first (ch. I, No. 13) is a dedication erected by a man (and a slave, moreover) who gives thanks to Bona Dea *Oclata*, and who, to judge from the epithet, recovered from an eye-disease. The second (No. 15) is an inscription on a marble altar which records that the person in question (again a man) who had made a vow to the goddess when a slave, now—as a freedman—has fulfilled it (does he owe his manumission to the goddess ?). The third instance (No. 28) was erected by a woman. It is given to Bona Dea by a freedwoman and so not by an aristocratic lady. Besides, the gift is bestowed upon the goddess for one Hermes so that, again, a man is found in the Bona Dea sphere. All in all, these data which, as regards time and place, are nearest to the oldest literary documentation do not show any similarity to the picture of the Bona Dea cult in the light of Cicero's information. The three dedicants belong to the class of freedmen and slaves; in addition two of them are men. Also the further contents of the three inscriptions do not at all correspond with the theory: with Cicero—and with others[38]—Bona Dea is found as a goddess who strikes blind the man who witnesses her ritual.[39] Thus the goddess has something to do with the eyes; and it need not seem strange to us that this also makes her a deity capable of curing eye-diseases because the tendency to assign both a favourable and an unfavourable side to divine power is a common phenomenon (cf. Apollo as healer and killer). What is remarkable, however, is that in the theory we only find the one aspect (the goddess punishing people with blindness); in the practice we find the other (the goddess curing eye-diseases). A combination of the two aspects is nowhere to be found.

---

[32] Ch. I, Nos. 13, 15, 28.

[33] Ch. I, No. 63.

[34] Ch. I, No. 76.

[35] Ch. I, No. 89.

[36] Ch. I, No. 96.

[37] Ch. I, No. 124'.

Neither is there to be found in Cicero's works a Bona Dea who acts as the slaves' special patroness and who, in this capacity, effects their manumission (*if* we may infer this capacity from No. 15 above). On the contrary, from all Cicero's statements it can be concluded that to him Bona Dea is the protectress of the Roman State, as represented by the nobility.

The earliest inscription relating to Bona Dea altogether corresponds, as far as the date is concerned, with the period during which Cicero wrote about the goddess. The woman, Octavia, who informs us in the inscription of a dedication she made to Bona Dea belongs to the same class as Cicero.[40] Unfortunately, the analogy ceases here, except that from the mention of a portico in the text of the inscription we can draw our conclusions about the form of the sanctuary; the seclusion, frequently emphasized in literary sources, is confirmed here. The circumstance that the inscription comes from Ostia (No. 63) and the dedicant, in all probability, brought herself "her" cult of the goddess from Forum Clodi[41] is a welcome addition to the literary data which, as stated before, are confined to the city of Rome. Although there is no question here of an inscription belonging to the State cult of the goddess, this dedication by the noble Octavia, nevertheless, helps us to understand Lactantius' remark *et in plerisque urbibus.*[42]

---

[38] See above, note 10.

[39] Blindness as a penalty is also known in connection with Vesta; cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 274; cf. also Tiresias and Pallas Athena in Propertius' narrative (ch. II, No. *32*).

[40] Cf. ch. I, *ad* No. 63, and below, A, No. *3*; Cébeillac, pp. 521-530.

[41] Cf. Cébeillac, pp. 529-530.

As to the inscription from Minturno (Minturnae; No. 76), we may have our doubts about its date as Republican; the form of the letters, however, makes it acceptable. In this case the dedicant is again a man, this time belonging to the *plebs ingenua*. No conclusion is to be drawn from the data in the text as we are only told about a dedication to Bona Dea by C. Valerius Martialis, son of Gaius.[43] It is interesting to note, however, that again the dedicant is a man.

The theory is really confirmed for the first time by the text of the dedication of a Bona Dea sanctuary at Prezza, near Sulmo (No. 89). It proves the existence of the official cult at some distance from Rome, at the time Cicero so often refers to it. That the people mentioned are men does not imply an exception to the theory since a public dedication is concerned here, made (of course) by a male administrative college.

From Pesaro (Pisaurum; No. 86) comes the dedication by one Fannia, daughter of L. Nasuleius. The text does not offer any information other than that we are dealing with a freeborn woman who gives a present to Bona Dea.

Finally, one more inscription, from the northernmost part of the country, belongs to this series (No. 124'). Yet this dedication, more or less contemporaneous with Cicero's works, also provides us with scarcely any helpful information. The dedicant is a freedwoman and the goddess is apparently so well-known in that part of the country that the abbreviation *B. D.* suffices to designate her.

In conclusion we may say that in this series of instances from the practical observance of the Bona Dea cult, as far as Rome is concerned, we only come across data which contradict the theory. In the other cases negative data either outnumber the positive ones, or the two categories are at best equal, so that a uniform picture of the worship of the goddess in the 1st century B.C. can hardly be formed. The official cult as described by Cicero also existed in practice in his days. This is clear, but the deviations from the basic pattern are apparently so manifold that in this short series of inscriptions several of the major points in the theory of the cult are already contradicted.

From Cicero's information it may be inferred that in his opinion Bona Dea stands for tradition. One may wonder why he has chosen this deity of all deities to serve as a support in his defence of everything that must not be touched in the Roman State and religion. An answer to this question is perhaps to be found in the bond which Cicero himself (?) created with the goddess. Cicero's information is of a very personal nature and his frequent references to the goddess and to particulars of her cult are to be traced back to events he witnessed from nearby. Clearly the indignation he voiced about a violation of the traditions is anything but abstractly religious in character.

---

[42] Ch. II, No. *64*.

[43] It may be relevant to the relation Bona Dea—Silvanus that a dedication, made by the same C. Valerius Martialis to the latter deity is known; *CIL* X 5999 = *ILS* 3519: Silvano / sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) / Martialis.

When, during his consulship, Cicero is compelled to fight his first great battle for the preservation of the traditional values, Bona Dea manifests herself as the goddess who confirms the correctness of his action. During the night of the crisis the Bona Dea festival is being celebrated in the Consul's house. From the cold embers on the altar a flame suddenly flares up. The omen is immediately interpreted as a divine approval of Cicero's attitude towards the conspirators. Afterwards, in his epic *De Consulatu Meo* Cicero tells us about this divine fiat for his unlawful and arbitrary (in the eyes of many contemporaries) elimination of Catiline's supporters. He is the only source in this matter for later authors.[44] It must be admitted that this token of divine approval appeared at the most convenient moment for Cicero, particularly in view of the amount of criticism of his mode of action afterwards. This does not imply that no "miracle" took place during this particular night, but one wonders whether Cicero's contemporaries attached the same value as he did himself to this miracle, one which came in very handy for him.

Not much later a second opportunity presents itself for Cicero to introduce Bona Dea as his personal patroness. In December 62 B.C., P. Clodius Pulcher enters Caesar's house, where that year the Bona Dea festival is being celebrated. It is said to have been Clodius' intention to seize this opportunity—not a very suitable one indeed—to visit his mistress Pompeia, Caesar's wife.[45] His entry creates a scandal and leads to a trial at which Cicero appears as a witness for the prosecution. Clodius is acquitted, but the basis of the great enmity between Cicero and Clodius is laid.[46] It is remarkable how personal Cicero's attitude is in this matter and how Bona Dea continues to play a role in the forthcoming struggle with Clodius. It is indeed a remarkable coincidence—though not for Cicero—that ten years later Clodius meets his death close by a Bona Dea sanctuary. Cicero's exultation at this *pugna Bovillana*[47] not only testifies to feelings of relief which are easily imagined but also to a sentiment of "justice at last". The goddess has punished Clodius for his misconduct towards the misunderstood statesman.

---

[44] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *47* (Plutarch) and *58* (Dio Cassius); cf. also for the phenomenon of the sudden flare-up, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 20-21 (p. 21, note 5).

[45] Plutarch (ch. II, No. *49*), in explanation of this, says that Clodius, because of his youth, thought that he would pass for a girl (in fact in 62 B.C., he is 29 or 30 years) and that the feast of Bona Dea was the occasion to escape Aurelia, Caesar's mother. Cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 31-32 (cf. also pp. 276-281); Gallini.

[46] As a matter of fact, as late as 44 B.C. Cicero writes to Antony (*Ad Atticum* XIV xiiib): "I clashed with P. Clodius when I was championing the public cause and he his own. And the State decided the merits of our controversy. If he were alive now there would no longer be any quarrel between us."

[47] *Ad Atticum* V xiii 1; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 248, *s.v.* (a wordplay: *bovillus* = *bubulus*?); of course it is for Cicero fortunate that Bovillae is the place where the Alba Longa tradition is continued. It is the centre of the *ancient* cult and it is perhaps not surprising that the Bona Dea worship is found here; cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 5-7.

So three facts give Cicero an opportunity to show that his struggle to preserve the established order is supported by Heaven. His action against Catiline is approved of by a miracle. Indeed it looks as if it was a present from the gods that Clodius in so hazardous an enterprise showed his feelings (in this connection it hardly matters whether these feelings were his love of Caesar's wife, or his endeavours to break a taboo which was not consistent with his political image, or simply to affirm his rights as a patrician—which he still was at the time). Anyhow he gave Cicero a handle against him. The assassination of Clodius *before the very eyes*[48] of the goddess whom he had so greatly offended crowns Cicero's endeavours. In each case it is Bona Dea who appears as Cicero's protectress in his struggle for the preservation of the established order. That it concerns such a struggle is accentuated by Cicero's including in his attack on Clodius the story of Licinia, the Vestal who had attempted to bring about modifications in the Bona Dea cult.[49]

From Cicero's own words conclusions may be drawn about his true religious feelings;[50] his unremitting zeal to preserve all things traditional in the Roman State, and therefore in Roman religion, in evident from his behaviour throughout his life.

Thus, the bond accidentally (?) created between Bona Dea and Cicero is a splendid starting-point for the statesman to show his endeavours as endorsed by the gods to his contemporaries, but it does not carry enough conviction. Bona Dea herself must possess qualities to make her *the* exponent of Roman tradition.

An indication that these qualities are discoverable in the goddess's character can be inferred from Cicero's own words, already quoted above in a different context.[51]

In 56 B.C. there is an earthquake on the *Ager Latiniensis.* The *haruspices* are invited to come forward with an interpretation of this bad omen. Their verdict is, among other things, that sacred sites have been desecrated. Clodius seizes this opportunity to launch an attack on Cicero: in rebuilding his house on the Palatine on his return from exile Cicero had desecrated the site where a sanctuary of Libertas had been erected during his absence. In his oration, *De Haruspicum Responsis* Cicero, however, manages to refute Clodius' arguments and is vindicated. The *haruspices'* response stated that *Ancient and secret rites have been celebrated with too little devotion and have been violated.* To this Cicero answers with the words (ch. II, No. *17*):

---

[48] "Ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam" (ch. II, No. *23*).

[49] Ch. II, No. *13*; see A, No. 2.

[50] Cf. *Ad Familiares* XIV iv 1, where he writes to Terentia: "... my desire is to see you as soon as possible and to die in your arms, since neither the gods, whom *you* have so virtuously worshipped, nor the men, whom *I* have always served, have shown us any gratitude."

[51] Ch. II, No. *17*.

> "... For what sacrifice is as old as this that we have inherited from the Kings together with this town? Or, what so secret as this that excludes not only prying eyes but also eyes that may see it by chance, and where not only shamelessness but also inadvertence are denied admittance. And most assuredly, throughout history, no one before P. Clodius ever desecrated this sacrifice, no one ever attended it, no one disregarded it, no man ever ventured to behold it; a sacrifice that is made by the Vestal Virgins, is made for the Roman people, is made in the house of the highest magistrate, is made with extraordinary ceremonial, is made to that goddess whose name even must not be known by men, and whom this person therefore calls the "Good Goddess" because he thinks she has forgiven him so great a crime".

When we consider this enumeration it would appear that Bona Dea possesses all the qualities which make her a goddess who, together with Cicero, is capable of championing the preservation of Roman tradition. That she is better suited for this than the other Roman deities is certainly connected in the first place with the fact that those "more generally known" are shared with other peoples. Even though, for example, Jupiter may be Roman, his Greek counterpart Zeus shows to many similarities to be made the prototype of a genuinely Roman deity. In the second place, the exclusiveness of the goddess within the Roman religion will undoubtedly have played a part. She is the nobility's goddess and consequently in Cicero's eyes stands for everything that is to be preserved.

Personal and political feelings are thus expressed under the cloak of religious indignation. In this connection it hardly matters to what extent the traditional Roman religion was affected by the influx of foreign creeds, since such an attack was only part of the great attack on the Roman tradition in general; all this through Cicero's eyes. And it is equally through Cicero that Bona Dea's identification with the traditional Roman values becomes a new tradition which was to find its way as a commonplace into Latin literature after him. Similarly Clodius becomes the prototype of everything that clashes with these traditional values.

However, it would have been impossible for Cicero to introduce to his contemporaries this goddess, the official protectress of the established order, as his personal patroness if Bona Dea did not show character traits to justify such an interpretation. That Bona Dea's character actually offered this possibility is proved in the first place by the long series of dedications from which she emerges as such. Also a remark by Cicero himself seems to point to this. In his *De Haruspicum Responsis* Cicero says in the fragment quoted above that Clodius calls the goddess the *Good One* because she has forgiven him the insult to her.[52] Cicero himself creates here a relationship of a personal nature between goddess and Clodius, however ironical he may have intended his words to be. By blaming Clodius for thinking that the gods could not sufficiently be propitiated unless he personally occupied himself with the exclusively female ritual[53] Cicero projected his own conviction—that the goddess is his personal ally—onto his enemy.

Though the concept of Bona Dea as an exponent of Roman tradition is traceable throughout the whole of subsequent Latin literature[54] the personal element appears to have survived in the practice of the religion rather than in the theory. To all appearances Livia, Augustus's wife, also considers Bona Dea her personal patroness, but the sources present insufficient information for us to draw straight conclusions in this case.[55] Knowing that Livia originally belonged to the *gens Claudia*, and bearing in mind the first Claudia in the Bona Dea context, and remembering the Clodius episode as well, one should not be surprised at such a relation. Yet, however attractive such a hypothesis, the information we possess does not allow us to presume a relation Bona Dea—Livia to be so definitely established as the relation Bona Dea—Cicero.[56]

Bearing these data in mind we may say that though Cicero is the one to create an image of Bona Dea as a *locus communis*—the exponent of Roman tradition—an interpretation as a personal goddess does not depend on him. Indeed, it is evident from epigraphic sources that this interpretation already existed in Cicero's days.

How, then, are these traits in the goddess's character reflected in her worshippers? As behind the name of Bona Dea a great variety of qualities may be suspected, so the aspects of the goddess are equally numerous. Their reflections in the cult (and consequently in the worshippers) are no less varied. People of every social class express their feelings of worship or gratitude. These expressions may be arranged in four categories which, in the worship of the goddess, manifest themselves clearly and consequently elucidate the pattern of the cult. However, this does not mean that in the chosen scheme the boundaries are not vague occasionally, nor that every aspect of the goddess and her cult can be put in one division of the system on the understanding that the same aspect is not to be found in other parts of the scheme. Indeed, it is inevitable that someone who worshipped Bona Dea as a personal goddess was also familiar with her status as official deity. Cicero especially emphasized the official character of the State goddess Bona Dea in order to wield it as a political weapon. Under the Empire Imperial politics were hardly distinguishable from general State policy, so that in view of her title Bona Dea *Augusta* can be no other than the State goddess. It is Bona Dea's very prestige, based on her official status, which Christian authors use to incorporate attacks upon her and her worshippers in their polemics.

---

[52] Ch. II, No. *12*.

[53] Ch. II, No. *11*.

[54] Propertius describes her rites as already practised in the days when Hercules wandered through Italy (ch. II, No. *32*); Ovid connects the site of her temple with Remus and its origin with the *vetus nomen* of the Claudii (*35*); Plutarch lists her myths in the oldest "history" of Latium (*45, 49*); Juvenal refers to *ritus veteres (51)*; to Arnobius Bona Dea belongs to the ancient Latin tradition (*61*), and so she does to Lactantius (*63, 65*) to Servius (*66*), to Macrobius (*67*), to Martianus Capella (*68*), and, finally, to Isidore (*70*).

[55] Cf. Brouwer, pp. 148-154.

[56] Only two facts are irrefutable: the episode in Ovid's *Fasti* (ch. II, No. *35*) and the celebration of her birthday by the women of the *vicus ad Bonam Deam* (Forum Clodi; ch. I, No. 101). Cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 384 (cf. also the index, pp. 437-438 (*Livia*) for Livia's relations with religion).

Just as the various aspects—official, personal, political, religious-political—cannot be arranged wholly schematically, so where status is concerned the worshippers of the goddess cannot be put in a single category for each social class. However, in order to have a better insight into this religion, and especially in view of the diverse nature of the expressions of religious feelings, it seems opportune to start with a strict arrangement, otherwise a survey would be almost impossible. Therefore, this part of the study will be a schematical arrangement of the worshippers. They will not be introduced in order of importance but, within their class, in chronological order. Thus a vertical and a horizontal cross-section, side by side, may be effected. Consequently the importance of the cult in the various classes and periods may be followed.

The arrangement is as follows:

A) *The worshippers of the Senatorial Order, and those who are members of local governments*[57]
B) *The worshippers of the Equestrian Order*
C) *The worshippers belonging to the* plebs ingenua
D) *Freedmen*
    1. Imperial freedmen
    2. Public freedmen, freedmen of a public body
    3. Freedmen of private people
E) *Slaves*
    1. Imperial slaves
    2. Public slaves, slaves of a public body
    3. Slaves of private people
F) *Under-slaves*[58]
G) *Anonymous worshippers*

---

[57] It is usually impossible to establish the class of the members of local governments within the Roman hierarchy. However, as they constitute the first class in their own town, it seems to be appropriate to discuss the senatorial order and the local *nobilitas* under one head.

[58] In order to have a consistent survey a separate section is devoted to the *servus vicarius*, this, juridically, strange institution of Roman law.

A) *The worshippers of the Senatorial Order, and those who are members of local governments*

When considering the list of Bona Dea worshippers belonging to the first class two questions at once arise. Why is the list such a short one whereas in literary sources the Bona Dea cult is depicted as exclusively belonging to this class of Roman society? Why are the people found in the list mentioned?

Thanks to literary sources we are informed that the annual celebration of the Bona Dea feast was held at the house of the magistrate *cum imperio* and that it was the noble women of Rome who celebrated the feast. Therefore, it seems rather strange that only two such celebrations have come down to us as historical facts. One is inclined to conclude that the official feast in honour of Bona Dea at the house of the highest magistrate apparently formed such a fundamental part of religious practice that only extraordinary circumstances were to be mentioned. Thus, we may consider it a coincidence that we know the participants of two feasts. For, in the first instance, fortuitous circumstances are responsible for information we have about two of the long series of Bona Dea festivals that, doubtless, year after year were celebrated in Rome.

It concerns the celebration during Cicero's consulship, in 63 B.C., at his house, when the miracle happens which leads to the confirmation of his role as protector of the Roman State. It is this confirmation which prevents the feast passing into oblivion. Cicero himself hands down the miracle and, consequently, the celebration to posterity. The next year Caesar's residence is the scene of the celebration of the feast in honour of Bona Dea. That year Caesar is Praetor; the fact that the religious feast is celebrated in his house has nothing to do with his pontificate but with the *imperium* inherent in his praetorship. Nevertheless, Cicero does use the datum that Caesar is Pontifex Maximus in order to emphasize once more the sanctity of the feast, thus the baseness of Clodius' act. For it is Clodius' intrusion into Caesar's house during the night of the festival that led to the event having been handed down. In this case, too, Cicero is our first source.

The participants in those celebrations are not to be described as particular devotees of the goddess, but merely as accidental representatives of the large group of *nobilissimae feminae* who, year after year, must have attended the rites in honour of Bona Dea.

Besides the first group—the historically established participants in the ritual—there is known another number of devotees of the Senatorial class. Martial and Juvenal mention some women in connection with the celebration of the Bona Dea ceremonies. The satirical context, however, makes their names, though probably not their characters, historically unreliable. Unlike Cicero, who speaks as the religiously motivated politician, Martial and Juvenal present themselves as moralists.

Martial finds an opportunity in the great expense which, *inter alia*, the Bona Dea festival entails upon her husband, who is Praetor, to console one Proculeia for her divorce. Because of the praetorship of Proculeia's husband and the datum of the divorce one is tempted to think of another divorce in the Bona Dea sphere, that of Caesar (Praetor at the time) and Pompeia after the Clodius scandal, and to ask oneself whether Martial refers to this historical fact, still famous in his days and afterwards,[59] or to a contemporary event.

In one of Juvenal's descriptions of the Bona Dea feast, which is depicted as comprising merry festivities with music, wine, and sexual debauchery, two of the participants are mentioned by name. Among the merry-making *dominae* there are Saufeia and Medullina. The former challenges the brothel girls to compete with her, the prize being a wreath, which she wins with her swinging hips. But, she herself has to admire Medullina's swaying thighs. The ladies' virtuosity equals their birth and they share the palm of victory. After an elated description of the excesses Juvenal then laments that the ancient rites and State ceremonies had not been spared these evils, and refers at once to Clodius' intrusion into Caesar's house. Juvenal intended to depict, with Saufeia—a name he elsewhere also uses for a devotee of Bona Dea—and Medullina, women of his own days, and with the debauched feast the degeneration of morals in his days; but the mention of Clodius in the context is relevant. "Which altars do not have their Clodius nowadays", the poet wonders.

A second group of worshippers of the goddess belonging to the first class is thus introduced, but their role as a source for knowledge of the Bona Dea cult is minimal. We cannot even discern what is contemporary in the descriptions and what is borrowed from the chronique scandaleuse of bygone days. However, the fact that the poets referred to contemporary scandals and types doubtless made their works much more amusing reading for the people of their time, and we may assume that not mere history is concerned in the descriptions of the Bona Dea feast.[60]

---

[59] But cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 405: "Weder an die Priesterschaft noch an die niedere Magistratur übertragen worden, sondern mit dem magistratischen *imperium* in Verbindung geblieben ist die Ausrichtung der ältesten Spiele des *graecus ritus*, der Ludi Apollinares, sowie die Ausübung einiger weiterer Jahresakte griechischer Observanz, so die Darbringung des Herculesopfers an der Ara maxima, die Leitung der Ageerprozession und—durch Vermittlung der Gattin des Magistrates—der Nachfeier der Bona Dea; nur ist hier überall, wenn nicht durchweg rechtlich, so doch tatsächlich an die Stelle der durch ihre Tätigkeit oft von Rom ferngehaltenen Consuln der Träger des niederen *imperium*, der Praetor urbanus, getreten, dessen ständige Anwesenheit in Rom die regelmässige Ausübung solcher wiederkehrender und an den Tag gebundener Akte ermöglichte; im Anschlusse daran ist in der Kaiserzeit die Praetur die spielgebende Magistratur schlechthin geworden." However, there are two facts which dissuade us from accepting this rule without exception: Cicero was *consul* in the year of the Bona Dea celebration in his house (63 B.C.); the date of the nocturnal feast in honour of the goddess was annually intercalated anew.

[60] Ch. II, No. *51*; cf. also No. *50*, where Juvenal describes the ritual *more sinistro*.

Other members of the Senatorial Order mentioned in literary sources as Bona Dea devotees are scarce, however much these same sources emphasize that it implies a cult of the highest social class: Livia, Augustus' wife, is mentioned as the one to restore the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine, and Hadrian (in all probability) in the same quality, both as successors of the foundress of that temple, Claudia, a more or less mythical figure. The Vestal Licinia we know from Cicero as an example for Clodius where the strict rules of the cult are concerned.

The fourth category of this class we know from epigraphic sources. It comprises few participants, however, as the greater part of the religious expressions found in the inscriptions refer to aspects of the cult which differ from the official celebration.

Altogether the number of believers mentioned by name in the sources and belonging to the first class is not greater than 26, including the women referred to by Martial and Juvenal under a pseudonym. They are:[61]

1 Claudia—2nd half of the 3rd century B.C.—(patrician) nobility—granddaughter of Ap. Claudius Caecus and daughter of P. Claudius Pulcher, *cos.* 249 B.C.—called Claudia Quinta—Vestal—she dedicated the Bona Dea temple under the *Saxum*.
Rome

Source: Ovid, *Fasti* V 155-156 (=ch. II, No. *35*).

2 Licinia—123 B.C.— (plebeian) nobility—daughter of C. Licinius Crassus, Tribune of the People 145 B.C.—Vestal—she dedicated an altar, a shrine, and a couch of the gods to Bona Dea, under the *Saxum*.
Rome

Source: Cicero, *De Domo Sua* LIII 136-137 (=ch. II, No. *13*).

3 OCTAVIA—between 85 B.C. and the Caesarian epoch—belonging to the house of the Octavii Ligures, notables of Forum Clodi—wife of P. Lucilius Gamala—she dedicated: *portic(um) poliend(am)—sedeilia faciun(da)—culina(m) tegend(am)* in honour of Bona Dea.
Ostia

Source: Cébeillac (=ch. I, No. 63).

4 Terentia—63 B.C.—(plebeian) nobility—wife of Cicero—she was in charge of the Bona Dea ceremonies in Cicero's house.
Rome

Source: Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* XX (=ch. II, No. *47*).

---

[61] The names from the epigraphic sources are in capitals, those from the literary sources in small letters.

5 Aurelia—62 B.C.—(plebeian) nobility—daughter of L. Aurelius Cotta, *cos.* 119 B.C., wife of C. Julius Caesar, Praetor *ca.* 92 B.C., mother of the Dictator—she was (in all probability) in charge of the Bona Dea ceremonies in Caesar's house.
Rome

Sources: *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia,* Hildebrandt, pp. 19-29; Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* XVIII; *Life of Caesar* IX-X; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* LXXIV 4 (=ch. II, Nos. *8, 48, 49, 54*).

Julia—62 B.C.—(patrician) nobility—daughter of C. Julius Caesar, Praetor *ca.* 92 B.C., and of Aurelia; younger sister of the Dictator; wife of M. Atius Balbus—was present at the Bona Dea ceremonies in Caesar's house.
Rome

Sources: *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia,* Hildebrandt, pp. 19-29; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* LXXIV 4 (=ch. II, Nos. *8, 54*).

Pompeia—62 B.C.—(plebeian) nobility—daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, *cos.* 88 B.C., and of Mucia, Sulla's daughter; Caesar's second wife (till 61 B.C.)—she was present (or perhaps was in charge) at the Bona Dea ceremonies in Caesar's house.
Rome

Sources: *Scholia in Ciceronis Orationes Bobiensia,* Hildebrandt, pp. 19-29; Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* XXVIII; *Life of Caesar* IX-X; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* VI 3; LXXIV 4 (=ch. II, Nos. *8, 48, 49, 53, 54*).

6 L. STATIUS CHILO—son of Cnaeus
L. PETTIUS PANSA—son of Caius
C. PETTIUS GEMELLUS—son of Vibius
L. TATTIUS COXSA—son of Titus
2nd half of the 1st century B.C.,—*Magistri* of Laverna (?)—they were responsible for the construction of *murum caementicium—portam—porticum—templum* of Bona Dea.
Laverna (?)—Prezza near Sulmona

Source: *CIL* I^2 1793 (=1279)=*CIL* IX 3138 (=ch. I, No. 89).

7 FAUSTUS BARBONIUS—Augustan (?)—*quatuorvir* of Aquileia—he dedicated an *aedes*, built with the money of the freedwoman Tyche, to Bona Dea (see D 3, *3*).
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 761=*ILS* 3499=Calderini No. 4 (=ch. I, No. 112).

8 Livia—Augustan—Empress—daughter of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus; wife of Augustus—afterwards named Julia Augusta—she restored the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine.
Rome

Source: Ovid, *Fasti* V 157-158 (=ch. I, No. *35*).

9 SULPICIA SEVERA MAIOR—1st century of the Empire, probably Augustan—(patrician) nobility—she presented Bona Dea with an *aedes cum signo.*
Rome

Source: Cumont, *Bona Dea* (= ch. I, No. 3).

10 CALPURNIA—(early) 1st century A.D.—(plebeian) nobility—daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso Augur, *cos.* 1 B.C.—she dedicated an altar to Bona Dea.
Cissa—Časka (island of Pag. Dalmatia)

Source: *AE* 1964, p. 111, No. 270 = Šašel, No. 260 (= ch. I, No. 127).

(*11*) L. APISIUS—son of Titus
L. ARRUNTIUS—son of Lucius
Early 1st. century A.D.—*Duoviri* of Tergeste—they were responsible for the building of a temple.
Tergeste-Trieste

Source: *II* X 4, 3 (= ch. I, No. (124)).

12 M. MAECILIUS FURR ...—early Julio-Claudian—son of Marcus—*Duovir* of Ostia—he had a Bona Dea temple built.
Ostia

Sources: *NS* 1942, p. 163 = *AE* 1946, No. 221 = ZEVI, *Brevi note ostiensi,* p. 84, p. 85, fig. 1 = *AE* 1968, No. 80; *CIL* XIV 5411 = ZEVI, *Brevi note ostiensi*, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 2; *CIL* XIV 4679 = ZEVI, *Brevi note ostiensi*, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 3; ZEVI *Brevi note ostiensi*, pp. 84-86, p. 85, fig. 4; ZEVI, *Brevi note ostiensi,* pp. 86-87, p. 85, fig. 5 (= ch. I, Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59).

13 M. VETTIUS BOLANUS—Neronian—(patrician) nobility—*cos. suff.* A.D. 66—he had a small shrine dedicated to Bona Dea restored.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 65 = *ILS* 3500 (= ch. I, No. 10).

14 Proculeia—A.D. 98—fictitious name of the wife of the Praetor in whose house the Bona Dea feast was celebrated.
Rome

Source: Martial X xli (= ch. II, No. *44*).

15 Medullina—after A.D. 115—fictitious name of a participant in the Bona Dea festival.
Rome

Source: Juvenal II vi 322 (= ch. II, No. *51*).

16 Saufeia—after A.D. 115—fictitious name of a participant in the Bona Dea festival.
Rome

Source: Juvenal II vi 320 and III ix 117 (= ch. II, Nos. *51, 52*).

17 Hadrian—Emperor A.D. 117-138—he restored the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine (?).
Rome

Source: *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* Aelius Spartianus, *De Vita Hadriani* XIX 11 (=ch. II, No. *60*).

18 PETRONIUS JUSTUS—after A.D. 232-235—*legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Numidia—he dedicated an altar to Bona Dea.
Lambaesis-Lambèse, Tazzût

Source: *AE* 1960, p. 34, No. 107 (=ch. I, No. 138').

19 L. CASSIUS RESTUTUS—A.D. 235—*ex decurione veteranus* and *flamen perpetuus* of Auzia—he built and dedicated a temple to Bona Dea and gave it to the community.

CLODIA LUCIOSA—wife of L. Cassius Restutus—she took part in the building etc.
Auzia—Aumale (or Gorfa Uled Selama)

Source: *EE* V 1299=*CIL* VIII 20.747 (=ch. I, No. 141).

B) *The worshippers of the Equestrian Order*

Only three members of this class are found in the sources as Bona Dea worshippers. In the first place this small number may be attributed to the circumstance that the members of the Equestrian Order, unlike those of the first class, do not appear as dedicants in an official capacity. In the second place identification is more difficult and is to be based upon secondary information. Thus, for example, T. Sertius Gallus' rank (see below) may be inferred only from the adjectives which Cicero uses when mentioning him.

Two of the three worshippers are men: the owner of an estate near Rome, on whose land there was a Bona Dea sanctuary, and a soldier abroad, who owes his rank to his career. The only woman of this short series belongs to the Equestrian Order through her husband, who as *primipilaris* had been admitted to the *ordo equester*. Only in the case of Gallus, the sole devotee of this order to be found in literary sources, may we assume that he belongs to the genuine, old Equestrian Order of the membership of which Ovid, for example, is very proud.[62]

---

[62] Cf. P. A. Brunt, *Die Equites in der späten Republik* in *Zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der späten römischen Republik,* herausgegeben von H. Schneider, Darmstadt, 1976 (= *Wege der Forschung,* Band CCCCXIII), pp. 175-213 (=P. A. Brunt, *The Equites in the Late Republic,* Second International Conference of Economic History, Aix-en-Provence, 1962, Vol. 1, *Trade and Politics in the Ancient World,* pp. 117-149); see for the style of the *equites,* C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.),* Paris, 1974 (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* fasc. 207), tome 1 (*Définitions juridiques et structures sociales*) , pp. 213-241 (*L'expression du prestige*); for Ovid, see ch. II, note 236.

The information we can incorporate in the Bona Dea study through these three worshippers is very relevant, thanks to their diversity.

The circumstance that Cicero refers to T. Sertius Gallus with his full titles, *honestus et ornatus (adulescens),* is an indication that he thinks him important enough to bestow his rightful honour upon him. One asks the question was this man so important, or was he present at Milo's trial? Anyway by emphasizing Gallus' rank Cicero also emphasizes the importance of a Bona Dea sanctuary standing on his estate. Since Cicero presents the goddess here as the punisher of the public enemy, Clodius, we may assume that "Cicero's Bona Dea" is meant, the official goddess and protectress of tradition. On the other hand, it is true that the sanctuary of the goddess apparently stands on private land and is therefore a private shrine. The conclusion must be that Cicero does not, or does not want to draw a distinction between the State goddess and the goddess as she was worshipped by individuals. This is in sharp contrast to Cicero's mention of the dedication by Licinia which, as we know, was condemned and cancelled for the very reason that it was of a private nature.[63] Does Cicero adapt himself here to the circumstances, or was his disapproval of Licinia's act connected with the fact that her dedication had been made in Rome, close by the goddess's official centre on the Aventine, and that a sanctuary at Bovillae did not endanger the traditional cult of Bona Dea?

From Aquincum—effectively from the whole of Pannonia—only two inscriptions are known in connection with Bona Dea. They are both of great importance since Bona Dea is not mentioned alone but together with other deities. One of the two inscriptions has been already referred to above, in another context (*CIL* III 10.400 = ch. I, No. 129). Because of the relation which is evident between Bona Dea and Panthaeus, Diana and the Silvanae, the dedication set up by C. Julius Valens is a vital document. But these two inscriptions do not sufficiently support the assumption that there was a flourishing Bona Dea cult in Pannonia. Had Bona Dea been mentioned in both documents together with the *same* deities we could have assumed that a certain general pattern was present in the Bona Dea cult as practised in Pannonia. This is not the case. Apparently Valens brought Bona Dea as a personal goddess to the province where he was serving in the Army. It is a notable circumstance that between Bona Dea and the other group of deities there is an *et*, whereas the others are asyndetically mentioned. Does Bona Dea stand here next to, or opposite (?), a group of local deities?[64] The goddess is referred to without an epithet which indicates that the dedication is addressed to the general manifestation of the goddess and that Valens worships at Aquincum the generally accepted Bona Dea as his own Bona Dea (a souvenir of the Capital?).

---

[63] Ch. II, No. *13*; see above, A, *2*.

[64] Cf. for the Pannonian divine hierarchy, Roman, native, Eastern, A. Mócsy, *Pannonia* in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 516-776; esp. 728-750.

The third inscription is in many ways informative about the goddess and her cult. There is question of the consecration of a *lucus* to the goddess (cf. Propertius) and of a permit for men to clean it. As a *commagistra* is mentioned in the text we may conclude that Renatia (?) Maxima was a *magistra* of the goddess's cult organization.

From these three texts, therefore, we learn of the existence of an official cult outside Rome, of a personal cult at Aquincum, and of a cult organization near Spoletium (Acquajura) with apparently strict rules according to the official pattern, since there is specific mention of a departure from the rules: exceptionally, *men* are allowed to clean the *lucus*.

1 Titus Sertius Gallus—52 B.C.—*honestus et ornatus adulescens*—on his estate near Bovillae (where Clodius was killed) stood a sanctuary of Bona Dea.
Bovillae-(Ruins near) Fratocchie

Source: Cicero, *Pro Milone* XXXI 86 (=ch. II, No. *24*).

2 CAIUS IULIUS VALENS—after Hadrian, or after Septimius Severus (?)—*praefectus legionis II Adiutricis Piae Fidelis*—he dedicated a block of stone *Bonae Deae et Panthaeo Dianae Silvanabus.*
Aquincum-Budapest, 3rd district

Source: *CIL* III 10.394=*ILS* 3516 (=ch. I, No. 128).

3 RENATIA(?) MAXIMA—(?)—wife of the *primipilaris* Umbro—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she erected an altar to the goddess on her (empty) land (see C, *24*).
(Near) Spoletium-Acquajura near Spoleto

Source: *CIL* XI 4767=*ILS* 3492 (=ch. I, No. 95).

C) *The worshippers belonging to the* plebs ingenua

The absence rather than the existence of further information has motivated the placing of a certain group of worshippers in this category. When a worshipper is mentioned as being merely the son or daughter of so-and-so, when there is no indication whatever he or she belongs to another class, when the name is not of foreign origin, we may assume that the worshipper mentioned belongs to the *plebs ingenua*. It is remarkable, nevertheless, that members of this class constitute such a relatively small percentage of the catalogue of Bona Dea devotees.

It is obvious that literary sources do not mention people of this class as devotees of the goddess (it is even a coincidence that we know people of the first class in this quality). And the fact that someone belonging to the

Equestrian Order (B, *1*) is mentioned in this connection in merely fortuitous. That people of the third class in epigraphic sources are relatively fewer too is because one aspect of the cult falls outside their sphere, namely the public dedications.

That the worship of this class of society has a long history, however, is apparent from epigraphic data, extending from the Republican period to the 3rd. century A.D. It is remarkable that a relatively great number of the dedications are of an early date. A second fact which calls for attention is the number of men that in this class are found as Bona Dea devotees: eight men out of a total of twenty-eight worshippers. This branch of the cult ranges over Italy from North to South, Rome and its surroundings appearing to be the most important area, with additions in Gaul and Africa. That Gaul and Africa can be mentioned in this context may indicate a universal spread of the cult also with this class. It is probably a coincidence that we lack such data for that small number of places in the rest of the Empire where people of other classes are found as Bona Dea worshippers; it does not necessarily indicate an absence of worship of the goddess by this class in those places.

Many varied aspects of the cult appear also with this group of documents. Naturally the individual aspect is predominant, but there is also a question of *magistrae* and *ministrae* of the goddess, and participation in the organized cult may be concluded from this. The worshippers of this class are:

1 FANNIA—Republic—daughter of L. Fannius Nasuleius—she dedicated a sandstone base to Bona Dea.
Pisaurum-Pesaro

Source: *CIL* I^2 2126 (=1426)=*CIL* XI 6304=*ILLRP* 58 (=ch. I, No. 96).

(*2*) ANTONIA—Republic (?)—Empire (?)—daughter of Q. Antonius—the monument in question is a sepulchral cippus whose inscription possibly denominates the deceased woman *Dea Bona Pia.*
Velitrae-Velletri

Source: *CIL* X 6595=*ILS* 8069 ((=ch. I, No. (47)).

3 CAIUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS—Republic (?)—Empire (?)—son of Caius—made a dedication to Bona Dea.
Minturnae-Minturno

Source: *CIL* X 5998 (=4053)=*ILS* 3518 (=ch. I, No. 76).

4 CAIUS PAETINIUS—pre-Augustan—he is mentioned on the back of a dedication made by Anteros, slave of Valerius (see E 3, *2*).
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 75=*ILS* 3508 (=ch. I, No. 13).

5 TERENTIA—Augustan—daughter of Aulus Terentius and wife of Cluvius—she dedicated a well to Bona Dea.
Ostia

Sources: Meiggs, *Ostia*, p. 352; Floriani Squarciapino; Cébeillac, p. 546, note 1 (= ch. I, No. 61).

6 Valgia Silvilla—1st century A.D.— she made a dedication to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *NS* 1957, pp. 334-336, fig. 1 = *AE* 1960, 253 (= ch. I, No. 39).

7 Lucius Paquedius Festus—3 July A.D. 88—*redemptor operum Caesarum et puplicorum*—he restored a Bona Dea sanctuary.
(Near) Tibur-Monte S. Angelo near Tivoli

Source: *CIL* XIV 3530 = *ILS* 3512 = *II* IV 1, 611 (= ch. I, No. 70).

8 Sergia Fabia Marcellina—2nd century A.D.—daughter of Caius—she dedicated an altar to Bona Dea.
Forum Cornelii-Imola

Source: *NS* 1926, p. 40 (= ch. I, No. 107).

9 Annia—Empire—sister of P. Annius—she dedicated—together with the freedwomen Flora and Isia (See D 3, *19*), a vase or an altar to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 54 (= ch. I, Nos. 16 A and B).

10 Marcus Marcius—Empire—he restored, together with Marcia Pri[... and their freedwoman Marcia Nomas (See D 3, *37*), a *fanum* of Bona Dea.
Ficulea

Source: *CIL* XIV 4001 (= ch. I, No. 50).

11 Aquillia—Empire—*magistra* (?) of Bona Dea.
Fidenae-Villa Spada

Source: *NS* 1929, p. 262, No. 9 (= ch. I, No. 52).

12 Publius Luscius Bergilianus—Empire—priest of Liber Pater in the quarter of the *Bonadienses*; *conductor aucupiorum*—he expresses his gratitude to Silvanus Sanctus.
Portus-Porto

Source: *CIL* XIV 4328 (= ch. I, No. 67).

13 Aurunceia Acte—Empire—daughter of Spurius—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she dedicated to the goddess: *tunicas duas—palliolum—rasas caleinas—lucernam aeriam.*
Signia-Segni

Source: *EE* VIII 624 = *ILS* 3495 (= ch. I, No. 69).

14 Atellia—Empire—*patrona* of Picentina (See D 3, *45*)—the freedwoman makes a dedication to the goddess for the welfare of Atellia.
Falerio-Fallerone (Falerone)

Source: *CIL* IX 5421 (= ch. I, No. 90).

15 DECIMUS RUPILIUS—Early 1st century A.D. (?)—son of Lucius; of the *tribus Oufentina* (?)—fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea.
Sutrium-Sutri

Source: *CIL* XI 3243 = *ILS* 3509 (= ch. I, No. 99).

16 ANINIA MAGNA—Empire—daughter of Marcus—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she restored, together with Seia Ionis and Cornelia Ephyre (See D 3, *50*), a portico of the goddess and a shrine of Fonio.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 757 = *ILS* 4894 = Calderini No. 9 (= ch. I, No. 109).

17 RUFRIA FESTA—Empire—daughter of Caius—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she built—together with Decidia Paulina, Caesilia Scylace, and Pupia Peregrina (See D 3, *52*), an *aedes* for the goddess.

DECIDIA PAULINA—daughter of Lucius—*ministra* of Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 762 = *ILS* 3498 = Calderini No. 5 (= ch. I, No. 113).

18 CORNELIA GRATILLA—Empire—daughter of Lucius—fulfilled her vow (a small altar) to Bona Dea.
(Near) Apta Julia-Vaugines near Apt

Source: *CIL* XII 5830 (= ch. I, No. 132).

19 CAECILIUS VINCENTIUS—Empire—erected an altar in honour of Bona Dea, together with Valeria Matrona, and dedicated it.

VALERIA MATRONA—wife (?) of Caecilius Vincentius.
Zarai-Zraia

Source: *CIL* VIII 10.765 (= ch. I, No. 139).

20 JULIA CASTA FELICITAS—Empire—fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea (an altar).
Mactaris-Hr Makter

Source: *EE* VII 66 = *CIL* VIII 11.795 (= ch. I, No. 140).

(*21*) ATTIA CELERINA—3rd century A.D.—she gave a marble statuette of (probably) Bona Dea to Sabazius.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 30.948 (= ch. I, No. (6)).

(*22*) LAUTIA FELICULA—3rd century A.D.—daughter of Spurius—she gave a marble statuette of (probably) Bona Dea to the sanctuary of Sabazius and Caelestis.
Rome

Sources: Guarducci, pp. 18-19, fig. 5; Pietrangeli, p. 22, No. 35 (= ch. I, No. (7)).

23 LUCIUS CLOVANUS CLARUS—(?)—he and his family gave a small bronze plaquette to Bona Dea.
Ducenta

Source: *NS* 1887, p. 161 (=ch. I, No. 83).

24 POMPEIA—(?)—probably belonging to the *plebs ingenua—commagistra* of Ren. Maxima (See B, *3*)—she gave her approval to the erection of an altar by Ren. Maxima.
(Near) Spoletium-Acquajura near Spoleto

Source: *CIL* XI 4767 = *ILS* 3492 (=ch. I, No. 95).

25 .... A PRIMIGENIA—(?)—she gave a marble chair to Bona Dea.
Velitrae-Velletri

Source: *CIL* VI 61 (=ch. I, No. 48).

D) *Freedmen*

The people of this class, which under the Empire is often denominated by the expression *ordo libertinus,*[65] are easily recognizable because of the usual addition to their name of *l(ibertus)* or *l(iberta)* (of so-and-so). A nomenclatural comment may be useful: as the *cliens* (in the earliest times) the freedman belongs, as a passive member, to the *gens* of his *patronus* and consequently he bears the latter's *nomen gentile.* The *praenomen* is one of the 15 Roman first names since the days of Gracchi, just as it is with freeborn people. Originally the choice was an arbitrary one, but since Augustus it becomes the rule for freedmen to choose that of his *patronus*, respectively that of the father of his *patrona*. From the second century onwards freedmen bear a *cognomen* as well, mostly their former slave name, to distinguish them from those bearing the aristocratic *cognomina.*[66]

The legal status of the *libertus* is characterized by his remaining under the patronage of his former master, or that of his master's family, for the whole of his life. The *dominium ex iure Quiritium* may expire at the manumission but the freedman still owes his *patronus obsequium* and *reverentia.*[67] The relationship that thus continues is mostly emphasized in the nomenclature as well and this facilitates recognition.

Both freedmen and slaves in the following sections of the schematic survey are subdivided into three groups: freedmen of the Emperor or of a member of the Imperial House; freedmen of the State, of the city or of a public body; freedmen of private people. As regards the slaves, the division is the same. To divide the freedmen into these groups seems appropriate since the various classes of freedmen (and slaves) reflect the rank of their patron (or master) because the relationship remains a close one, even after manumission.

---

[65] Cf. A. Steinwenter, *Libertini* in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), , coll. 104-110; esp. 105.

[66] *Ibidem,* col. 106.

[67] *Ibidem,* col. 109.

A second argument for this division is that, in the various classes, the milieu differences and consequently the influences must have varied. Thus, worship within the various groups, probably all having the same purpose, will have had a different development. The possibility of a freedman's (or a slave's) worship being based on personal feelings is not to be discounted, but his surroundings must have influenced the manner in which these feelings were expressed.

Thus, we may expect the Imperial freedmen and slaves to have manifested their belief under the influence of their patron's or master's religion which, as already shown, was not without political tendencies. In this sphere Bona Dea bears the epithet *Augusta*, emphasizing the relation with the Imperial House and the Imperial religion. Information about this group is not impressive, yet its variety both as regards the people and the places of origin makes an interesting picture of Bona Dea worship. Most striking is the circumstance that only one woman belongs to this category, Philematio, a freedwoman of Livia's (Julia Augusta) and priestess of Bona Dea. This is the more remarkable as we know Livia herself as a devotee of the goddess—she restored the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine—and it would seem normal to encounter a larger expansion of the cult in her entourage. Yet, as constrasted with this, it is equally true that for Livia on the one hand and for her servants on the other the Bona Dea cult must have had a different significance.

One Claudius Philadespotus, a freedman of Claudius' or of Nero's, is mentioned as being a priest, and one wonders whether he could have been a Bona Dea priest (D 1, *3*; cf. D 3, *29*: Aurelius Antonius, a seven-year old boy, who actually held such an office).

As for the second category, both where freedmen and slaves are concerned, the data are very scanty. In view of his name and the place of origin of the monument which refers to him, Lucerinus Hermes is a freedman of the town of Luceria and he may be the husband of Vergilia Prisca who is mentioned as a *magistra* of the goddess. What the relations between Lucerinus Hermes and Bona Dea may have been is completely unknown. However, through this *magistra* (probably his wife) a bond is created with the organized, semi-official cult of the goddess, as it was practised in the *collegia*, associations under the patronage of Bona Dea.

The greatest number of devotees is found in the category of freedmen of private people (the number of slaves of this group is much smaller). Though many are men it should be realized that they are sometimes only referred to in a Bona Dea connection and their own relation with the goddess is not clear; women form a large majority.

In this group—but not exclusively—we also find the majority of the *magistrae* and *ministrae* of the goddess. We may assume that the organized cult of the goddess was in the first place practised by this category, apart from the official State celebration. For that matter, the distinction *magistra-ministra* seems to have nothing to do with the social status of the women in question. Interchangeably we meet *magistrae* and *ministrae* belonging to the freeborn class and to the group of freedwomen without the more important title being reserved for the more important class. In the sphere of the worship by *collegia* may be imagined the priesthood of the boy Aurelius Antonius for whom his parents erected a sepulchral monument after his death at the age of seven.

As with the Imperial and public freedmen, it is a plausible conjecture that with this group, too, the religious feelings of *patronus* or *patrona* had a certain influence upon the religion of their freedmen. This influence will have been strongest in the period when the people concerned were wholly dependent as slaves. However, because of the close relations afterwards between freedmen and patron the changes will not have been great ones.

Besides the influence by superiors a mutual influence is obvious and this must have shown more variations according as the *familia* was bigger. Slaves from certain countries were ascribed certain capacities, so that slaves from the East were preferred for household activities and slaves from the West preferred for outdoor activities. For the Imperial Guard, again, Germans were the preferred choice.[68] Everyone brought with them their own culture, no matter how different their levels may have been. That the more cultured ones should have influenced the others in every field, even in religion, seems obvious. This mutual influence will doubtless have led to a feeling of solidarity, emphasized by the circumstance that freedmen and slaves were excluded from the rights of the freeborn and also from the Roman religion which was, as we know, embodied in Roman polity.[69]

Finally, it may be stated that this group experienced a dual influence in addition to what they brought with them as their own spiritual property when they went into service: their patron's influence and that of their environment. Most data originate from urban areas where slaves and freedmen from the East were in the majority; there is only one from the countryside, which leads to the conclusion that eastern influences were more effective in this group. Outside influence is much stronger anyway in town than in the intimacy of a country-house, so we may expect a greater variety in that group—and that is what we get.

---

[68] See above, note 31.

[69] See above, note 25.

1. Imperial freedmen

1 Philematio—Augustan-Claudian—freedwoman of (Julia) Augusta—mother of Maenalus (See E 1, *1*)—priestess of Bona Dea—erected a tomb for her son.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 2240 (=4003) (=ch. I, No. 36).

2 Tiberius Claudius Stephanus—Claudian or Neronian—freedman of Claudius or of Nero—made, together with Feronia (See D 3, *4*) a dedication to Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 760=Calderini No. 3 (=ch. I, No. 111).

3 Claudius Philadespotus—A.D. 62—freedman of Claudius or of Nero—during his priesthood (of Bona Dea?) C. Avillius December and Vellia Cinnamis (See D 3, *6*) fulfilled their vow to Bona Dea.
Puteoli-Pozzuoli

Source: *CIL* X 1549 (=2588) (=ch. I, No. 79).

4 Lucius Aurelius Pisinnus—2nd century A.D.—freedman of L. Verus or of Commodus—dedicated an altar to Bona Dea (?).
Aquileia

Source: Calderini, p. 38, No. 38 (*Belenus*) (=ch. I, No. 119).

2. Public freedmen, freedmen of a public body

1 Lucerinus Hermes—Empire—freedman of the town of Luceria—the monument is a sepulchral inscription referring to Lucerinus Hermes and his wife (?) Vergilia Prisca, *magistra* of Bona Dea (See D 3, *41*).
Luceria-Lucera

Source: *CIL* IX 805 (=ch. I, No. 85).

3. Freedmen of private people

1 Quintus Mucius Trupho—Republic—freedman of Q. Mucius—fulfilled his vow, made when a slave, as a freedman to Bona Dea (an altar).
Rome

Source: *CIL* I^2 972 (=816)=*CIL* VI 59=*CIL* VI 30.688=*ILS* 3491 (=ch. I, No. 15).

1' Peticia Arriana (?)—1st century B.C.—1st century A.D., or end of 1st century A.D.—freedwoman of L. Peticius—dedicated (probably) a basin to Bona Dea.

NIGELUS—this name, in the genitive, is written on a later-hewn surface of the stone.
Staranzaro

Source: Scrinari, *Staranzaro*, coll. 37-40 (=ch. I, No. 124[1]).

2 VALERIA HETAERA—Augustan—freedwoman of one Valerius—dedicatory inscription of a Bona Dea temple.
Ostia

Source: *AE* 1961, pp. 9-10, No. 45 (=ch. I, No. 60).

3 TYCHE—had at her expense a temple built, which was dedicated by Faustus Barbonius (See A, *7*).

4 FERONIA—freedwoman of one Libanius—made, together with Tiberius Claudius Stephanus, a dedication to Bona Dea (See D 1, *2*).

5 CAIENA ATTICE—2nd quarter of 1st century A.D.—freedwoman of (Caiena) Prisca—dedicated a marble altar to the goddess.
Arelate-Arles

Source: *CIL* XII 654=*ILS* 3496 (=ch. I, No. 130).

6 CAIUS AVILLIUS DECEMBER—*redemptor marmorarius*—fulfilled, together with Vellia Cinnamis, a vow to Bona Dea, during the priesthood of Claudius Philadespotus.

VELLIA CINNAMIS—*contubernalis* of C. Avillius December (See D 1, *3*).

7 FAENIA ONESIME—Augustan or A.D. 68—freedwoman of one Faenius—dedicated, together with the Imperial slave Zmaragdus (See E 1, *2*), an altar to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *EE* IV 723a=*CIL* VI 30.855=*ILS* 1621 (=ch. I, No. 9).

8 SULPICIA SATURNINA—2nd half of 1st century A.D.—freedwoman of Caius Sulpicius—gave a small altar to Bona Dea.
Pisae-Pisa

Source: *CIL* XI 1413=*II* VII 1, 1 (=ch. I, No. 98).

9 CANNIA FORTUNATA—1st century A.D.(?)—freedwoman of one Cannius—*ministra* of Bona Dea—during her term of office Felix Asinianus dedicated a white heifer to the goddess for the recovery from an eye-disease (See E 2, *1*).
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 68=*ILS* 3515 (=ch. I, No. 44).

10 JULIA ATHENAIS—1 June 111 A.D. (?)—freedwoman of one Julius—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she gave a pavement, benches, and a workshop, had

the roofs extended and the missing tiles supplemented, and had a bronze altar erected.
Civitella

Source: *CIL* XIV 3437 (=ch. I, No. 74).

11 SEXTILIA ACCEPTA—Time of Trajan or of the Antonines—freedwoman of one Sextilius—had an altar built in honour of Bona Dea.
Furfane-Near Cirignola

Source: *CIL* IX 684 (=638) (=ch. I, No. 84).

12 ...LIA PROCULA—A.D. 138—*magistra* of Bona Dea—she dedicated, together with the *magistra* Annia Veneria, a silver mirror to the goddess.

ANNIA VENERIA—*magistra* of Bona Dea.
Lucus Feroniae-Near Nazzano

Source: *CIL* XI 3866 (=ch. I, No. 102).

13 LOREIA PIA—1st or 2nd century A.D.—freedwoman—*ministra* of Bona Dea—dedicated an altar to the goddess.
Glanum-St.-Rémy-de-Provence

Source: *AE* 1946, No. 153=*Inscriptions de Glanum*, No. 18 (=ch. I, No. 133).

14 ATTIA MUSA—1st or 2nd century A.D.—freedwoman—*ministra* of Bona Dea—dedicated a sacrificial table to the goddess.
Glanum-St.-Rémy-de-Provence

Source: *AE* 1946, No. 154=*Inscriptions de Glanum*, No. 19 (=ch. I, No. 134).

15 BARBIA STADIUM—2nd century A.D.—freedwoman of L. Barbius—dedicated a basin on a pedestal to Bona Dea.
Tergeste-Trieste

Source: *II* X 4, 1 (=ch. I, No. 123).

16 BLASTUS EUTACTIANUS (?)—after A.D. 105—(according to *CIL* Imperial) freedman—*VIvir Augustalis*—a dedication to the *numen domus Augustae*, made together with Secundus and Italia, *magistra* of Bona Dea; on that occasion they also gave a banquet, and the *Senatus Fidenatium* (See G, *12*) restored (?), destroyed by fire.

SECUNDUS—freedman of Julius Quadratus, *cos.* II in A.D. 105—*VIvir* (*Augustalis*).

ITALIA—freedwoman of Julius Quadratus—*magistra* of Bona Dea.
Fidenae-Villa Spada

Source: *CIL* XIV 4057 (=ch. I, No. 51).

17 ODICUS LATIARIS—Empire—freedman (?)—fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 60 (=ch. I, No. 1).

18 THEOGENEA—Empire—freedwoman of C. Rutilius—fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 36.766 (=ch. I, No. 14).

19 ANNIA FLORA—freedwoman of P. Annius.

ISIA—freedwoman (See C, *9*).

20 CAESIA SABINA—Empire—freedwoman—fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 57 (=ch. I, No. 17).

21 SECUNDA—Empire—freedwoman of one Lucius (?) gave a shrine, stairs, a roof, and a hearth to Bona Dea (for?) of her *conliberta* Flora.

FLORA—*conliberta* of Secunda.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 62 (=ch. I, No. 18).

22 CAIUS TULLIUS HESPER—Empire—freedman of C. Tullius—gave, together with Tullia Restituta, a marble altar to Bona Dea.

TULLIA RESTITUTA—freedwoman of C. (?) Tullius.
Rome

Source: *EE* IV 722=*CIL* VI 69=30.689=*ILS* 3511 (=ch. I, No. 19).

23 ANTONIA HYGIA—Empire—freedwoman—had an altar built and presented it to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 71=*ILS* 3505 (=ch. I, No. 20).

24 ANTISTIA EUR ...—Empire—freedwoman of Antistius Vetus—gave a plaquette in grey stone to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 73=*ILS* 3506 (=ch. I, No. 22).

25 VALERIA SPENDUSA—Flavian or (at the latest) time of Hadrian—freedwoman— dedicated, together with her husband Onesimus Faustinus (See E 1, *3*) and their (?) daughter Valeria Pia, an altar (?) to Bona Dea.

VALERIA PIA—freedwoman—daughter of Valeria Spendusa (and of Onesimus Faustinus ?).
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 74=*ILS* 3507 (=ch. I, No. 23).

26 AELIA NICE—3rd or 4th century A.D.—freedwoman—priestess of Bona Dea—erected a tomb for herself, for Claudia Nice, Aelia Thalasse, Aelia Serapia, Claudia Fortunata, Luccia Felicitas, Valerius Menander, and—

CLAUDIA NICE—freedwoman—*alumna* of Aelia Nice.

AELIA THALASSE—freedwoman.

AELIA SERAPIA—freedwoman.

CLAUDIA FORTUNATA—freedwoman.

LUCCIA FELICITAS—freedwoman.

VALERIUS MENANDER—freedman.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 2236 (=ch. I, No. 25).

27 TERENTIA AM...—Empire—freedwoman—priestess of Bona Dea—*patrona* of Terentia Th[allusa ?]—in memory of her Terentia Th. erected a marble monument.

PETRONIA

TERENTIA THALLUSA (?)—freedwoman of Terentia Am.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 2237 (=ch. I, No. 26).

28 VOLUPTAS RUTULEIA—End of the Republic-early Empire (?)—freedwoman—she gave, for the slave Hermes (See E 3, *3*), a small golden *lamina* to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 30.853 (=ch. I, No. 28).

29 AURELIUS ANTONIUS—*ca.* 3rd or 4th century A.D.—freedman—son of Aurelia Antonia and Aurelius Onesimus—priest of All Gods, first of all of Bona Dea, additionally of the Mother of the Gods, of Dionysus and Hegemon--died seven years old—his parents erected this tomb.

AURELIA ANTONIA—freedwoman.

AURELIUS ONESIMUS—freedman.
Rome

Source: *IG* XIV 1449=Kaibel No. 588=*IGRRP* I, No. 212=*CCCA* III, No. 271 (=ch. I, No. 31).

30 VETURIA SEMNE—Empire—freedwoman—*magistra* of a Bona Dea college—*patrona* of Tyndaris—in memory of her Tyndaris erected this stone.

TYNDARIS—freedwoman of Veturia Semne.
(Near) Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 2239 (=ch. I, No. 35).

31 DECIMUS JUNIUS ANNIANUS HYMENAEUS—Empire—freedman—dedicated

a marble pediment to Bona Dea Venus Cnidia, together with the *invicta spira et Haedimiana* (See G, *9*).
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 76 = *ILS* 3515 (= ch. I, No. 24).

32 Popillia Psacas—Empire—freedwoman—*magistra* (?) of Bona Dea—presented, together with her colleague Thaine (See E 3, *12*), a marble architrave to the goddess.
(Near) Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 36.765 = *ILS* 9249 (= ch. I, No. 40).

34 Servilia—Empire—freedwoman of L. Servilius—fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea (a small pillar in travertine).
(Near) Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 63 (= ch. I, No. 41).

35 Aelia Exusia—Empire—freedwoman—dedicated an altar to Bona Dea.
(Near) Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 53 (= ch. I, No. 42).

36 Poblicia Cale—Empire (?)—freedwoman—in memory of her (?) the slave Martialis (See E 3, *13*) dedicated a marble *cippus* to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 38.755 = *ILS* 9437 (= ch. I, No. 43).

37 Marcia Nomas—freedwoman of M. Marcius and Marcia Pri. (See 3, *10*).

38 Maria M...—Empire—freedwoman of a woman—*magistra* of Bona Dea—dedicated to the goddess: *signum palliatum inargentatum—cathedram—pulvinar—vestimenta albata—ex marmore III crustas—armarium clu[sum?]*.
Fidenae-Villa Spada

Source: *NS* 1929, p. 263, No. 11 (= ch. I, No. 54).

39 Flavia Athenais—Empire—freedwoman—priestess of Bona Dea—in memory of her this sepulchral inscription was erected by her relatives.

Flavius Paectus—freedman—son of Flavia Athenais.

Marius Alecshander—freedman—grandson, nephew (?) of Flavia Athenais.

Marius Felix—freedman—grandson, nephew (?) of Flavia Athenais.

Marius Arariusis—freedman—brother (?) of Flavia Athenais.
Territorium Tusculanum-Frascati

Source: *NS* 1891, p. 289, No. 3 = *EE* IX 698 (= ch. I, No. 72).

40 Julius Exuperius—Empire—freedman (?)—made a dedication to Bona Dea.
Naples

Source: *CIL* X 4615 (=ch. I, No. 80).

41 Vergilia Prisca—Empire—freedwoman—wife (?) of Lucerinus Hermes—*magistra* of Bona Dea (See D 2, *1*).

42 Valeria Amaryllis—Empire—freedwoman—fulfilled her vow to Bona Dea (a bronze plaque).
Alba Fucens-Massa d'Albe

Source: *NS* 1885, p. 484=*EE* VIII 183=*ILS* 3510 (=ch. I, No. 86).

43 Aponia Clara—Empire—freedwoman—dedicated a marble *cippus* to Bona Dea.
Marruvium-Pescina (S. Benedetto)

Source: *NS* 1887, p. 42 (=ch. I, No. 87).

44 Octavia Lupilla—Empire—freedwoman—presented a shrine and an altar to Bona Dea.
San Vito

Source: *NS* 1897, p. 430 (=ch. I, No. 88).

45 Picentina—freedwoman of Atellia—made a dedication to Bona Dea for the welfare of her *patrona* (See C, *14*).

46 Septimia Galla—Empire—freedwoman—gave, together with Alennia Sabina and Petronia Tertulla, a bronze *lamina* to Bona Dea.

Alennia Sabina—freedwoman.

Petronia Tertulla—freedwoman.
Tuder-Ilci

Source: *NS* 1881, p. 22=*CIL* XI 4636 =*ILS* 3493 (=ch. I, No. 94).

47 Rufellia Tyche—Empire—freedwoman of one Lucius (Rufellius)—*magistra* of Bona Dea—presented a bronze plaque to the goddess.
Ostra-Ostra Vetere (Montenovo)

Source: *CIL* XI 6185 (=ch. I, No. 97).

48 Valeria Victorina—Empire—freedwoman—gave a small base to Bona Dea.
Vetus Urbs (?)-Viterbo

Source: *CIL* XI 2996 (=ch. I, No. 100).

(*49*) Titus Flavius (?) Fortunatus—A.D. 222—freedman—*quaestor* (?)—made a dedication to Bona Dea (?) and to her *numen*, together with C...o ... (qui et) Diomedes and Titus Memmius.

C....o... (qui et) DIOMEDES[70]—freedman—*quaestor* (?).

TITUS MEMMIUS—freedman (?)—*quaestor* (?).
Nazzano

Source: *CIL* XI 3868 (=ch. I, No. (104)).

50 SEIA IONIS—freedwoman.

CORNELIA EPHYRE—freedwoman (See C, *16*)

51 PETRUSIA PROBA—Empire—freedwoman—*magistra* of Bona Dea—dedication to the ears of the goddess, for Galgestis Hermeros.

GALGESTIS HERMEROS—freedman (?).
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 759=*ILS* 3497=Calderini No. 2 (=ch. I, No. 110).

52 CAESILIA SCYLACE—freedwoman of Q. Caesilius—*magistra* of Bona Dea.

PUPIA PEREGRINA—freedwoman of L. Pupius—*ministra* of Bona Dea (See C, *17*).

53 DECIDIA EGLOGE—Empire—freedwoman—presented an altar to the Parcae and a silver mirror to Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 8242=*ILS* 3769=Calderini No. 6 (=ch. I, No. 115).

(*54*) LEUCE—Empire—freedwoman of Anspania—*magistra* of Bona Dea (?)—gave, together with the *magistra* (?) Occusia Venusta, a present to Bona Dea (?).

OCCUSIA VENUSTA—freedwoman—*magistra* (?).
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 814=Calderini No. 8 (=ch. I, No. (117)).

55 ... SOPILYS—Empire—freedman of one Lucius (?)—dedicated a *cippus* or altar to Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: Calderini, p. 98, No. 38 (*Belenus*) (=ch. I, No. 118).

55' MARCUS HOSTILIUS AUCTUS—Empire—freedman (probably, in view of his function)—*VIvir Augustalis*—dedicated (?) to Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 743=Calderini, p. 96, No. 11 (*Belenus*) (=ch. I, No. 119').

---

[70] Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Namenwesen* in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 1611-1670, esp. 1663 regarding the naming with the formula *qui et*.

56 ... Ursa—Empire—freedwoman—dedicated a basin to Bona Dea.
Campo di Mezzo (near Aurisina)

Source: *II* X 4, 306 (= ch. I, No. 125).

57 Aelia Theodora—Empire—freedwoman—fulfilled her vow to Fortuna Conservatrix and Bona Dea Juno.
Aquincum-Budapest

Source: *CIL* III 10.400 (= 3507, cf. p. 1041 and *EE* II 649) (= ch. I, No. 129).

58 Vinicia Eutychia—3rd century A.D. (?)—freedwoman—dedicated a pedestal to Bona Dea.
Glanum-St.-Rémy-de-Provence

Source: *AE* 1946, No. 155 = *Inscriptions de Glanum*, No. 20 (= ch. I, No. 135).

E) *Slaves*

In Classical times Roman ideas about right and wrong had appropriated this principle of Greek philosophy: man is by nature a free being, consequently slavery is contrary to nature. This concept plays a part in the slave's legal status, but without the consequences being fully accepted. This applies to the penal and civil codes, but more particularly to the religious laws. Here the slave is considered an entity who may place himself under an obligation to the gods by vow or oath. That slaves could be members of a religious association is apparent from a great number of inscriptions; this applies to the Bona Dea religion in particular. Nothwithstanding this independence, in the life of a slave his master's *potestas* plays a vital role, and the inherent responsibility in obvious. It will doubtless have played a major part in the practice of religious worship.[71]

Like freedmen, slaves are subdivided into three classes, Imperial, public, and private. It goes without saying that in the case of a slave even more than in that of a freedman, the influences exerted by master and immediate surroundings play a significant role. Where slaves are concerned the differences between the various milieus will be even more accentuated.

In literary sources only one person belonging to this category is mentioned in a Bona Dea connection: Habra, lady's maid of Pompeia, Caesar's wife, in 62 B.C. (cf. below, G, *4* and *5*). One wonders whether this servant, who acts as a guide for the intruder Clodius, actually participated in the ritual in honour of the goddess or whether she merely was in the house during the celebration. From the texts no conclusion is to be drawn, though active participation by women of the lower classes may be conjectured from the contest between Saufeia and the *lenonum ancillae* as depicted by Juvenal (consistent with reality?).

---

[71] Cf. E. Sachers, *Potestas patria* in *RE* XXII 1 (1953), coll. 1046-1175.

The epigraphic sources are much more informative as to the participation in the Bona Dea cult by slaves of either sex. Their number, however, is much smaller than that of the freedmen. It is remarkable that in the first category, that of the Imperial slaves, no woman is to be found. The relations between men and Bona Dea are not always equally clear. Thus Maenalus (1, *1*) is merely referred to as the son of a *sacerdos à Bona Dea.*

The second category presents only one man, Felix Asinianus. This slave, who is a *publicus* of the priests, offers a white heifer to the goddess. The offering has a very personal origin: the recovery from an eye-disease. So we may consider this expression of worship as a personal one. Yet, his religious practice will certainly have been influenced by outside factors. As a slave of the College of Priests Felix Asinianus is living in the sphere of the official religion and one can imagine that this influenced (the expression of) his religious feelings. In the text in which the slave expresses his gratitude Cannia Fortunata is mentioned as the goddess's *ministra* during whose term of office the recovery occurred. With this we enter the sphere of the associational worship by the *collegia.* So, this inscription gives us the opportunity to examine more closely three domains of the Roman religion: the official, the semi-official, and the personal.

The majority of the worshippers in this section, too, are found in the third category, that of private slaves. It is remarkable that more than half of these people are men. Their dedications to the goddess all appear to have been of a personal nature. Their *dominus*' influence, however, sometimes seems to be present, as is the case with Cladus (3, *7*) whose master we likewise know as a worshipper of the goddess (A, *13*). Among the women mentioned we meet a number of *magistrae* (once a *ministra-promagistra* (?)) of the goddess. From this it is clear that this title in the *collegia* was not reserved for the freeborn class, anymore than *ministra* belongs only to the servile class.[72]

1. Imperial slaves

1 MAENALUS—Augustan-Claudian—son of Philematio—*pedisequorum decurio*—slave of Livia (?) (See D 1, *1*).

2 ZMARAGDUS—Augustan or A.D. 68—*vilicus* of the *Horrea Galbiana*—Imperial slave (See D 3, *7*).

3 ONESIMUS FAUSTINUS—Flavian (or at the latest, time of Hadrian)—

---

[72] In two dedications (allegedly written on the same stone) from Aquileia (ch. I, No. 113) a freeborn woman and a freedwoman are styled *magistrae* of the goddess, a freeborn woman and a freedwoman *ministrae.* Cf. E. Marbach, *Ministri* in *RE* XV 2 (1932), coll. 1846-1848, who (1846) states that in a religious-juridical sense these are members of *collegia* belonging to the class of freedmen and slaves; this generalization is immediately contradicted by our data.

husband of Valeria Spendusa and father (?) of Valeria Pia—*Caesaris nostri servus* (See D 3, *25*).

4 ASTRAPTON—Empire—*Caesaris vilicus*—fulfilled his vow and restored a shrine, an altar, and an enclosing wall in honour of Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 56 = *ILS* 5453 (= ch. I, No. 5).

5 GEMELLUS—Empire—*s(ervus?) Augusti*—dedicated a marble tablet to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *EE* IV 723 = *CIL* VI 30.854 = *ILS* 3504 (= ch. I, No. 29).

2. Public slaves, slaves of a public body

1 FELIX ASINIANUS—1st century A.D. (?)—*publicus* of the priests—dedicated a white heifer to Bona Dea (See D 3, *9*).

3. Slaves of private people

1 Habra—slave of Pompeia, Caesar's wife (See A, *5*).

2 ANTEROS—slave of Valerius—presented a rectangular marble base to Bona Dea (See C, *4*).

3 HERMES—slave (See D 3, *28*).

4 QUIETA—Augustan—slave of Atia Pieris—*ministra* of Bona Dea and *promagistra* (?)—dedicated a statuette to the goddess.
Tuder-Ilci

Source: *NS* 1881, p. 22 = *CIL* XI 4635 = *ILS* 3494 (= ch. I, No. 93).

5 AURA—Augustan or Tiberian—slave—dedicated an *aedes* and a *statua* to Bona Dea.
Ostia

Source: *CIL* XIV 1857 (= ch. I, No. 64).

6 CELER—Claudian—*servus tabularius* of Tiberius Claudius Priscus, Imperial freedman—erected a marble altar in honour of Bona Dea.
Nomentum-Mentana

Source: *CIL* VI 70 (= ch. I, No. 34).

7 CLADUS—slave of M. Vettius Bolanus (See A, *13*)—presented in the restored Bona Dea shrine in the *insula Bolani* a *cippus*, a statue, and an *aedes* (*aedicula*?).
Rome

Sources: *CIL* VI 66 = *ILS* 3501; *CIL* VI 67 = *ILS* 3501a (= ch. I, Nos. 11 and 12).

8 CALLISTUS—Antoninian—slave of Rufina—*actor*—dedicated a marble statuette to Bona Dea.
Ager Albanus-Albano

Source: *CIL* XIV 2251 = *ILS* 3503 = Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 227, No. 1 (= ch. I, No. 73).

9 ANTEROS—Empire—slave—dedicated an altar to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 55 (= ch. I, No. 2).

10 TYCHE (?)—Empire—slave—*magistra* of Bona Dea—made a dedication to the goddess.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 2238 (= ch. I, No. 27).

11 ANTEROS (?)—Empire—slave—gave a present to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 30.852 (= ch. I, No. 37).

12 THAINE—slave—colleague of Popillia Psacas (See D 3, *32*).

13 MARTIALIS—slave—husband of Poblicia Cale (?) (See D 3, *36*).

14 ......A—Empire—slave (?)—*magistra* of Bona Dea—dedicated a marble tablet to the goddess.
Fidenae-Villa Spada

Source: *NS* 1929, p. 262, No. 10 (= ch. I, No. 53).

15 JULIUS—Empire—slave (?)—dedicated a Mars altar to Bona Dea.
Zarai-Zraia

Source: *CIL* VIII 4509 (= ch. I, No. 137).

F) *Under-slaves*

Even in the lowest order of Roman society there could be a question of personal initiative where the expression of religious feelings was concerned, or participation in a cult. This is proved by the dedication made by Venustus, *vicarius* (under-slave) of Philoxenus, an Imperial slave who held the office of *dispensator* (steward) under Claudius.

As for its design, this monument is certainly not the most simple one in the series of dedications erected in honour of Bona Dea. The excellent quality is an indication of the amount of money this under-slave wanted and, evidently, was able to spend when expressing his gratitude for a divine favour. It is an individual dedication, and from the extensive mention of Venustus' owner with function and title we need not infer that Philoxenus had anything to do with the making of this dedication. It serves only as a further description of the person of the *vicarius*, for whom his master's rank adds to his own standing.

Unfortunately, the text of the inscription does not refer to the reason why the vow had been made, nor to the purport of the fulfilment so that conclusions are to be limited. We only learn of the fulfilment of a vow, and the whys and wherefores escape us. However, it is a fact that the dedication presents some interesting aspects: a man, and moreover one belonging to the very lowest class, expresses his devotion to Bona Dea, a goddess whose cult according to the rules should be reserved to women, and notably those of noble birth.

The slave's name frequently says nothing significant about the country of origin: his master may, together with the slave, adopt the slave's existing name, he may name him after the slave's country or region of origin, but he may just as well give him any name that takes his fancy, e.g. one which accentuates a quality he would like his slave to possess. The name of Venustus, therefore, does not give any further information about this *vicarius*. Thus, one may wonder whether the worship of Bona Dea under the influence of Venustus' environment (the Claudian Court—cf. Livia) became part of his religion, or whether a more personal worship is to be supposed. The answer is problematic.

1 VENUSTUS—Claudian—*vicarius* of Philoxenus, *servus dispensator* of Tiberius Claudius Caesar—fulfilled his vow to Bona Dea.
Rome

Source: *CIL* VI 64 = *ILS* 3502 (= ch. I, No. 4).

G) *Anonymous worshippers*

The sources used for this part of the survey convey some extremely relevant data. Two inscriptions prove that two quarters were named after the goddess. From this we may conclude that in these quarters, at least, there must have stood a shrine or a chapel of the goddess, if not a larger sanctuary. The inhabitants called themselves after the goddess, *Mulieres vicanae ad Bonam Deam* (Forum Clodi) and *Bonadienses* (Portus?). From this we may assume that local associations under the patronage of Bona Dea are concerned. The existence of such data from two places rules out the possibility of a coincidence. That the name is an established one is confirmed by the inscriptions being addressed not to Bona Dea but to completely different dedicatees. Both inscriptions date from the Imperial Age. One may wonder, however, whether the establishment of such a name could indicate a longer existence of the cult in that place.

That associations under the patronage of the goddess existed becomes even more apparent by the mention of *collegia* that bear her name. From Rome, two such associations are known, one of which is called (with a Greek designation) *spira*. From Venafrum originates the mention of a *Collegium Cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis*. The explicit mention of these institutions is a welcome addition to the conjectures about the existence of cult associations (this is already justifiable because of the frequent references to *magistrae* and *ministrae* of Bona Dea, in many places in the distribution area of the cult).

Some of the sources refer to official institutions that took the initiative in founding a Bona Dea sanctuary. Ovid refers to the Roman Senate having founded the Bona Dea temple which was dedicated by Claudia, and thus he emphasizes the aspects of legality and officiality. Something similar is the case in the mention of the *decuriones* of Tergeste as those who have issued the decree for the building of a temple by the *IIviri*, or of the Pagus Laverneus (?) which gave its *Magistri* such an order.

The relation between the institution referred to and the Bona Dea cult is not always clear. Perhaps the *Senatus Fidenatium* actually has something to do with the Bona Dea cult at Fidenae. Or perhaps the reference to a *magistra* of the goddess (Italia), in the same inscription and context, merely indicates the woman's personal title, without her function being related to those of the other people mentioned.

1 Puellae—mythical times—were celebrating the Bona Dea feast with a *sacerdos* in charge when the thirsty Hercules came and asked for water.

Sacerdos—refused Hercules admittance.
Rome

Source: Propertius IV ix 21-70 (=ch. II, No. *32*).

2 Patres—the Senate founded the Bona Dea temple which was dedicated by Claudia (see A, *1*).

3 Vestal Virgins—participated in the Bona Dea feast at Cicero's house.

Women—participated in the Bona Dea feast at Cicero's house (See A, *4*).

4 Servula—ancillae—Vestal Virgins—matronae honestissimae—mulieres—noblissimae feminae—γυναῖκες—all participated in the festival in honour of Bona Dea in Caesar's residence (See A, *5*; cf. also Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I xii 3; I xiii 3; *De Haruspicum Responsis* XVII 37; *Pro Milone* XXVII 72; *De Legibus* II ix 21; Dio Cassius XXXVII 45 1 = ch. II, Nos. *1, 2, 17, 23, 25, 59*).

5 Lenonum ancillae—were challenged by Saufeia to a contest during the Bona Dea feast.

Dominae—try to equal their high birth with their lecherous behaviour (See A, *16*).

6 MULIERES VICANAE AD BONAM DEAM—A.D. 18—were given *mulsum* and *crustlum* on Livia's birthday.
Forum Clodi-Near Bracciano

Source: *CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154 (= ch. I, No. 101).

6' SPIRA ISIACA—by its order an altar was presented by (?) to Bona Dea.
Horta (Hortanum?)-Orte

Source: Nardi 59 (= ch. I, No. 101').

(*7*) DECURIONES—the decree for the construction of the temple dedicated by L. Apisius and L. Arruntius had been issued by the *decuriones* (See A, (*11*)).

8 ...DAI—made a dedication to Bona Dea.
Aquileia (Grado)

Source: *BJÖI* I (1898), 137, No. 56 = Calderini No. 7 (= ch. I, No. 116).

9 INVICTA SPIRA ET HAEDIMIANA (See D 3, *31*).

10 CONIUNX CASTA—Empire—*sacerdos* of Bona Dea—sepulchral inscription.
Rome, or the "Eleusinian Fields" near Naples

Source: *EE* IV 872 = *CIL* VI 32.461 (= ch. I, No. 30).

11 COLLEGIUM BONAE DEAE (See D 3, *30*).

12 SENATUS FIDENATIUM (See D 3, *16*).

13 BONADIENSES (See C, *12*).

14 COLLEGIUM CULTORUM BONAE DEAE CAELESTIS—Empire—dedicatory inscription.
Venafrum-Venafro

Source: *CIL* X 4849 (= 4608) = *ILS* 3517 (= ch. I, No. 75).

15 PAGUS (LAVERNEUS?)—the building activities of the *Magistri* have been decreed by the *pagus* (See A, *6*).

(*16*) MAGISTRA—Empire—restored (?) in honour of (Bona Dea?) Sepernas.
Nazzano

Source: *CIL* XI 3869 (= ch. I, No. (105)).

17 MAGISTRA (?)—Empire—gave (?) to Bona Dea.
Aquileia

Source: *CIL* V 847 (= ch. I, No. 114).

18 (A *Paterfamilias*)—(?: The archaic usage is not relevant to the date of the inscription. It merely corresponds to the style used in legal and religious language)—it concerns the *lex* of an altar of Bona Dea.
(Near) Tibur-Marcellina

Source: *II* IV 1, 73 (= ch. I, No. 71).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PROPAGATION OF THE CULT

It is not difficult to give a survey of the geographical distribution of the Bona Dea cult. To answer the question why the cult is found in a certain place, on the other hand, seems to raise more problems. The number of documents, both literary and epigraphic-archaeological, is relatively small. Furthermore, the cult is concentrated in a small number of places or regions. As these concentrations are anything but uniform the question why (and how?) is not answered by making a survey.

The more comprehensive the data concerning a certain region the easier a study will be. The greatest difficulties will be found when incidental finds are to be interpreted. We may assume that those places whence more comprehensive information originates were established cult centres. When incidental finds are concerned we sometimes may conclude that the cult of the worshipper in question had been brought by himself from one of these centres when migrating to the place where the individual piece was found. However, such clear conditions are seldom encountered.

Italy, with Latium (especially Rome and Ostia) as the principal centre, easily comes first among the parts of the Roman Empire where the existence of the Bona Dea cult may be proved. Rome, most important by far, experienced the most intensive worship of the goddess. Finds in town are proof of this; and documents from the vicinity of Rome—partly of a sepulchral nature and for that very reason found outside town—more often refer to the cult *in* town than to that outside it, as e.g., may be demonstrated by the titles of the people mentioned in the inscriptions. When a *magistra* of the goddess is found in a sepulchral inscription we may conclude that the woman was *magistra* of a *collegium* under the patronage of the goddess in a centre more densely populated than the site of the grave (a grave in the vicinity of Rome indicating that town). When a *sacerdos* is found, it appears highly probable that the *sacerdos* was attached to a sanctuary in town, since it is hardly likely that smaller chapels in the country had their own priestesses. These small sanctuaries are to be represented as shrines, small chapels, intended for individual worship or as mere monuments erected because of favours rather than as centres of worship.

But there also exceptions in the immediate vicinity of Rome. Fidenae, for example, seems to have known its own organized cult, independent of Rome. Such a fact at once evokes questions as to the why and wherefore, and one is inclined to attach due value to the former independence of Fidenae—in this case—where religious aspects are concerned, and not to think of outside influences.

Ostia, also close to Rome, makes a chapter apart. Notwithstanding the great Roman influences upon the pattern of this town, the Ostian cult organization differs from that in Rome. Though the information concerning Ostia is plentiful and documents have been found referring to both the official cult and the expressions of individual Bona Dea worship, we are told nothing about the existence of the semi-official cult with its *collegia, magistrae* and *ministrae,* so characteristic of Rome and known elsewhere too (cf., e.g., Aquileia).

Literary sources refer to Rome only—apart from an incidental reference to the Bovillae sanctuary already discussed,[1] and from the remark by Lactantius that most cities had a Bona Dea cult.[2] In literary sources we find the further restriction that interest is centred upon the official cult with its authorized celebration; references to other aspects are merely incidental and are only found in connection with the State cult. Consequently, thanks to the literature, we are fairly well informed about the Roman State cult. From this, of course, we may draw some conclusions about the practice of the official cult in the rest of the Empire. All the other data, both concerning Rome and concerning the remaining area of distribution, are to be found in epigraphy and archaeology.

Just as the literary sources are practically silent about the Bona Dea cult, except for the official cult, so the epigraphic and archaeological sources do not tell us anything directly about the State cult. However, this does not mean that Bona Dea does not emerge form these sources, occasionally, as an official goddess. A number of inscriptions inform us that temples were consecrated to her by the authorities. These texts are couched in official terms, with consular dates and similar impersonal information. Nevertheless, there is no recognizable conformity of the cult as known from literary sources to that known from epigraphy and archaeology, apart from representations of the goddess sometimes corresponding to descriptions of her appearance in ancient literature. Thus, Bona Dea with the serpent, or the sceptre, who is met with in the texts, may be said to be the counterpart of the goddess as represented in the plastic arts.[3]

Where Rome is concerned, at least, one would expect the two categories, i.e. literary and epigraphic sources, to correspond and the potential discrepancies to become more explitit as the distance between Rome and another town increases. However, this is not the case. From Macrobius, who speaks of the cult as practised in Rome, we learn of a relationship between Bona Dea and Juno. But it is in an inscription originating from as far away as Aquincum that we see Macrobius' theory realized. There the bond between the two goddesses is considered so close that they may be mentioned in the same breath.[4]

---

[1] Ch. II, No. *24*; cf. No. *38.*

[2] Ch. II, No. *64.*

[3] Cf. Macrobius (ch. II, No. *67*) and the usual representations with cornucopia and serpent and bowl; for the sceptre, cf. the Wilton House relief (ch. I, note 29).

Unquestionably local circumstances influenced the goddess's appearance. In all the places where the Bona Dea cult is found in a fairly distinct form there are at least relations, if not resemblances between the goddess and the local deities, although she is always recognizable. This remarkable adaptability—without loss of her own characteristics—is one of the reasons why Bona Dea can boast an impressive series of differing epithets. We may expect *Augusta* as a title to be found throughout the Empire, and likewise an epithet as *Sancta* is not special to a place.[5] Bona Dea *Regina Triumphalis* of Sutri,[6] however, conveys an idea completely different from Bona Dea *Oclata* of Rome,[7] places not very far from each other. On the other hand, both in Rome and Aquileia, places much farther apart, she is called *Castrensis.*[8] Nevertheless, the goddess remains recognizable if only because of her "first name", which only once or twice is wanting, and only because she may be recognized.[9] Indeed, the identity is established by her being called *Bona Dea* rather than by an accidental likeness of epithets, which is not to say that the importance of the epithet should be undervalued, for the epithet emphasizes one of the many aspects of the goddess.

It is not geographical distance, therefore, that determines the differences between the goddess's manifestations. Above all the discrepancies are to be found between the literary sources on the one hand and the epigraphic-archaeological ones on the other. Discrepancies in the actual practice of the cult as it emerges from the latter category seem often to be as great as those found in the literature with its sometimes rather divergent concepts of Bona Dea. But the expressions are addressed to one goddess. Even though her nature conveys a different meaning to different people she remains recognizable as Bona Dea. In the literature relative to the goddess's cult at one place, Rome, so large a variety of both appearance and substance is found that Bona Dea's variability over so large an area of distribution is not surprising. Just as the ancient authors evidently found an opportunity (because of the secrecy of the cult?) to bring forward theories to their heart's content, so the worshipper seems to have had every occasion to interpret goddess and cult in a personal way. Thus, individual interpretations seem to have influenced the expressions of devotion to a higher degree than did the distance between the places where the worship is found. The consequence of this reasoning is that where resemblances exceed the general idea expressed in the term *Bona Dea* one wonders to which these are attributable. More often than not these resemblances evidently derive from the goddess's general nature and are mere logical conclusions to be associated with her character and appearance. Once or twice, however, coincidence seems to be the more obvious cause. It may be coincidental that a worshipper had become acquainted with the cult in two different places. Yet, it may just as well be based on an identical, or similar, interpretation by two different worshippers in two different regions. Of course, the coincidence of such an identical interpretation is merely relative and primarily external since the substance of the goddess's nature does not give scope for an infinite number of representations. And, indeed, as only one Bona Dea is concerned, there is a limit to the conclusions.

---

[4] Ch. I, No. 129 (Macrobius = ch. II, No. *67*).

[5] *Bona Dea Annianensis Sanctissima* in Rome (ch. I, No. 19); *Bona Dea Sanctissima Caelestis* in the neighbourhood of Tivoli (No. 70); *Dea Bona Valetudo Sancta* at Auzia (Mauretania, No. 141).

[6] Ch. I, No. 13.

[7] Ch. I, No. 99.

[8] Ch. I, No. 29: *Bonadiae / Castre(n)si*; No. 39: *Sacrum / Bonae Deae / Castrensis*; cf. also No. 34: *Bonae Diae / Castr(i) Font(anorum)*; all from Rome; No. 111: *Augustae B[onae Deae?] Castrensi*; from Aquileia.

[9] This applies not only to the epigraphic material but to the literature as well; cf. ch. II, Nos. *31* (Lygdamus: *Laudanda Dea*); *32* (Propertius: *Feminea Dea*; cf. Plutarch, Nos. *45, 46, 49,* and Macrobius, No. *67*); *68* (Martianus Capella: *Fatua*; cf. Arnobius, Lactantius, Servius, Nos. *61, 62, 63, 65, 66*); *70* (Isidore: *Fatua*; cf. the same authors). ch. I, Nos. 44 (*Domina*), (105), (106) (*Sepernas*?), (117) (*Dea Obsequens*), 134 (*Domina*).

Outside Latium, the cult centres in Italy concentrate at some places of Umbria and Etruria, while the worship at Aquileia and Trieste and their surroundings appears to be almost a northern counterpart of the intensive worship in Latium. Incidental finds originate from the whole of Italy, but with no more than a personal worship being attributable to the various places.

The cult outside Italy is evidently limited to a small number of regions and places. Dalmatia is one of these and one wonders if the proximity of Aquileia and Trieste played an important part. However, where Calpurnia's dedication is concerned Metropolitan influences are probable, in addition to local circumstances.[10] At Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior) two inscriptions relative to the Bona Dea cult were found. One, however, was definitely erected by someone who was not an autochthon of that country, so that we may assume, almost with certainty (also because of the small number of finds), that we have here the phenomenon of an immigrant having brought the cult as his private concern to his new home. As for the other inscription from the same place, one asks oneself whether the same conclusion may be drawn, again in view of the small amount of evidence from that region.[11]

The picture that Gallia Narbonensis presents is a completely different one.

---

[10] Ch. I, No. 127.

[11] Ch. I, Nos. 128, 129.

Here, in a small area, we find a relatively intensive concentration of the cult. It is reasonable to assume that there was already a fertile soil for the reception of the Bona Dea cult before it penetrated, from Rome (?), into these regions. The assimilation to local concepts appears to have been a natural and easy process.[12]

In Africa several dedications to Bona Dea have been discovered. The distances between the various findspots, however, are too great to suggest the existence of a uniform cult throughout the province. Individual introduction from outside seems obvious. Only when there is a question of the explicit mention of a temple of the goddess (cf. ch. I, No. 141) may we presume that a recognized cult centre existed in the place referred to.[13]

The following survey attempts to give a clear picture of the distribution of the cult. Two categories of finds are proposed: A. *Cult Centres* and B. *Individual Worship*. Such a subdivision makes it difficult to review the finds as a whole. But this difficulty is obviated by the strictly local classification of the finds in the catalogue of epigraphic and archaeological documents, presented in part I of this study, and by the plans and maps. The literary catalogue of part I is almost wholly limited to the city of Rome.

The greater part of the material is to be found in epigraphic and archaeological sources. As contrasted with the literature, which nearly always relates to the substance of the cult and the nature of the goddess, the interest of the inscriptions covers a dual field: location *and* substance. Unfortunately, in many cases the location of the inscription is not the place where it had been originally erected. Both in Antiquity and more recent times, before interest in epigraphic data became general, numerous inscriptions were re-used as filling material, as pavement restorations and suchlike.[14] And when epigraphy became interesting something similar happened; inscriptions were used for decorating façades and many pieces were brought from family estates to the palaces in town.[15]

The activities of the antique trade since the revival of interest in Antiquity have been additional handicaps to the determination of the origin of a piece. As it was seldom thought necessary to register the findspots of monuments in former times these activities have been more than usually deleterious. Even when the findspot has been registered one is more often than not confronted with obscurity in the tradition concerning the origin.

In ideal circumstances the contents of an inscription give information on four points: the epithet further illuminates the nature of the goddess; the mention of offerings throws light on the substance and practice of the cult; the titles of the dedicants add to our knowledge of the cult organization; the dedicants' names say something about their class and, possibly, their origin. Unfortunately, these ideal circumstances are seldom found. For numerous inscriptions either the conclusions are restricted or they add nothing to our knowledge of goddess, cult, and worshippers.

---

[12] Ch. I, Nos. 130, (131), 132, 133, 134, 135, 136.

[13] Ch. I, Nos. 137, 138, 138', 139 (Numidia); 140 (Prov. Byzacena); 141 (Mauretania).

[14] E.g., ch. I, No. 63 (Ostia).

[15] E.g., ch. I, No. 70 (Monte S. Angelo near Tivoli; now (partly) in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome).

A. *Cult Centres*[16]

ITALIA LATIUM **Roma**

Regio II (*Caelimontium*)

1. Cult Centre with Aedes (probably) Augustan-(at least) 2nd century

To various finds, some certainly, others with some reserve, may be attributed an origin from the Caelius, indicating a concentration of the Bona Dea cult on this hill, at the back of the present Military Hospital.

1 Altar with inscription—Empire—ch. I, No. 2.
2 Inscription concerning the donation of an *aedes cum signo*—(probably) Augustan—ch. I, No. 3.
3 Inscription—Claudian—ch. I, No. 4.
4 Three marble statuettes—2nd century A.D.—ch. I, Nos. 32 A-B-C.

Regio VI (*Alta Semita*)

2. Cult Centre (?) Empire

An inscription, found near S. Silvestro on the Quirinal, could indicate an extensive rather than a mere personal worship of the goddess here. However, since this is the only document relative to Bona Dea on the Quirinal, the monument is entered with a query. The text, however, indicates a longer existence of the cult here since reference is made to the restoration of an *aedicula,* an *ara* and a *saeptum clusum.*
Ch. I, No. 5.

Regio XIII (*Aventinus*)

3. Temple of Bona Dea 2nd half of 2nd century B.C.-5th century A.D.

The temple of Bona Dea, *Sub Saxo*, is only known from literary sources. If Tibullus with *sacra* actually refers to this temple he is our oldest source (I vi 21-24 = ch. II, No. *30*). Then comes Propertius, who speaks of, *inter alia, loca clausa* (IV ix 21-70 = ch. II, No. *32*). In his *Ars Amatoria* Ovid speaks both of *aedes* (III 243-244 = ch. II, No. *33*) and of *templa* (III 633-638 = ch. II, No. *34*). In his *Fasti* he calls the sanctuary *templa*, built by the Fathers, dedicated by Claudia, restored by Livia (V 147-158 = ch. II, No. *35*). Festus speaks of *aedes* (*s.v. Religiosus* = ch. II, No. *56*), and so do Aelius Spartianus, who in his *De Vita Hadriani* probably refers to a restoration of the existing temple, not to a new building (ch. II, No. *60*), and Lactantius (*Divinae Institutiones* III 20 3-4 = ch. II, No. *64*). Lactantius uses the term *penetrale* as well (*ibidem*). Our last source is Macrobius, who uses both the terms *aedes* and *templum* (*Saturnalia* I 12 20-29 = ch. II, No. *67*).

---

[16] See the various plans and maps.

4. Shrine (etc.) of Bona Dea 123 B.C.

Cicero (*De Domo Sua* LIII 136-137 = ch. II, No. *13*) recounts how the Vestal Licinia dedicated an *ara*, an *aedicula,* and a *pulvinar* to Bona Dea *Sub Saxo*. This dedication was annulled since Licinia had acted on her own initiative, which was incompatible with the holiness of the site. Despite the private character of the dedication it belongs in this section because of the location of the shrine.

5. Cippus dedicated to Diana, Silvanus, and Bonadia End 3rd century/ Severan

In the Baths of Caracalla, near the library, a cippus was found dedicated to Diana, Silvanus, and Bona Dea (here named Bonadia). Although the monument, like its location, belongs to *Regio* XII, it is extremely probable that it comes from the Aventine where the three deities all had a sanctuary.
Ch. I, No. 8.

6. Altar to Bona Dea Galbilla Augustan or A.D. 68

Bona Dea seems to have been worshipped as the patroness of the *Horrea Galbiana.* These stood in the district known under the name *Praedia Galbana,* between the SW side of the Aventine and the Tiber. Because of the epithet *Galbilla* we may assume that the worship here was more than individual in character. The nearness of the temple will certainly have exerted its influence.
Ch. I, No. 9.

6'. Shrine and Altar to Holy Silvanus, Hercules and Bona Dea. The text on a cippus found in the Via Galvani (*Regio* XIII) mentions the gift (dedication) of a shrine and altar to these three deities. Cf. above, No. 5.
Ch. I, No. 9'.

Regio XIV (*Trans Tiberim*)

7. Cult Centre Neronian

Three monuments found in the vicinity of S. Cecilia in Trastevere indicate worship of the goddess in or near the *insula Bolani.* Bona Dea appears to have been the patroness of this block of flats (possibly of the quarter as well?). That the worship in this place is of an earlier date than the documents found is proved by the reference to a restoration. The epithet *Restituta*, twice borne by the goddess, will relate to this as well.

1 Shrine with inscription—ch. I, No. 10.
2 Cippus with inscription—ch. I, No. 11.
3 Inscription relative to the donation of a *simulacrum* and an *aedes* (*aedicula*?)—ch. I, No. 12.

8. Cult Centre (?) Pre-Augustan—Empire
Two monuments in honour of Bona Dea were found in the vicinity of S. Maria dell'Orto in Trastevere. In one of them Bona Dea, under the name of *Oclata*, was worshipped as a goddess of ophthalmology. It is probable that there was a separate centre here, in spite of the proximity of the sanctuary in the *insula Bolani*, since Bona Dea's function here is a different one.

1 Marble base with inscription—Pre-Augustan—ch. I, No. 13.
2 Marble base with inscription—Empire—ch. I, No. 14.

Of a number of inscriptions clearly referring to the Bona Dea cult in the city of Rome the place of origin is not recorded. To these are to be added some documents whose findspots are known but which are of a sepulchral nature and, consequently, are found outside the town. They indicate the existence of a centre or a cult organization in Rome. Although some of the people mentioned may have belonged to one association under the patronage of Bona Dea, or may have been attached to one cult centre, the data do not allow us to state this explicitly. Consequently, the data will be entered under separate headings.

9. Cult Centre 3rd or 4th century A.D. (?)
A sepulchral inscription refers to a *sacerdos Bonae Deae* and to her *alumna*, for whom, together with some other people, a tomb is erected. The title of *sacerdos* seems to point to the association of this priestess, Aelia Nice, with a sanctuary of the goddess. If *alumna* may be considered an objective term the Claudia Nice mentioned is an apprentice priestess.
Ch. I, No. 25.

10. Cult Centre Empire
In a sepulchral inscription, Terentia Am...(?) is called *sacerdos Bonae Deae*. The title indicates association with a sanctuary.
Ch. I, No. 26.

11. Cult Organization Empire
This inscription, without any data, refers to a *magistra Bonae Deae*.

Because of the title it may refer to a function on the committee of a cult organization, *collegium*, under the patronage of the goddess.
Ch. I, No. 27.

12. Cult Centre Empire
An inscription, allegedly either from the surroundings of Naples or from Rome, is dedicated to the *Di Manes* of what is probably a *sacerdos Bonae Deae* (the piece is badly damaged). The title indicates association with a sanctuary.
Ch. I, No. 30.

13. Cult Centre (Cult Organization) 3rd/4th century (?)
This sepulchral inscription—to the memory of seven-year old Aurelius Antonius, priest of All Gods, first of all of Bonadia, further of the Mother of the Gods, of Dionysus and Hegemon—points to the existence of a centre (if ἱερεύς may be considered the translation of *sacerdos*). However, it is equally probable that the boy sat on the committee of a cult association.
Ch. I, No. 31.

14. Collegium Bonae Deae Empire
A sepulchral inscription, found outside the Porta S. Pancrazio, refers to a *collegium* under the patronage of the goddess. The deceased, Veturia Semne, is honoured because of her function on the committee of this college, which in all probability belonged to Rome.
Ch. I, No. 35.

15. Cult Centre Augustan-Claudian
A sepulchral inscription from the tomb of Livia's freedmen on the Via Appia introduces the freedwoman Philematio as a *sacerdos à Bona Dea*. An association with a Roman cult centre is likely.
Ch. I, No. 36.

16. Cult Organization (Cult Centre) Empire
A big marble architrave found on the Via Nomentana records the title *collega*. From this we may conclude that the two women mentioned functioned within an organization under the patronage of the goddess, or were priestesses of a sanctuary of the goddess. The dimensions of the piece seem to point to a large building.
Ch. I, No. 38.

17. Cult Organization 1st century A.D. (?)
The recovery of the *publicus* Felix Asinianus occurred during the *ministerium* of Cannia Fortunata. The title *ministra*, like *magistra,* belongs to the sphere of the *collegia*. The findspot, Via Ostiense, 3rd milestone, points to an association in town.
Ch. I, No. 44.

Bovillae
(Near **Fratocchie)**

18. Sacrarium Bonae Deae 52 B.C.

On the estate of T. Sertius Gallus near Bovillae stood a *sacrarium* of Bona Dea. In front of this sanctuary Clodius was killed by Milo's men. The term does not say anything about the dimensions of the building or the worship in that place. The renown of this (perhaps private) shrine, however, is reason enough for entering it in this section, the more so as Cicero (*Pro Milone* XXXI 86) uses the circumstance that Clodius was killed close by a Bona Dea sanctuary to emphasize that his sacrilegious enemy, who had offended the *State* goddess, was now punished by that same goddess.

Ch. II, No. *24*, cf. Asconius, *In Milonianam* 27 (= ch. II, No. *58*).

Velitrae
(Velletri)

19. Cult Centre (Cult Organization) Republic (?)—2nd century A.D.

The data from this place are not very informative. In a sepulchral inscription a mortal seems to bear the title of *Dea Bona Pia*. A marble chair, offered to the goddess, could be the official seat of a *magistra*. Finally, from Velletri we have a statue only questionably identifiable as a Bona Dea.

1 Sepulschral inscription—Republic (?)—ch. I, No. (47).
2 Marble seat with inscription—ch. I, No. 48.
3 Marble statuette—2nd century A.D.—ch. I, No. (49).

Ficulea

20. Fanum Bonae Deae Empire or earlier.

The restoration of a *fanum* of the goddess is recorded in an inscription found on the Olevano estate near ancient Ficulea. There apparently is question of quite an extensive worship and the restoration indicates an earlier date of origin.

Ch. I, No. 50.

Fidenae
(Villa Spada)

21. Cult Organization (Cult Centre) Empire

Four inscriptions from Fidenae indicate the existence of both a cult organization and a sanctuary of the goddess in that place (possibly the clubhouse?). Four (?) *magistrae* of the goddess are referred to, and there are further references to a statue and furniture.

1 A dedicatory inscription mentions the freedwoman Italia, who is honoured because of the *magisterium Bonae Deae*—after A.D. 105—ch. I, No. 51.

2 A fragmentary inscription calls Aquillia *magistra* (?) *Bonae Deae*—Empire—ch. I, No. 52.

3 Another fragment refers to a gift to the goddess by a *magistra*—Empire—ch. I, No. 53.

4 A fragment records the gift by a *magistra* of a statue clad in *pallium* and silvered, of a *cathedra*, a *pulvinar, vestimenta albata,* three marble *crustae,* and a closed chest (?)—Empire—ch. I, No. 54.

Ostia

Regio I *Insula* IV-5

22. Aedes Bonae Deae Augustan/Tiberian

An inscription erected by one Aura probably records the gift of an *aedes* and a *statua* to the goddess (the text is damaged). The dimensions of the stone, however, suggest it belonged to a small building.
Ch. I, No. 64.

Regio IV *Insula* VIII-3

23. Aedes Bonae Deae Early Julio-Claudian

A series of five inscriptions, with the same text, records the building and official approval of an *aedes* of the goddess. The purport of the text indicates that an official cult centre was concerned.
Ch. I, Nos. 55-59.

(Also from *Regio* IV comes a statuette of, in all probability, Bona Dea. It was found between the Decumano Massimo and the Via del Foce. Because of the location, the statuette could have belonged to the temple in this *Regio*. Ch. I, No. (65)).

Regio V *Insula* X-2

24. Cult Centre Middle of 1st century B.C.—Augustan/Tiberian

Four important data indicate the prolonged worship of the goddess in the town centre. An inscription dating from the period 85 B.C. to Caesar's time was re-used as filling material in the pavement of the later building, dating from the Augustan/Tiberian epoch. Since an altar was found this was certainly a sanctuary. The reference to a kitchen, however, indicates a larger complex.

1 Small pillar with a dedication to Bona Dea *Opifera*—Augustan—ch. I, No. 60.

2 Inscription on a well rim—Augustan—ch. I, No. 61.

3 Altar—ch. I, No. 62.

4 Inscription on a block of travertine, afterwards reused in the pavement of the new building, recording the plastering of a portico, the construction of benches and a new kitchen roof—between 85 B.C. and the time of Caesar—ch. I, No. 63.

Portus
(Porto)

25. Cult Organization Empire

In an inscription found on the Monte Giulio and addressed to Silvanus there is reference to a Deus Liber Pater *Bonadiensium.* There is no indication to be found in Rome that the *Bonadienses* are the inhabitants of a Roman quarter named after a sanctuary or a statue of the goddess. It seems likely that a quarter of Portus is concerned, with an association under the patronage of Bona Dea. An *aedicula,* now in the Villa Albani, indicates the worship in the port.

1 An inscription referring to *Bonadienses*—Empire—ch. I, No. 67.

2 *Aedicula* with Bona Dea—Victoria—the dedicant (?)—time of Trajan—Ch. I, No. 68.

Signia
(Segni)

26. The title of *magistra* in an inscription from Segni proves the existence of a cult organization. The inscription records the gift of *tunicas duas—palliolum—rasas caleinas—lucernam aeriam.* The articles of clothing will have been intended for a cult statue of the goddess.
Ch. I, No. 69.

prope Tibur
(Monte S. Angelo)

27. Aedes of Bona Dea 3 July A.D. 88

A contractor of the Imperial and Public Works records the restoration of an *aedes* of the goddess. Both the rather impersonal titles of Bona Dea, *Sanctissima Caelestis,* and the fact that a restoration is concerned indicate a general rather than a personal cult and of its prolonged existence at Monte S. Angelo.
Ch. 1, No. 70.

prope Tibur
(Marcellina)

28. Ara and Signum Bonae Deae

A fragmentary inscription records the *lex* belonging to a Bona Dea altar. The archaic usage does not imply anything about the date since the text was copied from the *lex* of the Diana altar on the Aventine. In this text there is reference to a *signum* of the goddess as well. Could the *conlega* mentioned have been a colleague in a religious organization?.
Ch. I, No. 71.

Territorium
Tusculanum (Frascati)

29. Cult Centre

A sepulchral inscription found on the land called Prataporci in the territory of Frascati belongs to the tomb of a *sacerdos* of the goddess. From this title the existence of a centre may be assumed.
Ch. I, No. 72.

Civitella

30. Cult Organization and Centre 1 June A.D. 111

A *magistra Bonae Deae* records the following building activities: pavement, benches, workshop; extension of the roofs and replacement of the missing tiles; erection of a bronze altar.

The title indicates the existence of an association under the patronage of the goddess. The rest of the text proves the existence of a cult centre and the replacement of the tiles makes it probable that this was of an earlier date.
Ch. I, No. 74.

Border of LATIUM—SAMNIUM—CAMPANIA **Venefrum**
(Venafro)

31. Collegium Cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis Empire

An inscription *Collegium Cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis* proves the existence of an association under the patronage of the goddess at Venafrum.
Ch. I, No. 75.

CAMPANIA **Puteoli**
(Pozzuoli)

32. Cult Centre (?) 27 October A.D. 62

A marble base bears an inscription recording the fulfilment of a vow *Bonae*

Diae. The text records that this happened *Philadespoto sacerdote*. Could this Imperial freedman have been priest of a Bona Dea sanctuary?
Ch. I, No. 79.

APULIA **Luceria (Lucera)**

33. Cult Organization Empire

A sepulchral inscription refers to a *magistra Bonae Deae*. So Luceria probably had its own cult organization.
Ch. I, No. 85.

SAMNIUM *prope* **Alba Fucens (Massa d'Albe)**

34. Cult Centre (?) Empire

The title of the goddess, Bona Dea *Arcensis Triumphalis*, on a bronze dedicatory plaquette indicates a more than personal worship in that place. Probably a shrine (or a statue) of the goddess stood near a triumphal arch.
Ch. I, No. 86.

San Vito

35. Aedicula et Ara Empire

A gift of an altar, besides a shrine, seems to indicate a more general worship of the goddess.
Ch. I, No. 88.

PAELIGNI *prope* **Sulmo (Prezza)**

36. Cult Complex with Templum 2nd half of 1st century B.C.

An official inscription records the construction of a wall, gate, portico, and temple of Bona Dea at Laverna (Pagus Laverneus?).
Ch. I, No. 89.

PICENUM **Urbs Salvia (Urbisaglia** near **Macerata)**

37. Cult Centre (?) Time of Trajan

A marble statue of the goddess, H. 1.05 m, is one of the two fairly large representations of Bona Dea known (cf. below, No. 47). The dimensions seem to indicate that it stood in a sanctuary as a cult statue.
Ch. I, No. 91.

UMBRIA *prope* **Tuder**
(Ilci)

38. Cult Organization Augustan—Empire

An inscription from Ilci refers to a *ministra* and, at the same time, *promagistra* of Bona Dea. We may conclude that there was a cult organization. A small bronze *lamina* from the same place served, in view of its form, as the "label" of a votive offering. The documents were found together.

1 Base with inscription and rests of a statue—Augustan—ch. I, No. 93.
2 Bronze *lamina* with inscription—Empire—ch. I, No. 94.

prope **Spoletium**
(Acquajura)

39. Lucus Bonae Deae with Cult Organization

The dedicatory inscription of a *lucus* of the goddess refers to a *commagistra* (from which we may conclude that there was an association under the patronage of the goddess) and to an altar (which indicates a cult centre). The orthography seems to point to a late date.
Ch. I, No. 95.

Ostra
(Ostra Vetere,
formerly **Montenovo)**

40. Cult Organization Empire

The title *magistra* suggests a cult organization.
Ch. I, No. 97.

ETRURIA **Forum Clodi**
(Near **Bracciano)**

41. Vicus Bonae Deae A.D. 18

The reference to *mulieres vicanae ad Bonam Deam* proves that a quarter was named after the goddess. A sanctuary of the goddess would have stood there. It is remarkable that these women were fêted on Livia's birthday.
Ch. I, No. 101.

Lucus Feroniae
(Church of S. Antimo
near **Nazzano)**

42. Cult Organization A.D. 138-222

Five inscriptions from Nazzano seem to relate to the Bona Dea cult. The references to *magistrae* indicate the existence of a cult organization. It has been suggested that Bona Dea was worshipped here under a special name, *Sepernas*. Unfortunately the data supporting this suggestion are rather fragmentary.

1 Inscription recording the gift of a silver mirror to the goddess by two *magistrae*—A.D. 138—ch. I, No. (102).

2 Fragmentary opisthographic inscription—ch. I, No. 103.

3 Fragmentary inscription addressed to Bona Dea *Sepernas* (?)—A.D. 222—ch. I, No. (104).

4 Fragment recording a restoration by a *magistra* in honour of *Sepernas*—ch. I, No. (105).

5 Fragment on which only *Seperna* is clearly legible—ch. I, No. (106).

VENETIA ET HISTRIA **Aquileia (Capitol-S. Stefano)**

43. Temple and Cult Organization 1st-2nd century A.D.

A series of inscriptions from Aquileia proves that there were at least two sanctuaries (*aedes*) of the goddess and, from the nature of the titles, a cult organization as well. The majority of the documents seem to date from the Claudian time, but it is certain that the cult of the goddess still existed in the 2nd century.

1 Dedicatory inscription—Empire—ch. I, No. 108.

2 Inscription recording the restoration of a portico (of the Bona Dea centre?) and of a shrine of Fonio by two *magistrae* of the goddess—Empire—ch. I, No. 109.

3 Dedication *to the ears* of Bona Dea by a *magistra*—Empire—ch. I, No. 110.

4 Dedicatory inscription—Claudian-Neronian (?)—ch. I, No. 111.

5 Official dedication of an *aedes* which, from the nature of the findspot, was probably a temple in the centre of the town (Capitol)—Augustan-Claudian (?)—ch. I, No. 112.

6 Two dedications by *magistrae* and *ministrae* of Bona Dea with reference to the building of an *aedes*—Empire—ch. I, No. 113.

7 Dedication by a *magistra* (?)—ch. I, No. 114.

8 Dedication of an altar to the Parcae and of a silver dish to Bona Dea—Empire—ch. I, No. 115.

9 Fragmentary inscription—1st century A.D.—ch. I, No. 116.

10 Dedication by two *magistrae* to *Dea Obsequens*—Empire—ch. I, No. (117).

11 Altar with inscription—Empire—ch. I, No. 118.

12 Altar with inscription—2nd century A.D.—ch. I, No. 119.
12' Dedication—Empire—ch. I, No. 119'.
13 Fragment of a dedication to Bona Dea (?)—ch. I, No. (120).
14 Bronze statuette of Bona Dea—ch. I, No. 121.

Tergeste
(Trieste)

44. Temple Early 1st-2nd century A.D.
The dedication was found during the excavations of the Bona Dea temple. In addition three basins were found, one with an inscription, which may have been used in the ritual.

1 Basin (on pedestal?) with inscription—2nd century A.D.—ch. I, No. 123.
2 The official dedication of the temple of Bona Dea (probably)—Early 1st century A.D.—ch. I, No. (124).

GALLIA G. NARBONENSIS **Arelate**
(Arles)

45. Cult Organization 2nd quarter of 1st century A.D.
The title of *ministra* in a dedication to Bona Dea proves the existence of a cult organization at Arles. One wonders whether the dedication *to the ears* of the goddess belongs in the same category (?).

1 Altar with inscription erected by a *ministra*—2nd quarter of 1st century A.D.—ch. I, No. 130.
2 Dedication to Fortuna of Arelate and Nemausus and *to the ears* of Bona Dea (?)—ch. I, No. (131).

Glanum
(St.-Rémy-de-Provence)

46. Cult Organization and Clubhouse 1st-3rd century A.D. (?)
The titles in the inscriptions prove the existence of a cult organization at Glanum. What is called the temple of Bona Dea must have been, in view of the appointments, a meetinghouse, perhaps the clubhouse of her *collegium*. The relationship of the cult here to that at Arles is evident from the designs of the monuments, among other things.

1 Inscription on altar, *Auribus*, erected by a *ministra*—1st of 2nd century A.D.—ch. I, No. 133.
2 Sacrificial table with inscription in honour of the *Dom(i)na,* erected by a *ministra*—1st or 2nd century A.D.—ch. I, No. 134.
3 Pedestal with inscription in honour of Bona Dea—3rd century A.D. (?)—ch. I, No. 135.

Nemausus
(Nîmes)

47. Sanctuary with Cult Statue

The proportions of a statue of Bona Dea (H. *ca.* 1.20 m), found in Nîmes in 1622 and now lost, suggest that it was a cult statue set up in a sanctuary of fairly large dimensions.
Ch. I, No. 136.

AFRICA MAURETANIA CAESARENSIS **Auzia**
(Aumale; or **Gorfa**
Uled Selama)

48. Templum cum Ornamentis A.D. 235

In an inscription beginning *Deae Bonae Valetudini Sanctae* are recorded the building, dedication, and donation to the community of a *templum cum ornamentis.*
Ch. I, No. 141.

B. *Individual Worship*[17]

ITALIA LATIUM **Roma**

Regio I (*Porta Capena*) (?)

1. Inscription Empire

A vow has been fulfilled.
Ch. I, No. 1.

Regio VII (*Forum Romanum*)

2. Two Statuettes 3rd century A.D.

Two marble statuettes, probably of Bona Dea, seem to have stood in the sanctuary of Sabazius and Caelestis on the Capitol.
Ch. I, Nos. (6) and (7).

(Without indication of exact location)

3. Altar Republic

An inscription on a marble altar seems to record the gratitude of the dedicant for his manumission.
Ch. I, No. 15.

4. Vase (or Round Altar) Empire

Two testamentary inscriptions.
Ch. I, No. 16.

---

[17] See the various plans and maps.

5. Inscription
Reference to the building of (?) on private land.
Ch. I, No. 17.

6. Inscription Empire
There is reference to the donation of *aedicula, gradus, tectum, focus.* If it really concerns a gift to Bona Dea the monument would then belong to A, above. However, the inscription is difficult to read.
Ch. I, No. 18.

7. Altar Empire
The inscription refers to the gift of this altar to Bona Dea *Annianensis Sanctissima.*
Ch. I, No. 19.

8. Altar Empire
The inscription records that the altar is dedicated to Bona Dea *Conpos.*
Ch. I, No. 20.

9. Base of Statuette 2nd century A.D.
On the base of the statuette of a seated woman (now lost) is to be read *Bonae Deae Hygiae.*
Ch. I, No. 21.

10. Inscription Empire
Gift to Bona Dea *Lucifera.*
Ch. I, No. 22.

11. Altar (?) with Inscription Flavian/Reign of Hadrian
The text records a donation to Bona Dea *Nutrix.*
Ch. I, No. 23.

12. Pediment with Inscription Empire
The dedication is addressed to Bona Dea *Venus Cnidia.*The monument was erected by D. Junius Annianus Hymenaeus and the *Invincible and Haedimiana Associations.* The "epithet" of Bona Dea points to a remarkable trend in her cult, here expressed. The monument has been entered as an individual dedication, because it is impossible to answer the question whether the *spirae* (*collegia*) stood under the patronage of Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 24.

13. Golden Lamina with Inscription End Republic-Early Empire (?)
A dedication for one Hermes.
Ch. I, No. 28.

14. Inscription Empire

Dedication by an Imperial slave to *Bonadia Castrensis*.

Ch. I, No. 29.

15. Statuette 2nd century A.D.

The usual attitude and attributes make the goddess recognizable.

Ch. I, No. 33.

Nomentum
(Mentana)

16. Altar with Inscription Claudian

A dedication to Bona Dea *Castri Fontanorum*.

Ch. I, No. 34.

Via Aurelia
(La Tedesca)

17. Sepulchral (?) Inscription Empire

Reference to a gift to B.D.

Ch. I, No. 37.

Via Tuscolana
(No. 155)

18. Inscription 1st century A.D.

Dedication to Bona Dea *Castrensis*. Cf. above, No. 14, with the same epithet, and No. 16, Bona Dia *Castri Fontanorum*, and A-43-*4*, Bona Dea *Castrensis* from Aquileia. Unfortunately, there is no indication of a uniform worship under this name.

Ch. I, No. 39.

Via Aurelia
(Estate of O.
Falconeri

19. Inscription Empire

Dedication to Bona Dea.

Ch. I, No. 40.

S. Lorenzo fuori
le Mura

20. Small Pillar with Inscription Empire

Fulfilment of a vow to Bona Dea.

Ch. I, No. 41.

Tor Sapienza

21. Altar with Inscription — Empire
Dedication to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 42.

Via Nomentana
(Near the main entrance
of Villa Torlonia)

22. Cippus with Inscription — Empire (?)
Sepulchral monument with dedication to Bona Dea (?).
Ch. I, No. 43.

Unknown provenance

23. Statuette — Reign of Hadrian
The usual attitude and attributes make the goddess recognizable.
Ch. I, No. 45.

24. Statuette — Empire
Fragmentary statuette. Because of the attitude, however, Bona Dea is recognizable.
Ch. I, No. 46.

24'. Inscription
With the representation of two feet. Possibly a dedication to Bona Dea *Quietana.*
Ch. I, No. (46').

Ostia
(Without further data)

25. Statuette
In view of the attitude this is probably a Bona Dea figure. The lack of data make it impossible to ascribe it to one of the centres.
Ch. I, No. (66).

Ager Albanus
(Albano)

26. Statuette with Inscription — Antoninian
The inscription with the name of the goddess on the base of this statuette made it possible to identify all the other Bona Dea representations.
Ch. I, No. 73.

Border of LATIUM and CAMPANIA **Minturnae (Minturno)**

27. Inscription Republic-Empire (?)
Dedication to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 76.

28. Statuette
White marble statuette, probably of Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. (77).

CAMPANIA **Pianura**

29. Inscription
Dedication to Bona Dea
Ch. I, No. 78.

Neapolis (Naples)

30. Inscription Empire
Dedication to Bona Dea. *In ecclesia S. Ferrantis in hortis.*
Ch. I, No. 80.

31. Altar Claudian
On the altar four deities are represented: Vesta, Bona Dea, Mercury, and the Genius of the master of the house.
Ch. I, No. 81.

Pompeii

32. Statuette
This terracotta statuette corresponds wholly to the usual Bona Dea type.
Ch. I, No. (82).

HIRPINI **Ducenta**

33. Inscription
Gift to Bona Dea
Ch. I, No. 83.

APULIA **Furfane (Near Cirignola)**

34. Pillar with Vase and Inscription Trajan-Antonines
Reference to the erection of an altar and to that of this monument.
Ch. I, No. 84.

MARSI **Marruvium (Pescina/S. Benedetto)**

35. Cippus with Inscription Empire
Dedication to Bona Dia.
Ch. I, No. 87.

PICENUM **Falerio (Fal(l)erone)**

36. Inscription Empire
Pro salute inscription.
Ch. I, No. 90.

UMBRIA **Tuder (Todi)**

37. Fragmentary Inscription
Dedication to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 92.

Pisaurum (Pesaro)

38. Base with Inscription 2nd half of 1st century B.C.
Gift to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 96.

ETRURIA **Pisae (Pisa)**

39. Small Altar with Inscription 2nd half of 1st century A.D.

Gift to B.D.
Ch. I, No. 98.

Sutrium (Sutri)

40. Inscription Early 1st century A.D.
The text refers to the fulfilment of a vow to Bona Dea *Regina Triumphalis*.
Ch. I, No. 99.

(?) Vetus Urbs (Viterbo)

41. Base with Inscription Empire
Gift to Bona Dea *Augusta*.
Ch. I, No. 100.

Horta (Horttanum?)
(Orte)

41'. Altar with Inscription — Empire
Gift to Bona Dea, by order of the *spira Isisaca.*
Ch. I, No. 101'.

CISPADANA — **Forum Cornelii**
(Imola)

42. Pillar-shaped Altar — 2nd century A.D.
Gift to B.D.
Ch. I, No. 107.

HISTRIA — **Nesactium**
(Vizače)

43. Fragmentary Small Altar — 2nd century A.D.
Dedication to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 122.

Staranzaro

44. Inscription — 1st century B.C./
1st century A.D.

Vow to B.D.
Ch. I, No. 124'.

Campo di Mezzo

45. Fragment of a Basin — Empire
Dedication to B.D.
Ch. I, No. 125.

Without indication
of provenance (Italy)

46. Statuette — Antoninian
This (fragmentary) statuette in Luna marble shows the goddess in her usual attitude.
Ch. I, No. 126.

DALMATIA — LIBURNIA — **Cissa (Časka)**

47. Altar — 1st century A.D.
Gift to B.D. *Domina Heia Augusta Triumphalis terrae marisque*

Dominatrix Conservatrix mentiumque bonarum ac remediorum Potens Dea Bene Iudicans.
Ch. I, No. 127.

PANNONIA P. INFERIOR **Aquincum (Budapest)**

48. Inscription After Hadrian/or after Septimius Severus
Fulfilment of a vow to Bona Dea, Panthaeus, Diana, and the Silvanae.
Ch. I, No. 128.

49. Inscription Empire
Fulfilment of a vow to Fortuna Conservatrix and Bona Dea Juno.
Ch. I, No. 129.

BRITANNIA B. INFERIOR **Cilurnum (Chesters)**

49'. Small Altar Time of Hadrian (or later)
Dedication to Bona Dea Regina Caelestis.
Ch. I, No. 136'.

GALLIA G. NARBONENSIS **Apta Julia (Apt)**

50. Small Altar Empire
Fulfilment of a vow to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 132.

AFRICA NUMIDIA **Zarai (Zraia)**

51. Mars Altar Empire
Fulfilling his vow one Julius presents this altar to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 137.

Sila (Bordj el Ksar)

52. Pedestal with Inscription Empire
Dedication to Bona Dea *Augusta*.
Ch. I, No. 138.

Lambaesis
(Lambèse/Tazzût)

53. Altar with Inscription — After A.D. 232-235
Acknowledgement *reciperata salute* to Bona Dea.
Ch. I, No. 138'.

54. Dedicatory Inscription of an Altar — Empire
Dedication of an altar to Bona Dea *Augusta*.
Ch. I, No. 139.

PROVINCIA BYZACENA

Mactaris
(Hr Makter)

55. Altar with Inscription — Empire
Fulfilment of a vow to Bona Dea *Augusta*.
Ch. I, No. 140.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GODDESS AND HER CULT

We know from antique sources that behind the appellation Bona Dea a goddess is hidden whose real name must not be pronounced. The identity of this goddess is apparent from the myths woven around her personality and from the cult celebrated in her honour. In this study reference has already been made to the possibilities, which the vagueness of the term Bona Dea offers, of speculating upon the goddess's character.[1] Consequently, the information from Antiquity, whether of a literary or of an epigraphic nature, presents a far from uniform picture. Bona Dea does not emerge from the sources as a goddess corresponding to one clearly definable type. The myths concerning Bona Dea introduce her as someone who, under the name of Fauna, plays a part in the oldest "history" of Latium and fits in with the genealogy of the Princes of that region in prehistoric times. The descriptions of the goddess's cult make her a deity who watches over the welfare of the Roman State. Women of the upper classes are the appointed representatives of the State; they celebrate the cult of Bona Dea in strict privacy and exclude everything male.

By contrast with these data, describing Bona Dea as a traditional Latin deity worshipped exclusively and especially belonging to the aristocracy, information is found both in the writings of ancient authors and in the epigraphic material that depicts a completely different Bona Dea. Theological speculations distort the image of the Latin patron goddess so that she becomes a deity representing an aspect of the "All-Goddess" and as such is comparable to many other deities, either of Italic or of Greek origin. Besides these speculations by authors, a Bona Dea is met in the inscriptions who, because of the personal interpretations given by the worshippers, no longer corresponds to the traditional and aristocratic goddess belonging to Latium. The epithets borne by the goddess in the dedications erected in her honour indicate the meaning which the individual worshipper conjectured was hidden behind the appellation Bona Dea. Local influences, no less than those of the great salvational religions which now and then sprang up in the Roman Empire, are recognizable in the goddess's titles. And the origin and class of a great number of her worshippers indicate that the Bona Dea worship, at least during the length of time for which there is information available, was not exclusive to the Roman aristocracy and was not merely the worship of the "Women's Goddess".[2]

---

[1] See above, ch. III A-B-C.

These aspects of Bona Dea—the mythological figure appearing as Fauna in the pseudo-history of Latium, the goddess that watches over the welfare of the Roman people, the deity that presents possibilities both of theological speculation and personal interpretation—are not entirely separable. However, a separate discussion of each aspect may make it possible to distinguish who Bona Dea was originally and how, in the course of history, she became the deity whom we meet in many and varied shapes in ancient literature and inscriptions.

In the following chapter we will first study Bona Dea's appearance in Latin mythology and point out the peculiarities of the aspects upon which the stories about her in the "ancient history" of Latium are based, These aspects, which from the cult of the goddess changed into myths, form, besides theological speculations, the background for the description of the goddess's cult. As has already been said above, the cult patterns are not uniform, and so the cult of the goddess is described under three subdivisions, a distinct image of Bona Dea being the point of departure in each case.

A) *Peculiar aspects of the Bona Dea worship*

1. *Bona Dea in mythology*

Compared with the data we possess concerning her cult, the information about Bona Dea's appearance in the mythology of Latium is of a rather late date but is traceable to earlier sources than the works that have come down to us.[3]

As a rule, the authors give explanations of the cult practices as based on the myths woven around the goddess's personality; the reverse may be true, however, so that the myths owed their origin to the ritual in honour of the goddess.[4]

The first to speak about Bona Dea in a mythological context is Plutarch. In his *Roman Questions* he asks why when putting up in their houses a shrine to the Women's Goddess (whom they call the Good Goddess) the women bring in no myrtle even though they take pride in the way they use all kinds of growing and blooming plants.[5] To this question Plutarch gives two answers, the one based on the myth, the other on the cult practices.[6] The first explanation is:

---

[2] See above, ch. IV.

[3] Our earliest information about the cult is given by Cicero and dates from 61 B.C. (see ch. II. No. 1). The first information about the myths is given by Plutarch (see ch. II, No. 11).

[4] Cf. Peter, *Bona Dea*, col. 790; Wissowa, *Bona Dea*, col. 688; *RKR*, p. 217; Latte, *RR*, pp. 228-229.

[5] Ch. II, No. *45*.

> "Is it because, as the mythologists relate, this goddess was the wife of the seer Faunus, and after having been found out drinking wine in secret was beaten by her husband with myrtle twigs; and is it therefore that they do not bring in myrtle, but in her honour pour libations of wine, which they call milk, however?"

Elsewhere, Plutarch states that, to the Romans, this Good Goddess, comparable with the Greek Women's Goddess, with the Phrygian mother of Midas, and with that one of Dionysus' mothers whom none may name, was a *Dryad married to Faunus.*[7]

Another version of the myth is found in Tertullian:[8]

> "If Faunus' daughter excelled in chastity to such a degree that she refused to be in the company of men, whether from barbarism, from being conscious of her plainness, or for shame of her father's insanity, how much more praise than Bona Dea does Penelope deserve, who amidst so many loathsome suitors succeeded in protecting her besieged chastity by shunning their company?"

To Arnobius, as to Plutarch, Bona Dea is again Faunus' wife. And for the first time we learn of a proper name beside the appellation:[9]

> "If you do not mind, friends, expound who are these gods who think our worship of Christ an insult to themselves. Janus, the builder of the Janiculum, and Saturn, the founder of the Saturnian State; Fenta Fatua, Faunus' wife, who is called the Good Goddess (Bona Dea), but was better and more praiseworthy at drinking wine."

Arnobius refers to two sources of his information about Bona Dea, Sextus Clodius (1st century B.C.)[10] and Butas (probably a freedman of Cato Minor; also 1st century B.C.).[11] The repugnant character and the large number of the rites discourage Arnobius from describing them all and so he proposes:[12]

> "Therefore let us ignore Fenta Fatua, called the Good Goddess (Bona Dea) and who Sextus Clodius in the sixth book—in Greek—of his *The Gods* tells us was beaten to death with myrtle twigs because, without the knowledge of her husband, she is said to have emptied a full vessel of pure wine; the proof of the truth of the story brought forward is that when the women celebrate her festival a vessel of wine stands in the room covered with a cloth, and it is forbidden to bring in myrtle twigs, as Butas writes in his *The Causes of Things.*

---

[6] See for the second answer, below § 3 (*Myrtle*).

[7] Ch. II, No. *49.*

[8] Ch. II, No. *57.*

[9] Ch. II, No. *61.*

[10] See ch. II, note 437.

[11] *Ibidem*, note 438.

[12] Ch. II, No. *62.*

Lactantius, too, refers to his sources, Gavius Bassus (time of Cicero),[13] Varro (116-27 B.C.),[14] and as does Arnobius, Sextus Clodius. Lactantius' version of the myth is:[15]

> "But just as Pompilius had introduced an absurd religious system among the Romans so before Pompilius, it has been done in Latium by Faunus who instituted abominable rites in honour of his grandfather Saturn, worshipping his father Picus among the gods and deifying his sister—also his wife—Fenta Fauna. From Gavius Bassus we learn that she was called Fatua since she used to foretell women their fate, as Faunus did that of men. Varro writes that she also displayed such great modesty that no man, except her own husband, has ever seen her during her lifetime or has ever heard her name. This is why women offer sacrifice to her in secret and call her Bona Dea. And Sextus Clodius tells us in the book that he wrote in Greek that she was Faunus' wife; since against a Queen's code of decency she had secretly emptied a full jug of wine and had got drunk she was beaten to death by her husband with myrtle twigs; however, when he afterwards repented his conduct and missed her sorely he conferred divine honour upon her. It is for this reason that during her festival a vessel of wine covered with a cloth is set up."[16]

Servius gives the following version, with an explanation of the goddess's name, in his commentary on *Aeneid* VIII 314 (*haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant*):[17]

> "... Doubtless, as was said above (VII 48), Faunus is alleged to be Picus' son, who was called Faunus, from *fari* (to prophesy), because he could foretell the future: their oracles were also handed down. It is said that this Faunus had a daughter, the chastest of all women (?) and well-trained in all skills. Some assert that she was called the Good Goddess (Bona Dea) since it was forbidden to call her by her name.
>
> These Fauni are also called Fatui because they utter divine prophesies in a state of stupor. There are those who maintain that Faunus was the name of the god whom we call the propitious one."

In addition to numerous theological speculations upon Bona Dea's name and nature, Macrobius relates Varro's version of the myth about the goddess. It is told by Macrobius in two very different ways and with details not found in the other authors, the serpent and the rape:[18]

> "It is said too that she was the daughter of Faunus, and that she resisted the amorous advances of her father who had fallen in love with her, so that he even beat her with myrtle twigs because she did not yield to his desires though she had

---

[13] See ch. II, note 443.

[14] *Ibidem*, note 411; see also H. Dahlmann, *Terentius* (84) in *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), coll. 1172-1277.

[15] Ch. II, No. *63*.

[16] Cf. also the shorter version, ch. II, No. *65*.

[17] Ch. II, No. *66*.

[18] Ch. II, No. *67*, § 24.

> been made drunk by him on wine. It is believed that the father then changed himself into a serpent, however, and under this guise had intercourse with his daughter."

As proof of all this, Macrobius lists the taboo on myrtle, the presence of a vine, the facts that in the cult wine is called milk and the wine-vessel honey-jar, and that tame serpents live in her temple.[19] The version already given above is known to Macrobius, too:[20]

> "In Greece she is called the Women's Goddess, of whom Varro tells us that she was the daughter of Faunus, and so modest that she never left the women's quarters, that her name was never heard in public, and that she never saw a man nor was seen by a man, for which reason in fact no man enters her temple."

In Isidore's explanation of the name Fatuus he finally refers to the prophetic gifts of Faunus' wife:[21]

> "It is assumed that Fatuus is thus called because he neither understands what he declares himself not what others say. Some think that the Fatui are descended from the admirers of Fatua, Faunus' prophesying wife, and that originally they were called fools (*fatui*) as they were exceedingly bewildered by her prophecies and became insane."

Despite the discrepancies, some elements in this series of mythological accounts are repeated several times and, with references to the cult practices, are proposed by the authors as fundamental features: the goddess's drunkenness, either intentional or enforced; and the punishment with myrtle twigs. In the ritual in honour of Bona Dea these aspects are found in the form of the taboo on the presence of myrtle and wine (nominally, anyway). The goddess's chastity, moreove, is reflected in the circumstance that her cult is celebrated exclusively by women.

A study of these elements will be helpful to our understanding of the cult practices in honour of the goddess.

2. *Wine, milk, and honey*

Twice in the ancient literature the wine used in the Bona Dea cult is defined as milk. Plutarch relates that though the women pour libations of wine in honour of Bona Dea they call it milk.[22] Macrobius knows that wine must not be admitted under its own name to the temple of Bona Dea, and that the wine-vessel was called honey-jar and the wine itself milk.[23]

---

[19] *Ibidem*, 25.

[20] *Ibidem*, 27.

[21] Ch. II, No. *70*.

[22] Ch. II, No. *45*.

[23] Ch. II, No. *67*.

Although to the Roman, of whatever class, just as to the Greek, wine was the prevailing drink, the remembrance of milk being the original drink survived. Pliny points out that Italy's reputation as a wine-producing country is a relatively recent one and that Romulus used to pour libations of milk, not of wine.[24] Indeed, as a payment in kind milk was part of the soldier's pay in early times; wine never was.[25]

What induced man in Antiquity to use milk as an offering in honour of several gods is an open question.[26] But in view of the predominant function milk has outside religion—as food, medicine, or whatever—[27] it is not surprising that milk should be an element in the cult practices.

In Greece, the wine-offering becomes the most usual libation at an early date.[28] But we also know of an offering consisting of a mixture of milk and honey, μελίκρατον,[29] which could be poured in combination with oil, water, and wine as well.[30] Such an offering is found in Roman cult practices, too: in spring, Ceres is honoured with milk, honey, and wine.[31] With Virgil an offering to Daphnis (as Phoebus) is made of fresh milk, rich oil, and wine.[32] Thus, both in Greece and Italy the tradition of the offering without wine survived. The mixture of milk and honey is thought preeminently suitable; mere milk as an offering, however, is not at all unusual.[33]

In Roman religion it is in the cult practices in honour of the ancient, indigenous gods that the milk-offering is found. So at the *Feriae Latinae* we have such an offering in honour of Jupiter Latiaris.[34] That the goddess Cunina, the patroness of the suckling in the cradle, is offered milk does not surprise us.[35] Another cult in which milk plays a role is that of Rumina, the goddess of suckling and sucking, whose name was thought to derive from *ruma* = *mamma*.[36] According to ancient tradition, the feast of the *Parilia* (or *Palilia*) was celebrated on 21 April in honour of the goddess Pales.[37] The occasion was intended to make the herds prosper, and Pales was considered the patroness of shepherds.[38] The offerings to this goddess were of an unsanguinary nature and consisted in the first place of milk.[39] The god Lactans, whom Servius encountered in Varro, and *qui se infundit segetibus et eas facit latescere*,[40] has an extremely transparent name.[41] And Virgil relates that the offering proper to the ancient patron god of the gardens, Priapus, consists of milk and cakes.[42]

---

[24] *Naturalis Historia* XIV 88; cf. J. André, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle*, livre XIV, Paris, 1958, p. 118, note *ad* 88.

[25] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XIV 91.

[26] Cf. P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Darmstadt, 1972 (Leipzig und Berlin, 1910), pp. 180-186; Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, *Milch* in *RE* XV 2 (1932), coll. 1569-1580, esp. 1576.

[27] Hellenistic and Roman learned circles showed great interest in the nutritional value and taste of the various sorts of milk; cf. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* IV 1; V xiv; VI xxii; Tacitus, *Germania* 23; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XI 239; milk (together with honey) was considered the most suitable food for children; cf. Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.* coll. 1570-1571; as for milk in medicine, cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXVIII 123; A. Baudrillac, *Lac* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 883-886; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1573; list in Pliny, *l.c.*, 125-130; milk in painting: Pliny, *o.c.*, XXXVI 55, XXXV 194; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1576; milk in cosmetics: Pliny, *o.c.*, XXVIII 183, cf. XI 238; XXVIII 72-73, 75; XXII 89; Ovid, *Fasti* IV 151-154; Bömer II, pp. 217-218; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1579.

[28] Cf. Kircher, *passim*; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1577.

[29] Cf. L. Ziehen, Νηφάλια in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 2481-2489, esp. 2483-2484.

[30] For the sources, cf. Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1577.

[31] Virgil, *Georgica* I 343-344; cf. Thilo-Hagen III 1, pp. 202-203.

[32] Virgil, *Eclogae* V 67-71; cf. Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 62.

[33] Sophocles, *Electra* 894; Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis* 6; cf. Ziehen, *l.c.*, coll. 2483-2484.

[34] Cf. E. Samter, *Feriae Latinae* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2213-2216; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 40, 124-125; Latte, *RR*, pp. 144-146; cf. also C. Thulin, *Juppiter* in *RE* X 1 (1918), coll. 1126-1144, esp. 1134-1135; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1576; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 320-325.

Though Faunus, so often depicted as the male counterpart of Bona Dea (Fauna), is called by the name of Pan by Tibullus when the poet relates how this deity is *lacte madens*,[43] the context makes it clear that Tibullus is referring to the ancient Latin god who is worshipped on the Palatine (close to Pales). Horace refers to the same god in his verse *Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant*.[44]

With this series of deities Bona Dea fits in exceedingly well and does so as long as she is considered a native deity, closely connected with primitive Latin, pseudo-historical, tradition. From accounts by two ancient writers as well as by the more or less concealed references by many others concerning the mysterious aura surrounding the wine in her ritual, it is clear that, whatever the substance of the rites in honour of Bona Dea may be, milk and honey are considered fundamental elements of her cult. The role wine plays, however, is equally clear.

It looks as if we may assume that milk, in combination with honey or not, had been the original offering proper to this goddess; that though the tradition was still remembered the practice of the ritual was different. Thus, the terms *lac* and *mellarium* survive when wine is poured. And this is done not only in honour of the goddess but for the worshippers, too, who enjoy their wine during the Bona Dea festivities.

---

[35] Cf. R. Peter, *Indigitamenta* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 129-233, esp. 196; E. Aust, *Cunina* in *RE* IV 2 (1901), col. 1758.

[36] Cf. Peter, *l.c.*, coll. 219-220; F. Pfister, *Rumina* in *RE* I A 1 (1914), coll. 1225-1226; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1576; see also Platner-Ashby, p. 208.

[37] Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VI 15; Ovid, *Fasti* IV 721-806; Paulus Diaconus, *s.v. Pales* (Lindsay p. 248).

[38] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Pales* in *ML* III 1 (1897-1902), coll. 1276-1280; G. Rohde, *Pales* in *RE* XVIII 3 (1949), coll. 89-97.

[39] Cf. Wissowa, *l.c.*, col. 1279; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1576.

[40] *Ad Georgica* I 315; Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 199.

[41] Cf. Peter, *l.c.*, coll. 139, 148, 201; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*; cf. also the god Lacturnus, St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* IV 8; Peter, *l.c.*, col. 201; Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*

[42] *Eclogae* VII 33; cf. Thilo-Hagen III 1, pp. 87-88; O. Jessen, *Priapos* in *ML* III 2 (1902-1909), coll. 2967-2990; H. Herter, *Priapos* (1) in *RE* XXII 2 (1954), coll. 1914-1942.

[43] II v 27.

[44] *Epistulae* II i 143; cf. Herzog-Hauser, *l.c.*, col. 1577.

The myth concerning Fauna's excessive drinking may be traceable to the practice of the feast: wine and music help the worshippers reach a state of ecstasy, and the same wine is an integral aspect both of the myth and the cult, no matter how the impropriety of the goddess's drunkenness is depicted.

The role which the milk plays is a very inferior one compared with that of the wine. But the memory of the tradition of the milk-offering has survived up to the time of our late sources (Macrobius).

The uses of honey are as manifold as the uses of milk in Antiquity, in both religious and non-religious contexts.[45] Of the ancient sources,[46] Macrobius is the only one to convey to us the meaning of honey in the Bona Dea ritual (see above).[47] However, paucity of information need not discourage us from assuming that an ancient element of the Bona Dea cult is concerned. But it seems unlikely that the use of honey in a pure state (i.e. honey not made into *mulsum*)[48] survived into later times, if indeed this had been the case originally and it should not be assumed that the combination of milk and honey preceded the wine-offering. However, this conjecture is contradicted by Macrobius' separate references to *lac* on the one hand, and *mellarium* on the other.[49]

The information concerning the use of wine in the cult of Bona Dea is more extensive than that concerning any other element, and is not based, as in the case of milk and honey, upon the memory of a lost tradition but on the actual practice of the cult. Although there are suggestions in the epigraphic sources of the role that wine plays in the Bona Dea cult[50] all direct information is to be found in the ancient literature.

---

[45] Liber Pater (Bacchus) was said to be the inventor of honey; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* III 736; 761-762; G. Lafaye, *Mel* in *DA* III-II (1918), pp. 1701-1706, esp. 1701; M. Schuster, *Mel* in *RE* XV 1 (1931), coll. 364-384, esp. 364; cf. also F. Olck, *Biene* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 431-450; *Bienenzucht, ibidem,* coll. 450-457; G. Schrot, *Honig* in *DKP* 2 (MCMLXVII), coll. 1210-1211; M. Schuster, *Met* in *RE* XV 2 (1932), coll. 1297-1310; Marquardt, *Privatleben* II, pp. 460-461; F.Orth, *Kuchen* in *RE* XI 2 (1922), coll. 2088-2099; for a survey of the use in medicine, cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXII 106-109; for honey in religion, cf. the sources cited by Schuster, *Mel,* coll. 379-383; Eitrem, pp. 102-105.

[46] Cf., however, also ch. I, No. 101, where there is reference to the *vicanae ad Bonam Deam* being treated to mead (a mixture of wine and honey: *mulsum*) on the occasion of Livia's birthday in A.D. 18.

[47] Ch. II, No. *67*; the word *mellarium,* which here is to be interpreted as honey-jar, normally stands for beehive; cf. Varro, *Res Rusticae* III xvi 12; (*vasa*) *mellaria* is the usual term designing a honey-jar; cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXI 82; Lewis and Short, p. 1128, *s.v. Mellarius.*

[48] Cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben* I, p. 323; II, pp. 459-460.

[49] Ch. II, No. *67*; cf. Piccaluga's rather improbable explanation, *Bona Dea*, pp. 216-217.

[50] The libation mentioned in the *lex* belonging to an altar of Bona Dea (ch. I, No. 71) is of such a general nature that it should not be considered characteristic of the Bona Dea cult; cf. also the *mulsum* treat for the *vicanae ad Bonam Deam* (ch. I, No. 101, and above, note 46).

In the enumeration of the mythological data given above it is already apparent that the explanations of the cult observances were looked for in the myths about Bona Dea. Plutarch refers to sources telling of women pouring wine in honour of the goddess which they call milk since Bona Dea had indulged in excessive drinking.[51] Arnobius' and Lactantius' authorities relate the fact of the wine-vessel being set up covered with a cloth during her ritual to the drunkenness of the goddess.[52] In Macrobius' account, Bona Dea's drunkenness is enforced upon her. In proof of this his sources refer to the vine spreading its foliage above her head[53] and to wine and wine-vessel being called *lac* and *mellarium*.[54]

Descriptions of the festivities of the goddess, too, make it clear that the wine is an important element and certainly not as an offering only. In his picture of the perverse celebration of the Bona Dea mysteries by men, Juvenal warns the degenerate that he will be received by those who, at home, wear long ribbons round their foreheads and hide their necks under necklaces "trying to mollify Bona Dea with the belly of a young sow and a large crater" (with wine).[55]

Juvenal's diatribe against immoral women gives a description of the feast in honour of Bona Dea as an opportunity for sexual dissipations, stimulated, among other things, by wine-drinking:[56] "The mysteries of Bona Dea are known when the flute stirs the loins and Priapus' maenads delirious with music and wine whirl round with flying hair and uttering loud shrieks. Oh, how strong is then the desire for the pleasures of the bed that sways their senses, what cries now passion is roused, how abundantly streams that old wine down their wet legs".

That the women excessively enjoyed their wine during the festival is also apparent from Juvenal's words, when saying:[57] "But they prefer to betray a secret rather than drink as much stolen Falernian wine as Saufeia used to enjoy at the sacrifice for the people".

Wherever the various authors try to establish the role of the wine (the influence of Dionysus,[58] the drunkenness of the goddess, the amorous advances of the father) and despite the reserve felt lest the drink should be called by its own name, it is apparent that the wine is an integral part of the Bona Dea cult.

As with any other gift, the relationship of the wine to the deity originates in the act of offering. The offering of wine has essentially no other meaning than that of anything else that is of value to man: the deity enjoys the same things as does his worshipper.[59] Though often combined with other gifts, especially meat, wine is also an independent offering, and this applies to both public sacrifices and those offered on an individual's initiative.[60] In Rome as in Greece, this independent wine-offering is encountered. Where special and solemn sacrifices are concerned it is encountered in the *praefatio sacrorum*.[61] In the private sphere the libation is a very usual occurrence.[62]

---

[51] Ch. II, No. *45*.

[52] Though Plutarch refers to bowers of vine, which were erected during the December celebration, he does not mention wine-drinking; see ch. II, No. *49*.

[53] Ch. II, No. *67* (25); cf. the bowers mentioned by Plutarch, above, note 52.

[54] Ch. II, No. *67* (25).

[55] Ch. II, No. *50*.

[56] Ch. II, No. *51*; cf. also Plutarch's reference to "revelry and music", ch. II, No. *49*.

[57] Ch. II, No. *52*.

[58] According to Plutarch, ch. II, No. *49*.

All the gods, except the chthonian divinities, are qualified to receive the wine-offering.[63] It may be made either to a single deity or to the divine community as a whole.[64] The usual practice is to offer wine mixed with water to the deity, just as man is wont to drink it and as the gods themselves mix their nectar.[65] And though in the myth Bona Dea drinks *merum* (pure wine), [66] on the authority of Juvenal's reference to a crater it may be supposed that her worshippers mixed their wine, poured it as a libation and drank it themselves in that way.[67] The goddess's drunkenness offers an aetiological explanation of wine-drinking during her festival, but the information that she was punished by Faunus or even beaten to death by him because of drunkenness is nowhere presented in the sources as an explanation of any part of the ritual in honour of Bona Dea. However closely Faunus seems to be connected with wine in myth and cult, however close the relationship between him and Bona Dea may be in myth, distinct laws were alleged to have existed for women and men.[68] Bona Dea, therefore, acted *contra morem decusque regium*[69] when quenching her thirst with wine (and did more than that, drunkenness being the result). For, as related subsequently,[70] in the early days women were forbidden to drink wine except in connection with religious rites on stated days, and this under penalty of death. In view of this rule, Faunus' conduct as regards his wife would not have differed from the usual one in such cases. The master of the house was allowed by law to act as a judge where his people were concerned.[71] As an instance of this we have the story of Egnatius Mecennius (or M(a)etennius), which anecdote Varro uses to illustrate the austerity of the forefathers,[72] and which was copied by later authors.[73] The wife of this Egnatius was said to have drunk wine from the vessel and subsequently to have been beaten to death by her husband. Though charged with murder he was acquitted by Romulus.[74] The resemblance between this story and one version of the Bona Dea myth is obvious. Yet, the latter shows more relief because of the myrtle as the means of punishment (and the subsequent taboo in the cult), besides the other elements in the different version, such as the father's infatuation and the significance of the wine when he endeavours to break down Bona Dea's resistance.[75]

---

[59] Cf. Kircher, p. 5.

[60] *Ibidem*, pp. 5-9.

[61] Livy defines *praefatio sacrorum* as a purifactory sacrifice which precedes the sacrifice proper (XLV v 4); cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 412; Kircher, p. 9. An independent wine-offering may be suspected where the *Vinalia Rustica* are concerned, 19 August; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 115, 289; Latte, *RR*, pp. 75-76; Kircher, p. 9; and this is certainly the case as regards the *Meditrinalia*, 11 October; cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VI 21; Paulus Diaconus, *s.v.* (Lindsay p. 110); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 115; Latte, *RR*, pp. 74-75; Kircher, p. 9; F. Mielentz, *Meditrinalia* in *RE* XV 1 (1931), coll. 106-107; and the same applies to the *Vinalia Priora*, 23 April; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* IV 863-900; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 115; Latte, *RR*. p. 75.

[62] Cf. Kircher, pp. 10-12; 13-21; Stengel, *o.c.*, pp. 183-185.

[63] Cf. Kircher, p. 21; Stengel, *o.c.*, pp. 181-183.

[64] Cf. Kircher, pp. 21-23; 32-36; 91-96; De-Marchi, *Cult. priv.* I, pp. 69-78; W. F. Otto, *Genius* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 1161-1170, esp. 1161-1164.

[65] *Odyssey* V 93; cf. Kircher, p. 38; K. Wernicke, *Ambrosia* (4) in *RE* I 2 (1894), coll. 1809-1811; at the wine-offerings to the dead, however, *merum*, pure wine, is poured out; cf. Kircher, p. 39.

[66] Ch. II, No. *62*; but cf. also *51*, where *merum* in connection with the cult is mentioned.

[67] Ch. II, No. *50*.

[68] King Numa inebriates Picus and Faunus with wine and then fetters them so as to force them into invoking Jupiter (Ovid, *Fasti* III 289-375; Plutarch, *Life of Numa* XV; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* V 1; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 202, note 24); wine also plays a part in the cult of Faunus, in early spring (*tunc sunt optima vina*; as the scholiast remarks *ad* Horace, *Carmina* I iv 11: *in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis*; cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 203, note 1) and at the *Nonae*

That there had been a law forbidding women to drink wine in primitive times was an accepted truth to many an ancient author.[76] The alleged reason was that such drinking would lead to immoral conduct and adultery. On the other

---

of December, when the wine flows abudantly (the *Faunalia*?; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea,* p. 203, takes the name for granted, but cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 210, note 8; cf. also Horace, *Carmina* III xviii, esp. 6-7; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, notes 29, 30, 31); as Silvanus (for this identification, a parallel of Fauna-Bona Dea, cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 213-216) he is given grapes (Horace, *Epodi* II 17-22; cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, note 32) and to Mars Silvanus wine is offered in the woods (Cato, *De Agri Cultura* LXXXIII; the connection Liber Pater-Faunus (Silvanus) also fits in with these data; cf. Servius *ad Aeneis* VIII 343; Thilo-Hagen II, pp. 249-250; that a priest of Liber Pater in the quarter of the *Bonadienses* expresses his gratitude to Silvanus probably is no coincidence; cf. ch. II, No. 67).

[69] Ch. II, No. *63* (Lactantius); Piccaluga, *l.c.*, merely quotes *contra morem*, disregarding the rest of the remark.

[70] On Virgil's words *summo tenus attigit ore* (*Aeneis* I 737) Servius comments: "ATTIGIT ORE et verecundiam reginae ostendit et morem Romanum, nam apud maiores nostros feminae non utebantur vino, nisi sacrorum causa certis diebus, denique femina quae sub Romulo vinum bibit occisa est a marito, Mecennius absolutus, id enim nomen marito. sic Granius Licinianus cenae suae;" Thilo-Hagen I, p. 205; cf. also Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, note 35; see below.

[71] Cf. E. Sachers, *Potestas patria* in *RE* XXII 1 (1953), coll. 1046-1175, esp. 1054-1056, 1062-1067.

[72] Cf. F. Münzer, *Egnatius* (28) in *RE* V 2 (1905), coll. 1997-1998.

[73] Cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 204, note 36; see Servius, quoted in note 70 above.

[74] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV 89; cf. J. André, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle,* livre XIV, Paris, 1958, pp. 120-121, notes 1 and 2 *ad* 89.

[75] But cf. Latte, *RR*, p. 229, note 1; Piccaluga, *l.c.*

[76] Dionysius of Halicarnassus II xxv 6-7; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* VI; cf. K. Schneider, *Ius Osculi* in *RE* X 2 (1919), coll. 1284-1285; S. Oppermann, *Kuss* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 381; Cicero, *De Re Publica* IV vi; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* X xxiii; cf. also Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 204-205 and the notes.

hand liqueurs with a higher alcohol percentage than ordinary wine were permitted,[77] so that the alleged reason of the prohibition loses its plausibility. Contrasted with wine obtained by a natural fermentation process from the grape, however, other alcoholic drinks were not thought suitable for sacred purposes.[78] As stated above, women were permitted to drink real wine *sacrorum causa certis diebus*,[79] but were otherwise excluded from enjoying wine suitable for religious ceremonies.[80]

Temetum, obtained by simple fermentation of the grape, is the only wine which, because of its pure (and old-fashioned ?)[81] character, is considered suitable as an offering to the gods.[82] The Roman world, nevertheless, knew very well the danger inherent in the regular consumption of this *vinum grave,* which allegedly impaired the intellect and caused insanity.[83] Pliny denounces the drinking of wine, so highly valued by man, nature having given us water—the most healthy drink.[84] Excessive wine-drinking does not only harm the drinker himself but he becomes a danger to the community as well. As soon as inhibitions are weakened he is inclined to violate the standards of society.[85] For women there were very strict rules, though a woman was thought to get less easily drunk than an (old) man since her body was alleged to be so full of liquid that the beverage became diluted and consequently less dangerous.[86]

A discrepancy is revealed by the circumstance that other drinks, certainly no less dangerous, were permitted. Apparently an essential difference was felt to exist between wine that could be considered a natural product (with its sacral implications) and artificial beverages (unsuitable for any religious purpose). It may be assumed, therefore, that the sacral aspects influenced the prohibition rather than the supposed danger to women of the effect of alcohol.[87]

---

[77] For these liqueurs, cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben* II, pp. 459-460; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 204-205.

[78] For this, cf. Festus, *s.v. spurcum vinum* (Lindsay p. 474; cf. p. 475, Paulus *ex Festo*); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV 119; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 207, note 52.

[79] See above, note 70.

[80] The reasons put forward for this—deterioration of morals, contraceptive and abortifacient qualities of the wine—are not all borne out by what we know about the permitted use of stronger drinks by the Roman women in early times; a survey of the data is given by Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 208-209.

[81] Cf. H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer,* München, 1911 (= *HAW* IV 2, 2), p. 197: *ein herber Landwein.*

[82] Cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 206, note 47; p. 209.

[83] *Ibidem*, p. 210, notes 62 and 63.

[84] *Naturalis Historia* XIV 137-141.

[85] Cf. Livy about the Bacchanalia (XXXIX viii); Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 211, note 65.

[86] Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus II xxv 6-7; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* VII 6 16-18.

[87] Cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 211-212.

Pliny describes excessive candour as a regrettable consequence of excessive drinking (*volgoque veritas iam attributa vino est*).[88] Besides this "ordinary" language which clashes with good manners and endangers secrets which were better kept indoors, there is a different language, according to Pliny, with sacred implications: the language of prophecy. Stupor, insanity, in whatever way caused (and certainly not in the last instance by alcoholic drinks), induce utterances which may not be checked and which constitute a danger.[89]

Not only are Faunus and Bona Dea thought to be endowed with prophetic gifts but also the *fauni* as a group have this faculty, their name being said to derive from it.[90] Faunus' appearance as an oracular deity is well-known,[91] though his prophecies are considered insane and foolish. The god is described as *inepta loquens*[92] or *insanus*, as may be concluded from Tertullian's words when saying that Bona Dea shrank from the company of men, among other things, *rubore insaniae paternae.*[93] The names of Fatuus and Fatua allegedly defined a similar faculty:[94] the predilection shown by both Bona Dea and Faunus for wine and Servius' explanation *hos Faunos etiam Fatuos dicunt, quod per stuporem divina pronuntient*[95] together make it clear what causes this *stupor*. Prophecy originating in insanity may also be concluded from the same commentator's remark: ... *dicti autem sunt Faunus et Fauna a vaticinando, id est fando, unde et fatuos dicimus inconsiderate loquentes.*[96]

Except for the explanations of the name of the goddess we only once come across a prophetic occurrence in the cult of Bona Dea, namely during the festival in Cicero's house in 63 B.C., when the flame on the altar suddenly leaping up signified that the gods approved of the Consul's actions.[97]

That there was an orgiastic element may be deduced from Plutarch's and, especially, Juvenal's descriptions of the feast in honour of the goddess.[98] That this element was brought about by the wine, as well as by the music, is obvious from the texts. To the worshippers drinking during the feast corresponds the goddess's drinking in the myth. This is such a fundamental premiss that the stories lacking this motif are hardly coherent. That the wine drunk was suitable for sacral purposes is apparent from the terminology: *merum* is the word that is used both in the mythological context and in the description of the ritual.[99]

---

[88] *Naturalis Historia* XIV 141.

[89] Cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione* II 110 and 117; cf. also Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 213-214, notes 73, 74, 75.

[90] A survey of the data is given by Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 214-215, notes 76-80.

[91] Cf. Bouché-Leclercq IV pp. 121-127; K. Latte, *Orakel* in *RE* XVIII 1 (1939), coll. 829-866, esp. 855-857; Elisabeth Smits, *Faunus,* Leiden, 1946 (Diss.), pp. 33-41; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 215, notes 81-83.

[92] Donatus *ad* Terence, *Eunychus* V 8 49; cf. Piccaluga, *l.c.*, note 84.

[93] But it is also possible that the *insania* stands for Faunus' infatuation for his daughter, as described by Macrobius (ch. II, No. *67*); ch. II, No. *57.*

[94] The data are to be found in Piccaluga, *l.c.*, note 86.

[95] Ch. II, No. *66.*

[96] *Ad Aeneis* VII 47; Thilo-Hagen II, pp. 129-130; cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 215-216 and note 90.

[97] Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 216, note 91, assumes that the Bona Dea feast in general is connected with prophecy because of Servius' narrative concerning the celebration at Cicero's house; see below, B 1 a (*The celebration at Cicero's house in December 63 B.C.*) and note 289. The passage is not listed in the catalogue (ch. II) since it is only on the basis of other sources that we can conjecture what sacrifice Servius, despite his mistake, must have meant.

[98] Ch. II, Nos. *49*, *50*, *51*, *52*.

Wine-drinking, in other circumstances taboo to women—as the myth is supposed to make clear—becomes a religious act and an essential element of the ritual, a duty which was accepted with enthusiasm, as is apparent from Juvenal's description.[100]

3. *Myrtle*

To explain the problem of the taboo on the myrtle in the Bona Dea cult Plutarch, as mentioned above, gives first the mythological explanation: the punishment of Bona Dea with myrtle twigs. The second explanation is:[101]

> "Or is it because they abstain from many things, and particularly from sexual pleasures, when celebrating this religious service? For they not only exclude their husbands from the houses but they also remove everything male when performing the customary rites in honour of the goddess. Now, as the myrtle is sacred to Aphrodite they shun it on religious grounds. For the goddess they now call Aphrodite (Venus) Murcia, in ancient times, it seems, they styled Myrtia."

Venus *Murcia* = Μυρτία is not an original idea of Plutarch's. Both Varro and Pliny propose the same etymology.[102] And the myrtle as Venus' sacred plant is well-known.[103] That this connection between goddess and shrub is not an invention of later times is apparent from Plautus' remark:[104] *haec myrtus Veneris est.* And in spite of the Greek name the myrtle, according to Pliny, was already a native plant when Rome was founded.[105]

---

[99] See above note 66; the statements by Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 216, suggesting that the worshippers, like the goddess, used to drink pure wine so as to attain deification through intoxication, as Bona Dea did, do not appear very probable and are nowhere borne out; cf. also the crater mentioned by Juvenal (ch. II, No. *50*).

[100] Ch. II, No. *50*, *51*, *52*.

[101] Ch. II, No. *45*.

[102] Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 154; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XV 121; cf. also St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* IV 16; Paulus Diaconus, *s.v. Murciae deae* (Lindsay, pp. 134-135); Servius *ad Aeneis* VIII 636, Thilo-Hagen II, p. 287; Platner-Ashby, p. 348.

[103] Virgil, *Eclogae* VII 62; cf. Servius, Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 91; cf. also Servius *ad Aeneis* III 23, Thilo-Hagen I, pp. 340-341; drunkenness, incest, myrtle, and metamorphosis are all elements in the myth of Myrrha (Servius *ad Aeneis* V 72, Thilo-Hagen I, pp. 599-600; cf. M. Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis, la mythologie des aromates en Grèce*, Paris, 1972, pp. 121-125) corresponding to a high degree to Bona Dea's mythology.

[104] *Vidularia* frgm. IV.

[105] *Naturalis Historia* XV 119.

As the laurel is proper to the triumph so the myrtle is the plant used in connection with the *ovatio*.[106] The laurel is not only the sign of victory but also it has the power to cleanse general and soldiers of the blood they have shed.[107] And the same two qualities are ascribed to the myrtle. To Pliny, the connection myrtle-*ovatio* happens through Venus.[108] The cleansing effect of the myrtle also plays a role in the cult of Venus Cloacina.[109]

Plutarch's second explanation attracts the following conclusion: by contrast with the first explanation (*the mythologists relate*; see above, § 1) this one is based upon a facet of the goddess's cult, the exclusion of men from her religion. Plutarch himself draws this conclusion: the sexual aspect is not proper to the plant but to the goddess whose attribute it is. Bona Dea as a goddess of chastity is the opposite of Venus as a goddess of love; since the myrtle belongs to the latter it is, consequently, taboo in the cult of the former.

Yet, though the myrtle may be connected with Venus, this does not happen to the Roman (as contrasted with the Greek Plutarch) because of her capacity as a goddess of love (sexuality). Consequently, the presence of the myrtle in the myth of Bona Dea (and the taboo in the cult) must have had another origin.[110]

Plutarch's first explanation is affirmed elsewhere. But, as is apparent from the variations, the story was no longer altogether clear to the ancient scholar. What we see is that the existing cult practices are invariably referred to as so many proofs of the truth of the myth. Plutarch: Bona Dea is Faunus' wife, she indulged too freely in wine-drinking, and was punished with myrtle twigs by her husband. This is why myrtle is under a taboo in her cult.[111] Arnobius and Lactantius: Faunus' wife (and sister) empties a vessel of wine and is beaten to death by her husband with myrtle (and subsequently deified); from this originates the taboo on myrtle.[112] Macrobius: Faunus falls in love with his daughter but she rejects him. First he makes her drunk, then punishes her with myrtle twigs (for her obstinacy, not her drunkennes), and finally sleeps with her under the guise of a serpent; the truth of the myth is borne out by the taboo on the myrtle (*inter alia*).[113]

The incest, comparable to a similar motif in the story of Myrrha[114] and in

---

[106] Cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 326, 328.

[107] Cf. Paulus Diaconus, *s.v. Laureati* (Lindsay p. 104); for the medicinal qualities of the laurel, cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXIII 152-158.

[108] *Naturalis Historia* XV 125.

[109] *Ibidem*, 110-120; Schilling, *Vénus*, pp. 210-215, 217-219.

[110] That Plutarch is the only author to give this explanation, whereas the other explanation appears to be the generally accepted one, is an indication that the myrtle is also, without Venus' intervention, connected with Bona Dea.

[111] Ch. II, No. *45*.

[112] Ch. II, Nos. *62*, *63*.

[113] *Ch. II*, No. *67*.

[114] See above, note 103.

Zeus' copulating as a serpent with Persephone (see below, § 4), is related only by Macrobius; a similar implication, however, can be presumed where Bona Dea appears as both Faunus' sister and wife. It is only in Macrobius that sexual aspects in the whipping with myrtle are recognizable; in the other stories a purifying effect seems rather to be depicted.

The myrtle[115] which is discussed here is the *Myrtus communis L.,* an evergreen shrub or tree, with shiny leaves and sweet-smelling white flowers, commonly found around the Mediterranean Sea. It attractiveness, and a habitat close to springs and running water, not only led to the myrtle becoming a motif in poetry but also influenced the concepts concerning myrtle in connection with fertility (religion, medicine).[116] Though the Roman considered myrtle an exotic plant[117] because of its name,[118] the information given by Pliny[119] and Theophrastus[120] suggests that the plant was widespread in Italy at a very early date, if indeed it was not native.

The usefulness attributed to the myrtle and its products caused the shrub to become an important domestic plant.[121] Its medicinal qualities were highly valued and thought efficacious for various diseases and complaints.[122] And it is not surprising that this plant with its, alleged, medicinal efficacy played a role in religion as well:[123] besides the connection with Venus,[124] myrtle is also found as associated with the underworld.[125] In a chthonian context, two distinct qualities are attributed to the myrtle—fertility and the averting of evil.[126] And the cleansing effect, already discussed above, causes the myrtle to become a symbol of chastity.[127]

---

[115] Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XV 119; A. Steier, *Myrtos* in *RE* XVI 1 (1933), coll. 1171-1183.

[116] Cf. Steier, *l.c.*, coll. 1172-1173.

[117] Pliny, *l.c.*; for the various kinds, cf. 122.

[118] However, it was not unusual for the Romans to give native plants a Greek name when they knew them, since they played a role in a Greek cult or were used in Greek medicine. So it has been proposed that acquaintance, in the 1st Punic War, with the Aphrodite cult in Sicily caused the Greek name of the myrtle to be introduced into Rome; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 290; Steier, *l.c.*, coll. 1176-1177.

[119] *L.c.*, 119-120; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* XI, p. 168; Mannhardt II, p. 25.

[120] *Historia Plantarum* V 8 3; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* II, p. 188. As may be assumed in view of the data discussed above, the myrtle was known in Italy at an early stage. It was one of the most popular park trees. Cato recommends it for the garden and the shrub (tree) becomes so fashionable that in the gardens it increasingly supersedes the real fruit trees, esp. the olive. Hedges and arbours of myrtle, and *opus topiarium* (topiary) no less, were very popular; cf. Steier, *l.c.*, coll. 1181-1182; F. Olck, *Gartenbau* in *RE* VII (1910), coll. 768-841, esp. 827-828.

[121] The sources are to be found in Steier, *l.c.*, col. 1177; cf. also J. André, *Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle,* livre XV, Paris, 1960, p. 118, note *ad* 118.

[122] A list may be found with Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIII 159-164. Not only to Pliny but also to numerous other antique sources was the role of the myrtle in medicine of a far from negligible importance (cf. Steier, *l.c.*, col. 1179). That its efficacy as a medicine is not based on the myrtle's magic qualities but on actual ones is apparent from its use in modern medicine, albeit to a much lesser extent than Pliny describes; cf. J. Pinkhof-P. van der Wielen-J. Kok, *Pharmacotherapeutisch vademecum*, Hilversum, 1959^{10}, p. 303, *s.v. Myrtolum* (with thanks to Dr H. Coreelmont, pharmacist in Amsterdam, for his information with regard to this).

[123] So in Babylon Istar bore among other names that of Hadassa (myrtle); cf. Steier, *l.c.*, col. 1179; in Israel, myrtle played a role in religious usages; cf. Mannhardt II, pp. 283, 284; Steier, *l.c.*; in Persia, myrtle was a sign of merriment and triumph, and was used at offerings as well; cf. Herodotus VII 54, VIII 99; Steier, *l.c.*, coll. 1179-1180; in Greece the plant belonged to the

These elements, whether of later Greek or original provenance, may be recognized in the various accounts of the punishment of Bona Dea with myrtle, and it is clear that there is some confusion in the writers as to which aspect they should choose and attribute to Bona Dea. As Juvenal describes the sexual aspects of the Bona Dea ritual,[128] so in Macrobius the beating with myrtle twigs is an attempt to make the woman responsive to sexual pleasures.[129] The aphrodisiac effect[130] of the myrtle bears out Plutarch's remark about its association with Venus.[131]

It contrast to this, the chastity of Bona Dea in the myth and that of the worshippers in the cult is such an indispensable motif that we may be certain that it is an original feature. When Faunus punishes Bona Dea with myrtle after her excessive drinking a more general purification than that of the intoxication is intended, the more so as wine was alleged to lure woman into adultery—which Juvenal in his description of the goddess's feast depicts very vividly indeed.[132]

The association of myrtle with chastity seems to have been superseded by that of myrtle with fertility (under the patronage of Venus), and this will have led to the taboo on myrtle in the cult of Bona Dea.[133]

---

cult of Iacchus, and the participants in the Eleusis procession wore myrtle wreaths; cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 76; because of the connection with Bacchus, a restraining influence upon drunkenness was attributed to the myrtle (cf. Steier, *l.c.*, col. 1180), which quality may be the reason why Bona Dea was punished with myrtle twigs.

[124] Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough* I, p. 25; Detienne, *o.c.*, pp. 9-15; Steier, *l.c.*, coll. 1181-1182; Fehrle, p. 239.

[125] Virgil, *Aeneis* VI 442-444, describes a myrtle grove in the *Lugentes Campi*; Servius, however, associates this with Venus, Thilo-Hagen II, p. 67; elsewhere the association with the Underworld is more explicit: Euripides, *Electra* 323-324, 512; Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* V 8 3; Virgil, *Aeneis* III 23; cf. Servius, Thilo-Hagen I, pp. 340-341; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXXV 160; Steier, *l.c.*, col. 1182; Fehrle, p. 240.

[126] Cf. Fehrle, pp. 240-241.

[127] *Ibidem*, p. 241.

[128] Ch. II, No. *51*.

[129] Ch. II, No. *67*; cf. Fehrle, pp. 129-130. Cf. also the beating of women at the Lupercalia, the feast in honour of Faunus; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, esp. pp. 209-210; Latte, *RR* pp. 84-87; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 341-344; Fehrle, p. 128.

[130] Cf., besides the studies cited above, Gruppe, *passim* (see *Sachregister*, *s.v.* Myrte).

[131] Ch. II, No. *45*.

[132] See above, § 2 (Wine).

[133] Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, pp. 219-221, endeavours to answer the question why it was myrtle with which Bona Dea was killed, by referring to the dates of the two feasts in honour of the goddess and comparing them to the periods of blossoming and fruiting of this plant. Yet, though it is true that the myrtle starts blossoming in May (p. 219), no attention was paid to this by any ancient author. And this is not surprising as May is the blossoming month of many plants. And,

4. *Serpent*

The serpent is not only found as an element of the Bona Dea myth and cult in the literary sources but also in the epigraphic-archaeological monuments which provide information regarding the association which was understood to exist between goddess and animal.

The statuette of the goddess of Albano, with its inscription,[134] made it possible to recognize a certain type of deity as Bona Dea: a woman seated on a throne and clad in chiton and mantle, holding in her left arm the cornucopia and in her right hand a bowl from which a serpent, coiling round her arm, is drinking. This identification was the point of departure for establishing, with certainty or probability, the identity of a series of statuettes, a few statues and reliefs, which correspond to this type but have no inscription.[135]

In addition to these representations of the goddess herself, with the serpent as a partial[136] basis for identification, there are two inscriptions dedicated to Bona Dea with a representation of the goddess's sacred animal. The one dedication shows one serpent;[137] on the other one two serpents crawl from left and right to a central altar.[138]

Then we have literary data which put it beyond all doubt that the serpent played a role both in the myth and the cult of the goddess. In Plutarch, the serpent, which at the celebration of the mysteries of the goddess is placed beside the goddess, derives from a mythological source: since Bona Dea "is the one of Dionysus' mothers whom none may name ... a sacred serpent is placed beside the goddess in conformity with the myth".[139] Macrobius relates Faunus' amorous endeavours which are finally successful, for: "it is believed that the father then changed himself into a serpent, however, and under this

---

though Columella advises the preparation of myrtle wine from the fruit in December, this applies to one sort only (that prepared with Attic honey); cf. *De Re Rustica* XII xxxviii 5-6. The other sort is made out of the dried berries (of the preceding year) in combination with grapes, and this is done during the vintage; *ibidem*, 1-4. Consequently the date is rather earlier than December, the month of Bona Dea's nocturnal feast. And also as regards the other kind of myrtle wine a restriction must be made: weather conditions are such an important factor where the preparation of this wine is concerned that, according to Columella, the date may be changed from day to day: seven days of fair weather are necessary before the berries may be gathered, or there must have been at least three rainless days. To fix the date of the feast on this basis must be rather difficult. As a matter of fact, the intercalation of the variable feasts will have taken place in the beginning of the year; cf. Cicero's questions about this in letters of the first months of the year (ch. II, Nos. (*26*) and (*27*), but see also (*29*), which was written in June.

[134] Ch. I, No. 73.

[135] Ch. I, Nos. (6), (7), 32 A-B-C, 33, 45, (49), (65), (66), 68, (77), 81, (82), 91, 121, 126, 136.

[136] In fact, the combination of cornucopia and serpent makes it possible to distinghuish enthroned Bona Dea from other matronal deities and from goddesses with one of the two attributes, such as Fortuna with the cornucopia or Hygieia with the serpent.

[137] Ch. I, No. 2.

[138] Ch. I, No. 3.

[139] Ch. II, No. *49*.

guise had intercourse with his daughter". In proof of the truth of this myth the evidence is adduced: "... that there are serpents living in her temple which, indifferent to their surroundings, neither cause nor feel fear".[140]

Apparently, both Plutarch and Macrobius compare a (by them suspected) reality, either of the feast or of the temple of Bona Dea, with mythological accounts concerning the goddess. Plutarch's explanation concerns the nocturnal feast and his description implicity alludes to the statue of a serpent as is clear from the verb which he uses (παρακαθίδρυται). Macrobius speaks of live serpents which dwell, very tame, in the goddess's temple, a practice also known in other contexts.[141]

Of the many goddesses mentioned as Dionysus' mother,[142] in view of Plutarch's formula τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων τὴν ἄρρητον only one qualifies, who is also called ἄρρητος κούρα:[143] Persephone.[144] For tradition has it that

---

[140] Ch. II, No. *67*; it is surprising that the Christian authors who discuss Bona Dea—Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, ch. II, Nos. 15, 18, 19,—do not pay any attention to the appearance of the serpent in connection with the goddess, given that such a bizarre detail would have provided them with an additional weapon in their attacks upon Paganism.

[141] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XXIX 72, records that the serpent (of Aesculapius, imported from Epidaurus) was kept as a domestic animal and by its rapid increase became a nuisance; cf. E. Pottier, *Draco* (Δράκων) in *DA* II-I (1892), pp. 403-414, esp. 411; H. Gossen-A. Steier-R. Hartmann, *Schlange* in *RE* II A 1 (1921), coll. 494-557, esp. 518; the serpent in private house and temple originated in the protecting function ascribed to the animal, cf. Servius *ad Aeneis* V 85, Thilo-Hagen I, p. 603: "... nullus enim locus sine genio, qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur" (see below); Cumont, *Bona Dea*, p. 5.

[142] The belief that Semele is Dionysus' mother is the commonest one (cf. O. Jessen, *Semele* in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 662-676; J. B. Keune, *Semele* in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1341-1345; F. A. Voigt-E. Thrämer, *Dionysus* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 1029-1153, esp. 1044-1047). Though in the various places where the god was worshipped the ideas about his mother varied, according to the different ideas about the nature of Dionysus himself, it was accepted practically everywhere in later times that the correct name of his mother was Semele (cf. Jessen, *l.c.*, col. 662; for the name, cf. Keune, *l.c.*, coll. 1341-1342). Io, albeit identified with Isis, in one version of the myth is considered to be the mother of the god (cf. R. Engelmann, *Io* (Ἰώ) in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 263-280, esp. 269; S. Eitrem, *Io* (Ἰώ) in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 1732-1743; for the identification Io-Isis, cf. Malaise, ***Conditions***, p. 86, note 6; p. 214). Thyone is usually completely identical with Semele (cf. J. Schmidt, *Thyone* (Θυώνη, Θυώνα) in *ML* V (1916-1924), coll. 926-929; Voigt-Thrämer, *l.c.*, coll. 1047-1048; K. Preisendanz, *Thyone (*Θυώνη, Θυώνα) in *RE* VI A 1 (1936), coll. 735-736. Both were allegedly a mere aspect of the Earth (cf. Schmidt, *l.c.*, col. 927). Sporadically, other names for the mother of Dionysus are found, cf. the list in Voigt-Thrämer, *l.c.*, coll. 1048-1049.

[143] Cf. F. Bräuninger, *Persephone* in *RE* XIX 1 (1937), coll. 944-972, esp. 949; cf. also O. Kern, *Dionysus* (Διόνυσος) (2) in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 1010-1046, who (1014) states that Dionysus as Persephone's son is mere poetical speculation; Bräuninger, *l.c.*, coll. 950-951; J. Schmidt, *Zagreus* (Ζαγρεύς) in *ML* VI (1924-1937), coll. 532-538, however considers it a very old element (532-533, cf. 536-537).

[144] Cf. W. Fauth, *Zagreus* (Ζαγρεύς) in *RE* IX A 2 (1967), coll. 2221-2283, esp. 2270-2271. As regards her naming this goddess was usually given a general appellation in preference to a proper name, and the name Persephone (cf. for the name and its variations Bräuninger, *l.c.*, coll. 944-948) disappeared practically everywhere to be superseded by Κόρη (or sometimes Δήμητρος Κόρη), cf. *ibidem*, coll. 967-968; Bräuninger (968-969) points out that it is often difficult to decide whether mother or daughter is meant and that sometimes Demeter seems to be called Κόρη.

Persephone bore a son by Zeus, who had made her pregnant under the guise of a serpent, and this son was called either Dionysus or Zagreus or Sabazius.[145] Plutarch must have been thinking of this myth when he equated the mother of Dionysus with Bona Dea because of the presence of the serpent.[146]

---

[145] The mythological data concerning this event may differ but, despite the divergencies as regards the names of mother and son and the development of the narrative, there is enough evidence to assume that originally one myth was concerned. And this becomes even clearer when one considers the identifying characteristics which Antiquity detected in the natures of the three gods. About Zagreus' birth (in outline): Zeus in the guise of a serpent has sexual intercourse with his mother Rhea or with his sister Demeter and of this union a daughter is born, Persephone. And again as a serpent Zeus has intercourse with Persephone too, and she gives birth to Dionysus-Zagreus, the chthonian Dionysus (cf. Schmidt, *l.c.*, coll. 532-533, 536; Bräuninger, *l.c.*, col. 950; Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 661; Fauth, *l.c.*, coll. 2270-2271; for Zeus as a serpent god, cf. H. Vetters, *Der Schlangengott* in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (*Festschrift F. K. Dörner*) II, Leiden, 1978 (= *EPRO* 66), pp. 967-979, esp. 976. However, how great the variety of interpretation was regarding the original substance is obvious from the other names which are given to the child. or children, of Persephone; cf. O. Jessen, *Eubuleus* (Εὐβουλεύς) in *RE* VI 1 (1907), coll. 861-869; Bräuninger, *l.c.*, col. 951: "All das ist aber nicht mehr aus der lebendigen Sage heraus entstanden, sondern ist nur kümmerliches Produkt der spekulativen Dichtung"). The birth story of Sabazius (for the name, cf. Eisele, *Sabazios* (Σαβάζιος) in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 232-264, esp. 232-234; H. Schaefer, *Sabazios* (Σαβάζιος) in *RE* I A 2 (1920), coll. 1540-1551, esp. 1541) is: Zeus as a bull fathers a daughter on Demeter, Persephone, and he then rapes the latter, as a serpent. Of this union a son is born, (Dionysus-) Sabazius (the sources are to be found in Nilsson, *GGR* II, pp. 660-661; cf. also Eisele, *l.c.*, coll. 235, 253; Y. Hajjar, *A propos d'une main de Sabazius au Louvre* in *Hommages* I, pp. 455-472, esp. 459-460. Also in this version, instead of Demeter, Rhea may be Persephone's mother; cf. Nilsson, *l.c.*, p. 661). Among the many and various myths concerning Dionysus' birth (cf. Voigt-Thrämer, *l.c.*, coll. 1044-1049) here it is only necessary to consider the one which conveys a potential identification of the god with Sabazius or Zagreus, and is similar to the birth stories of these two gods (cf. Nilsson, *l.c.*, pp. 660-661). Already in Antiquity a harmonization of the different myths was aimed at so that, as has been said before, the sons could be considered one god, and in later times there was the same tendency (esp. on the basis of a passage in Diodorus Siculus-IV 4; cf. Nilsson, *l.c.*, pp. 660, note 5, and 661; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 376: Nilsson, *GGR* I, pp. 566-567; Eisele, *l.c.*, coll. 234-235; R. Fellmann, *Belege zum Sabazioskult im frühkaiserzeitlichen Legionslager von Vindonissa* in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (*Festschrift F. K. Dörner*) I, Leiden, 1978 (= *EPRO* 66), pp. 284-294, esp. 284, note 2; R. Fellmann, *Der Sabazios-Kult* in *OrRR*, pp. 316-340, esp. 316, 318-319; Hajjar, *l.c.*, p. 470, considers the three raised fingers of the Sabazius hands a symbol of Zagreus-Persephone-Sabazius; cf. also, however, Margarita Tatscheva-Hitova, *Wesenszüge des Sabazioskultes in Moesia Inferior und Thracia* in *Hommages* III, pp. 1217-1230, who, p. 1228, suggests that as late as the Empire, Dionysus and Sabazius continued to exist as separate entities, Sabazius as the Orphic and Dionysus as the chthonian god. The story was further an example for similar birth stories, Alexander, as the son of the serpent and Olympias, being the best known imitation (cf. Fellmann, *Der Sabazius-kult*, p. 319; further instances with Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*, col. 518). Just as, at least in later times, it seems to have been evident to the Greek in general that Sabazius and Dionysus were the same god (cf. Eisele, *l.c.*, coll. 258-259; Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 661), we may assume that this belief was accepted by Plutarch (despite the perceptible confusion in his comparison of the god of the Jews (Lords of Hosts, Sabaoth) to Dionysus, it can be inferred from Plutarch's references to Demosthenes and Menander that Sabazius is meant; cf. *Questiones Convivales* IV vi 2, with references to Demosthenes, *De Corona* 259-260, and Menander, frgm. 905 (Körte = 1060 Kock); cf. Schaefer, *l.c.*, col. 1547). In Italy it is Macrobius who recognizes in the god Sebadius (cf. Tatscheva-Hitova, *l.c.*, p. 1220; Hajjar, *l.c.*, pp. 459, 461) the Thracian interpretation of the sun, who to him is none other than Liber (*Saturnalia* I 18 11; cf. Eisele, *l.c.*, col. 235) or Dionysus (*Saturnalia* I 18 18; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 45, endeavours to identify Sabazius with Sabus, who was said to have given his name to Sabines

The serpent described by Plutarch is not comparable to that which we know from the plastic arts. The verb which is employed (παρακαθίδρυται: is placed beside her) cannot refer to a serpent coiling round the goddess's arm, as is the case with the Bona Dea representations which we possess.[147] And the serpents which ornament the two inscriptions referred to above, and which are portrayed without the goddess, need a different explanation from that of Plutarch. Finally, we learn from Macrobius of yet another sort: the live serpents which are domesticated and dwell in the temple. Like Plutarch, Macrobius refers to these animals in order to prove the truth of the myth. And, though it may seem that each author had a similar story in mind, their interpretations are different: Plutarch refers to the story of the birth of Dionysus,[148] but Macrobius endeavours to prove, by means of the serpents,

---

and Samnites; cf. also Eisele, *l.c.*, col. 240). Some elements in Plutarch's description of the Bona Dea cult indicate that the author had the Sabazius ritual in mind rather than that of Dionysus: the ***serpent***, constituting the central feature in the Sabazius cult, not in that of Dionysus (Eisele, *l.c.*, col. 259, states that actually the serpent does not belong to Dionysus and that the connection derives from the Orphic interpretation; for the serpent as a fundamental element of the Sabazius cult, cf. Eisele, *l.c.*, esp. coll. 252-253, 256; Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 621, suggests that the serpent found in different cults originates in the Sabazius ritual—but see also p. 660, where there is reference to the principal part which the serpent plays in the Dionysus mysteries in Egypt; Hajjar, *l.c.*, p. 459, note 24; Fellmann, *Belege* etc., pp. 287, 290-291; *Der Sabazios-kult*, esp. p. 318, and cf. also *passim*, the discussion of objects with representations of serpents; Kern, *l.c.*, col. 1038, cf. 1042, however, considers the serpent a metamorphosis of Dionysus; more about this: H Leisegang, *Das Mysterium der Schlange* in *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1939^2, pp. 151-250). The presence of ***music***, emphasized by Juvenal too (ch. II, No. *51*; cf. Eisele, *l.c.*, coll. 254, 261, Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 660); the reference to the ***Orphic mysteries*** (cf. Kern, *l.c.*, col. 1013).

[146] Though Juvenal's description of the festival in honour of Bona Dea as celebrated by men disguised as women (ch. II, No. *50*) possibly alludes to the ritual of Sabazius, in which, as has been assumed (cf. Eisele, *l.c.*, col. 254), the man played the woman's part in the sacred marriage to the god, who was represented as a serpent (Nilsson, *GGR* II, p. 661, objects to the theory of Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, p. 111, explaining the serpent as the fecundating phallus; Nilsson, *GGR* I, p. 783—cf. p. 836—, describes the Sabazius cult as a women's ritual; Tatscheva-Hitova, *l.c.*, 1221, observes that the appearance of the man as woman must be a fiction and that a female cult is involved). One wonders whether the two Bona Dea statuettes (ch. I, Nos. (6) and (7), set up in the Sabazius temple on the Capitol in Rome, may be connected with the above suggestion relative to Plutarch's remarks. At any rate, one of the statuettes—No. (6)—is dedicated to Sabazius.

[147] The Vesta representation on the Wilton House relief appears to resemble most Plutarch's description of goddess and serpent. On this relief a big serpent stands beside the goddess's throne; cf. Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, esp. Tafel 1 and 2.

[148] = Sabazius? In fact, though, under the Republic, the Romans were already acquainted with the Sabazius cult, it was not welcomed with enthusiasm: those who endeavoured to introduce it were considered a danger to Roman morals and consequently expelled in 139 B.C. It appears that it was not before the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. that the cult became an established one in the Empire; cf. Marquardt, *RSt* III; p. 82; and Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 376, states that it was as late as the end of the 2nd century that Sabazius worship penetrated into Italy; Eisele, *l.c.*, col. 240; Schaefer, *l.c.*, col. 1547.

the truth of the story of the rape—Faunus sleeps with his daughter in the shape of a serpent. However, the serpent as a religious subject also occurs in Italy without any Greek influence.[149] Presumably, the two dedications with one or two serpents both come from the 2nd *Regio* of Rome.[150] The first monument is an altar with the representation of one serpent and was offered as a gift to Bona Dea by Anteros, a slave of Imperial times.[151] In the second instance, we learn from the text of the inscription of the offering of an *aedes cum signo*. However, in view of the small proportions of the slab and the simple design, a shrine (*aedicula*) rather than a temple (*aedes*) must be meant.[152] It seems that the dedication dates from the Augustan period and the (female) dedicant belongs to the patrician *gens Sulpicia*.[153] Beneath the text, two serpents are depicted, crawling from left and right to a central altar with offerings. The right serpent is bearded and crested, the other one is beardless and without crest. Such representations are well-known from paintings in the Pompeian *lararia*.[154] It is the representation of the *genius* and the *iuno* of the master and the mistress of the house.[155] This Italic image of the serpent as the protector of a place and as the symbol of the *genius* of that place, or of the inhabitant,[156] is influenced at a later stage by the Greek ideas in which the serpent belongs to the sphere of the gods and the dead.[157] Nevertheless there are indications that the serpent, as represented on the two dedications in honour of Bona Dea, stands for the Italic protecting spirit—in contrast to the serpent described by Plutarch (and Macrobius).

The mention of tame serpents in Bona Dea's sanctuary reflects the Italic practice of keeping snakes as domestic pets which were considered the protectors of the house.[158] This *genius* develops into the *genius tutelae*, and sometimes into an independent goddess Tutela, who is often worshipped, with a name indicating the place, as *Tutela huius loci.*[159] And in not a few instances, Bona Dea appears to correspond wholly to the idea of such a locally determined deity. There are epithets which indicate that she was also considered the patroness of certain sites and of people. Thus, Bona Dea *Galbilla* is the patroness of the *horrea Galbiana*, which names can be recognized in *Galbilla*;[160] she closely resembles the Genius Conservator and Fortuna Conservatrix of the same granaries.[161] As appears from an inscription,[162] a Bona Dea *simulacrum* is erected *in tut(elam) insul(ae) Bolan(i)*; no doubt an image of the goddess in a shrine in the entrance of the block of flats.[163] Bona Dea *Annianensis* must be the patroness of the house of the Annii.[164] Bona Dea *Castrensis* occurs three times, in Rome and at Aquileia,[165] and Bona Dea *Castr(i) Font(anorum)* once:[166] *Castrensis* reflects the goddess's quality as a patroness of the *castrum*, and *Castri Fontanorum* that of a protecting goddess of the water tower.[167] By means of the epithet of Bona Dea *Felicula* (?), who is thanked by *Felix* (Asinianus) for his recovery,[168] the dedicant must have intended to express his personal relationship with the goddess, Three times Bona Dea is the patroness of a quarter: when there is reference to *Bonadienses*,[169] to *vicanae ad Bonam Deam,*[170] or when she herself bears the title of *Arcensis Triumphalis*,[171] the protectress of the quarter situated by the triumphal arch. And in the epithet *Pagana* her quality of the patroness of a rural district is apparent.[172]

---

[149] Cf. Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*, coll. 508-509.

[150] See *ad* ch. I, Nos. 2 and 3. Cf. also the three statuettes, ch. I, No. 32 A-B-C, which were formerly in the Collection Giustiniani and might have come from the Villa of this family in the same *Regio*; and the Vesta relief, which will further be discussed below, comes from the Caelius or its neighbourhood.

[151] Ch. I, No. 2; this inscription was seen by Maffei, who published it in 1749, in the Villa Giustiniani, but its present whereabouts is unknown.

[152] Ch. I, No. 3; cf. Cumont, *Bona Dea*, p. 2; *aedes* instead of *aedicula* is not unusual; cf. P. Habel, *Aedicula* in *RE* I 1 (1893), coll. 445-446, esp. 445.

[153] Cf. Cumont, *l.c.*; see ch. IV A, No. *2*.

[154] Cf. Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, p. 12, fig. 7 (cf. p. 14); a fine example is also to be found in E. La Rocca-Mariette & A. de Vos-F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Pompei*, 1976 (Mondadori), p. 339. As on the Anteros inscription (ch. I, No. 2), at Pompei the representation of a single serpent occurs as well, cf. A. Maiuri, *Pompei* (=*Itinerari* 3), Roma, 1962^{10}, fig. 53.

[155] Cf. Pottier, *l.c.*, p. 412; Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*, coll. 518-519; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 175-181; Latte, *RR*, pp. 103-105.

[156] Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 176; Latte, *RR*, pp. 103-104.

[157] Cf. Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*, esp. coll. 514-517; Wissowa, *l.c.*

[158] Ch. II, No. *67* (25).

From these instances it is obvious that, however changeable the goddess may have been under various influences, one of her attributes at least retained its original character, and that Bona Dea, with the serpent as the symbol of that attribute, is invoked as the protectress of the house or other building, or of a whole quarter.

However, as has already been stated, the Italic concept of the serpent was influenced by Greek ideas. When in 293/2 B.C., because of a plague epidemic, the Romans applied to the Delphic oracle for counsel, they were advised by Apollo to welcome his son to their city. They then went to the sanctuary of Asclepius, Apollo's son, at Epidaurus, whence, in the shape of a gigantic serpent, he accompanied them to the Tiber mouth. And the Romans built a temple for Asclepius on the Tiber island.[173] For this reason snakes were kept in the sanctuaries of Asclepius and Hygieia, and both deities were by preference represented with a snake as their attribute.[174]

---

[159] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 178-179; cf. ch. I, No. 18, with its rather enigmatic text; see the annotations *ad* 18.

[160] Ch. I, No. 9.

[161] *CIL* VI 236.

[162] Ch. I, No. 12.

[163] See the annotations *ad* ch. I, Nos. 10-11-12.

[164] Ch. I, No. 19; cf. E. Aust, *Annianensis* in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 2257; cf. also ch. I, No. (46') and the annotations in that place.

[165] Ch. I, Nos. 29, 39, 111.

[166] Ch. I, No. 34.

[167] For *Castra*, see the possibilities in Platner-Ashby, pp. 105-108; for the *Castrum Fontanorum, ibidem*, p. 105; C. Thierry, *Castellum* in *DA* Ch. II (n.d.), pp. 936-940, esp. 937-940.

[168] Ch. I, No. 44 (the reading *Felicula* is not demonstrable but very plausible).

[169] Ch. I, No. 67.

[170] Ch. I, No. 101.

[171] Ch. I, No. 86.

[172] Ch. I, No. 113.

We know already that the temple of Bona Dea, too, housed tame snakes, and indeed the representations of the goddess are identifiable because of the serpent—in combination with the cornucopia. And it is obvious from both epigraphic-archaeological and literary sources that similarities were felt to exist between Bona Dea and Hygieia. In the literary sources, Bona Dea is only once met as a goddess of medicine. It is impossible to ascertain whether the information is of an early date since no authority is referred to (by Macrobius). Instances from the cult practice, however, bear out the remark by Macrobius, who, starting from the cult practice, endeavours to prove the truth of the Bona Dea mythology:[175] "Some think she is Medea, because all kinds of herbs are found in her temple, from which the priestesses mostly make medicines which they distribute ..."[176]

As regards the epigraphic sources, the following references to this aspect of the goddess are found. The epithet *Oclata* (= *Oculata*) is probably a reference to Bona Dea's capacities as a healer of eye-diseases.[177] This assumption is confirmed by the expression *ob luminibus restitutis*, being the reason why the goddess is thanked elsewhere: though given up by the physicians, the dedicant recovered through the aid of the goddess, and by taking medicines supplied by her priestess.[178] The title *Lucifera,* which the goddess bears in another inscription, could be indicative of such a quality—unless in this case a goddess of birth is meant.[179] Bona Dea as a goddess of healing in a more general sense is found in the inscription on the base of a (now lost) statuette, reading: *Bonae Deae / Hygiae.*[180] From Picenum comes a *Pro salute* dedication to the goddess, though without further information. [181] An altar, probably from the temple of Aesculapius and Hygieia at Lambaesis, was dedicated to Bona Dea *reciperata salute.*[182] From Mauretania, finally, comes a dedication *Deae [Bonae V]aletudini Sanc(tae).* [183]

---

[173] Which became the serpent's abode; cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 2-3 and 281-282; Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, p. 18.

[174] Cf. Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, p. 17, fig. 10; cf. also Elpis Mitropoulou, *Deities and Heroes in the Form of Snakes,* Athens, 1977, esp. pp. 184-196.

[175] Ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[176] Gagé, *Matronalia*, p. 139, asserts that the staff was *un peu louche* and that the priestesses were rumoured to be poisoners, but this assertion is not borne out by any information from Antiquity. Angitia, with the Marsi goddess of serpent, medicine, and magic, is also compared to Medea; cf. G. Wissowa, *Angitia* in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 2191.

[177] Ch. I, No. 13.

[178] Ch. I, No. 44.

[179] Ch. I, No. 21; cf. the dual explanation by Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 69; if indeed a goddess of birth is designated by *Lucifera*, Bona Dea *Nutrix*, No. 23, might be compared to it.

[180] Ch. I, No. 21; cf. No. 20: a dedication by Antonia *Hygia*; see ch. III A.

In addition to these written indications of a likeness between Bona Dea and Hygieia, we know a series of statuettes (one or two statues) that represent the goddess with the serpent.[184] However, it is clear from some details that no complete identification between Bona Dea and Hygieia is meant, with the possible exception of the dedication *Bonae Deae Hygiae.*[185] In the first place, in addition to the serpent, Bona Dea, in the plastic arts, has the cornucopia as an attribute, which is not an attribute of Hygieia.[186] Moreover, the serpent which accompanies Hygieia in the representations is a big animal, such as described in the account of Asclepius' entry into Rome, [187] whereas Bona Dea's companion is a small serpent coiling round her arm.[188] To all appearances, therefore, only one aspect of Bona Dea may be compared with Hygieia's qualities. It seems improbable that, under the influence of Greek religion, Bona Dea became a goddess of healing, and the serpent which she has as an attribute is, as regards appearance, the Italic serpent, not the Greek one.[189] This is confirmed by the serpents decorating the inscriptions. Yet, the fact that each goddess possessed a serpent as her attribute would no doubt have contributed to a (partial) identification. The big serpent, as described by Plutarch as the companion of that goddess who, in his opinion, is both Bona Dea and the (Greek) Women's Goddess, and the mother of King Midas in Phrygia and Persephone as well, is not found in the plastic arts as an attribute of Bona

---

[181] Ch. I, No. 90.

[182] Ch. I, No. 138'.

[183] Ch. I, No. 141; cf. Rolland, *Valetudo.*

[184] See the list, above note 135.

[185] Ch. I, No. 21.

[186] Cf. E. Pottier, *Cornucopia* in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 1514-1520; Elpis Mitropoulou, *Five Contributions to the Problems of Greek Reliefs,* Athens, 1976, pp. 15-31.

[187] See above, notes 173 and 174.

[188] See the list, above note 135; one representation of the goddess, from Aquileia (ch. I, No. 121) shows her accompanied by three serpents: one coiling round the cornucopia, the two others round her right arm.

[189] Cumont, *Bona Dea,* pp. 3-4, considers Bona Dea with the serpent a direct imitation of Greek Damia, who came to Rome upon the conquest of Tarentum. He refers to the special worship of this goddess at Epidaurus, and in that context to the similarities between Bona Dea and Hygieia. Yet, Bona Dea's own links with medicine are too explicit to accept Cumont's hypothesis, apart from the fact that Bona Dea's capacities cover a much wider field than mere medicine. Her association with eye-sight, whether as a healer of eye-diseases, or as the agent of blindness, the punishment inherent in the violation of her ritual (a generally accepted belief; cf. ch. II, No. *17*), was certainly not the result of a relation with Hygieia (cf. also Propertius' reference to Tiresias' blindness; ch. II, No. *32*; L. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias, essai d'analyse structurale,* Leiden, 1976 (=*EPRO* 55), esp. variant B, pp. 21-23, and *passim*).

Dea. It may, however, be recognized, in addition to the representations of it accompanying Hygieia, on a Vesta relief.[190]

Apart from Bona Dea's protective qualities, as characterized by the Old-Italic serpent, under a subsequent Greek influence other qualities were discovered whose symbol the serpent could be: fertility,[191] prophecy,[192] chastity.[193]

The goddess's gift for prophecy has already been discussed above in relation to the wine in her myth and cult. This (original) quality of the Fauni was not due to an association with the Old-Italic serpent, but it will have been associated with the animal under influences from Greece, where the serpent was known as a prophesying animal.[194]

In all probability, the goddess's chastity in the myth, and the emphasis put on it in the cult, especially the exclusion of men from the ritual, were originally not due to her Italic attribute. In this case the Greek symbol caused the association.[195]

As regards fertility, the serpent which rapes Bona Dea in the myth, as told by Macrobius,[196] strongly resembles that of the Persephone myth (see above). That there was a certain confusion between the Italic guardian spirit in the form of a snake and the (Greek) symbol, which belongs to the earth, is hardly surprising. For the *Genius,* too, exhibits aspects of fertility in his protective qualities.[197]

Yet, it was not primarily the serpent which caused an association of Bona Dea and the earth. Another animal, which does not occur in her Latin myth but, as appears from our sources, was her principal sacrificial animal, was the cause of Bona Dea's (finally complete) identification with Tellus: the (pregnant) sow.

---

[190] Cf. Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, esp. Tafel 1; the inscription makes it clear that Vesta is meant and this is further stressed by the represented ears of corn and bread. The other attributes, however, prove that behind this Vesta, the "All-Goddess", the Earth, is hidden. These attributes are: the (big) serpent, just as in the Bona Dea representations feeding from a bowl, and the sceptre, which Vesta shares with Bona Dea and Juno. Cf. ch. II, No. *67* (23).

[191] Cf. Greifenhagen, *Bona Dea*, p. 18; Mitropoulou, *o.c.* (see above, note 174), pp. 29-44.

[192] Cf. Pottier, *Draco,* p. 412; Gossen-Steier-Hartmann, *l.c.*, coll. 510, 518, and *passim*; for Bona Dea's prophesying gifts, see above, § 2.

[193] Cf. Pottier, *l.c.*, with the sources regarding the worship of the serpent in this quality at Lanuvium (or Lavinium, cf. Brisson, *o.c.*, p. 51).

[194] Cf. Mitropoulou, *l.c.*, (see above, note 174), pp. 79-81; Brisson, *o.c.*, pp. 48-52.

[195] For Bona Dea's chastity, see above, § 3; for the serpent as a symbol of chastity in Greek religion, cf. Brisson, *o.c.*, p. 51.

[196] Ch. II, No. *67* (24).

[197] Cf. Th. Birt, *Genius* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1613-1625, esp. 1615; W. F. Otto, *Genius* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 1155-1170, esp. 1157; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 175; Latte, *RR*, p. 103.

5. *The (pregnant) sow*

From Macrobius' reference to the sacrifice of a pregnant sow in connection with the foundation on 1 May of a temple in honour of Maia under the name of Bona Dea,[198] it is obvious that a sacrificial ceremony on that date is meant.

The only other writer to refer to the sacrifice of a (young) sow in connection with Bona Dea is Juvenal.[199] Juvenal, as appears from the context, describes the sacrifice as being offered during the nocturnal ritual in honour of the goddess in December. However, in the more comprehensive description by the same writer in another place, we learn nothing of a sow sacrifice, and the wine, elsewhere also such an important part of the feast, is the main subject.[200] So, one is to proceed with caution, especially since the most descriptive and detailed accounts of the ceremonies do not record such a sacrifice.

From Plutarch and Dio Cassius we learnt of a burnt offering made during the celebration in 63 B.C.,[201] and the same may be assumed for that in 62 B.C.[202] Consequently, we may assume that this applies to every feast of the goddess. Both burnt offering and libation, most probably as part of the Bona Dea ritual, are found in Servius.[203] Pliny describes a sacrifice which is not found in any other writer in connection with Bona Dea. When speaking of the characteristics of a good breed of fowl, Pliny says:[204] "Hens with a yellow bill and legs are considered unclean for a sacrifice; for the mysteries black ones are used." The word used by Pliny for mysteries, *opertanea sacra*, suggests that he is referring to the Bona Dea ritual in December, which elsewhere is often defined with the term *in operto*.[205] Most of the descriptions of the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea give little detail about the substance of the offering, and it is not always clear whether the sacrifice during the December ritual, or that at the celebration of the temple anniversary on 1 May is meant.

It is clear that, in addition to the libation, there was another offering made during the nocturnal ceremonies. The burning altar at the nocturnal celebration of 63 and 62 B.C., referred to above (see also below, B 1 a), is an indication. Also Propertius refers to a fire, fragrant with incense.[206] But where and when Propertius places the offering is not clear: a *lucus* is referred to, but at the same time there is mention of a building (a temple ?). A daytime scene is described so that the temple feast rather than the December celebration

---

[198] Ch. II, No. *67* (20).

[199] Ch. II, No. *50*, esp. vv. 86-87.

[200] Ch. II, No. *51*.

[201] Ch. II, Nos. *47* and *58*; see below, B 1 a (The celebration in 63 B.C.).

[202] See below, B 1 a (The celebration of 62 B.C.).

[203] *Ibidem* (The celebration of 63 B.C.).

[204] Ch. II, No. *43*.

[205] See above, ch. IV, note 12.

[206] Ch. II, No. *32*.

(whose nocturnal character is emphasized so often as to produce the impression that this is the *only* nocturnal feast)[207] should be inferred—if one wishes to place any reliance on analysis of the poetical description, with its many obscure details.

As already seen above, Plutarch only knows of the wine as an offering, despite the fact that he is the writer to give one of the most detailed descriptions of the feast.[208] And although Juvenal mentions the sow as a sacrifice—but only in one description of the feast (you will find yourself amongst transvestites *trying to mollify Bona Dea with the belly of a young sow and a large crater*)[209]—wine and music are the more important elements in his passages devoted to Bona Dea.[210]

In view of what has been said, it may be clear that our identification concerning the sacrifice of a sow to Bona Dea is rather scanty.[211] The only sacrificial animal to occur in the epigraphic sources is a white heifer, offered to Bona Dea as a thanksgiving.[212] Yet, that the sacrifice of a sow was part of the ritual in honour of Bona Dea must be accepted, on account of the evidence found in Juvenal and Macrobius.

6. *Macrobius' speculations concerning Bona Dea as Terra*

As has already been said, the sow is not found at all in the (Latin) Bona Dea myth. But the animal does occur as a mythological detail which identifies

---

[207] See ch. II, Nos. *5, 25, 46, 48, 49, 54", 58.*

[208] Ch. II, No. *45.*

[209] Ch. II, No. *50.*

[210] Ch. II, No. *51* and *52.*

[211] Orth, *l.c.*, coll. 813-814 (without acknowledgement of sources), Krause, *l.c.*, coll. 252-255 (5. *pecus suillum*), both assert that three times a year a swine sacrifice was offered to Bona Dea: (1) in April, a *porca opima* as an expiatory offering; (2) on 1 May, during the festival of the *Fratres Arvales*, held in the Aventine temple, two *porcae* or *porciliae piaculares;* (3) a *porca* at the *Damium* in December. Evidence in the sources exists only about a sacrifice in December (Juvenal: ch. II, No. *50*), and probably another one on 1 May (Macrobius: ch. II, No *67*). As regards Orth and Krause, there is confusion with Dea Dia, who is not mentioned in ancient literature, but whose cult is well-known from epigraphy (cf. Th. Birt, *Dea Dia* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 964-975; C. Jullian, *Dea Dia* in *DA* II-I (1892), pp. 28-29; G. Wissowa, *Dea Dia* in *RE* IV 2 (1901), col. 2236; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 195; Latte, *RR*, p. 60). The *Acta* of the *Fratres Arvales*, found on the sacred territory of the goddess on the Via Campana (*in luco apud lap. V*: *CIL* VI 2107) are very informative about the years A.D. 14-241; cf. *CIL* VI 2023-2119. Among the many sacrifices to Dea Dia recorded in the *Acta* the *porca opima* (as well as the *agna opima*) and the *porcae* (*porciliae*) *piaculares*, by Orth and Krause assigned to Bona Dea, occur very regularly indeed. In the detailed protocols of the Arval Brethern there is no indication of a relationship between Dea Dia and Bona Dea, and the assertion that the sacrifices referred to were offered to Bona Dea is nowhere borne out.

[212] Ch. I, *No.* 44; such a sacrifice is not unusual in the State cult (to Dea Dia: e.g. *CIL* VI 2065; Krause, *l.c.*, col. 263; to the Albionae: Paulus Diaconus, *s.v. Albiona* (Lindsay, p. 4); to Juno Quiritis at Falerii: Ovid, Amores III xiii 3; Krause, *l.c.*; to Juno Regina: Livy XXVII 37 11-15; Krause, *l.c.*). In the private cult, however, such a sacrifice is but seldom found, and the dedication by Felix Asinianus is one of the few exceptions; cf. Krause, *l.c.*, coll. 263-264.

Bona Dea and Persephone (see below). As a sacrificial animal, however, it offers Macrobius an opportunity of considering Bona Dea a facet of the "All-Goddess", the Earth. That Macrobius is not propounding a new idea in this is evident from the older sources. The swine is described by Varro as the first-known sacrificial animal, and this because of the Greek word ὗς, which according to ancient etymologists was identical with θῦς, deriving from θύειν (to sacrifice).[213] The swine was considered suitable for all propitiatory and purificatory sacrifices, and so could be offered to the most various deities. In this context, the ancient tradition emphasized by Varro is illuminating, and it seems likely that such sacrifices originated in the oldest phase of Roman religion when cult practices were performed without there being a direct relation to one specified deity.[214] It is impossible to trace when these sacrifices were connected with a particular deity, but it is evident from the substance of the feasts celebrated in their honour that the gods of agriculture already qualified at an early stage.

In this regard we possess most information about Tellus or Terra Mater.[215] Feasts named after Tellus did not exist, but sacrificial ceremonies, with no fixed date in the calendar, were in fact performed in her honour and were intercalated by the priests, corresponding with the growth of the crops.[216] A pregnant sow—and spelt—was offered to Tellus together with Ceres,[217] as also the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea* was offered to these two goddesses (or to Ceres alone).[218] Lydus records another swine sacrifice in Rome:[219] "The farmers used to slaughter young pigs as a sacrifice to Cronus and Demeter; hence the slaughtering of swine is still kept up in December." If this statement is reliable and based upon information of an early date,[220] a feast in honour of Tellus[221] and Saturnus was celebrated in December and on that occasion (young) pigs were sacrificed.[222] On 13 December fell the anniversary of Tellus' temple,[223] and the *lectisternium Cereris* as well.[224] On 21 December a feast in honour of Ceres and Hercules was celebrated *sue praegnante, panibus, mulso.*[225] In early December there were the mysteries of Bona Dea, with, according to Juvenal, the sacrifice of a young sow.[226] In addition to the annual feasts there were occasional sacrifices of a pregnant sow to Tellus,[227] and from Horace's verse *Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant* it is evident that the poet considered the pig (without a further definition of its sex) to belong to Tellus.[228]

---

[213] *Res Rusticae* II iv 9.

[214] Cf. St. Weinstock, *Terra Mater und Tellus* in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 791-806, esp. 792; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 28-29.

[215] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Tellus* in *ML* V (1916-1924), coll. 331-345, esp. 331-332; Weinstock, *l.c.*, coll. 803-804.

[216] Cf. A. Klotz, *Sementivae feriae* in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1346-1347; Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 792; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 193; J. Bayet, *Croyances et rites dans la Rome antique*, Paris, 1971, pp. 177-205; various ideas are proposed by Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VI 26 and Ovid, *Fasti* I 658 against Lydus, *De Mensibus* III 6; cf. Wissowa, *Tellus*, coll. 332-333; G. Wissowa, , *Ceres* in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1970-1979, esp. 1970; but cf. also Wagenvoort, *Ceres*, p. 115 (after Le Bonniec; see Virgil, *Georgica* I 338-350).

[217] According to Ovid the feast is meant for Tellus and Ceres together, *Fasti* I 671-674, cf. Bömer II, pp. 74-75; Wissowa, , *Ceres*, col. 1970; Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 792; according to Varro it is meant for Tellus only, *Res Rusticae* I ii 1; cf. Klotz, *l.c.*, col. 1374; Wissowa, *Ceres*, col. 1970. The division of the offerings that has been proposed, spelt for Ceres, the sow for Tellus, is not borne out by other evidence, for the sow is also offered to Ceres alone; cf. Weinstock, *l.c.*, coll. 792-794.

[218] Varro in Nonius, p. 163; cf. Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 795; F. Orth, *Schwein* in *RE* II A 1 (1921), coll. 801-815, esp. 813; Aulus Gellius refers to Ceres as the sole recipient of the offering, *Noctes Atticae* IV vi 7-10; cf. also G. Wissowa, *Feriae* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), coll. 2211-2213; see also Paulus Diaconus, *s.v. Praecidanea* (Lindsay p. 250, cf. pp. 242 and 243); cf. Orth, *l.c.*, col. 813; Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 795; Cato, *De Agri Cultura* CXXXIV 1-4; cf. Wissowa, *Tellus*, col. 336; Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, p. 78. The joint appearance of Ceres and Tellus is not surprising, nor is the fact that the swine is also Ceres' sacrificial animal. Cf. Varro's identification in St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VII 16 (cf. Agahd, p. 29); IV 10 (Agahd, pp. 31, 215); see also Agahd,

Sometimes the sow sacrifice is cited as the punishment for eating off or rooting up the field. Thus, in his series of identifications of Bona Dea with other deities, Macrobius says: "Others believe that she is identical with Proserpine, and that a sow is offered to her because a sow has eaten off the crops which Ceres gave to mortals." [229] Ovid already knows of this punishment,[230] as it is (fragmentarily) recorded by Festus,[231] but Macrobius is the only one

---

p. 211, fragments 41b and c; p. 215, fragments 50 and 51; Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 64; cf. also Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* III 52; against this Servius *ad Georgica* I 57, Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 131; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* VI 6 4; Servius *ad Aeneis* VIII 181, Thilo-Hagen, II, p. 225; Isidore, *Etymologiae* VIII xi 59; the statement by Ateius Capito in Festus (Lindsay p. 274); Wissowa, , *RKR*, p. 193, note 7, p. 194.

[219] *De Mensibus* IV 158: Οἱ δὲ γεωργικοὶ πρὸς θεράπειαν Κρόνου καὶ Δήμητρος ἔσφαττον χοίρους· Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν φυλάττεται κατὰ τὸ Δεκέμβριον ἡ χοιροσφαγία.

[220] Lydus himself was born in A.D. 490; though he cites a huge number of sources it is difficult to trace his (indirect) authorities; cf. Von Christ-Schmid-Stählin II 2, pp. 1041-1044; A. Klotz, *Lydos* (7) in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), coll. 2210-2217.

[221] Cf. Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 797: "Wohl nicht Ceres."

[222] As the name of the feast *Succidia* has been proposed; *ibidem*; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 415, note 7.

[223] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 195, 592; Latte, *RR*, p. 444.

[224] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 301. 593; Latte, *l.c.*

[225] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 282, 301, 593; Latte, *l.c.*

[226] Ch. II, No. *50*; cf. Orth, *l.c.*, coll. 813-814.

[227] Cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione* I 101; the temple of Tellus in Rome is built in consequence of an earthquake; cf. Wissowa, *Tellus*, col. 338; Platner-Ashby, p. 511; see also *CIL* VI 32.323 and the commentary in VI iv-2, p. 3237; the coins of Domitian; cf. Orth, *l.c.*, col. 814.

[228] *Epistulae* II i 143; the form *porco* proves nothing about the sex of the sacrificial animal; cf. Festus about this, *s.v. Recto fronte* (Lindsay p. 364); *porcus femina* occurs both in Cato (*De Agri Cultura* CXXXIV 1) and Cicero (*De Legibus* II xxii 57); cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 413; Wagenvoort, *Ceres*, p. 117; Horace probably means a sow; cf. Wagenvoort, *l.c.*, (against Le Bonniec); but cf. also M. Krause, *Hostia* in *RE* Suppl. V (1931), coll. 236-282, esp. 252.

[229] Ch. II, No. *67* (23).

[230] *Fasti* I 349-353; cf. Bömer II, pp. 43-44; cf. also *Metamorphoses* XV 111-113.

[231] Lindsay pp. 274-275.

to connect this offering with Proserpine and so identifies Proserpine with Bona Dea.[232]

Maia is identified with Tellus by Macrobius on the basis of the sacrifice of the *sus praegnans*,[233] and, although this is the only place in the ancient literature with such an argument for an identification, the characters of the two goddesses were thought sufficiently similar to facilitate an identification.[234] In the same passage Mater Magna, too, is met as a manifestation of the earth, an idea well-known in ancient religious speculation.[235] To Macrobius, Maia and Mater Magna are identical and Bona Dea is the name under which Maia is worshipped. And Bona Dea offers Macrobius every opportunity to present her as fitting in with this image of the "All-Goddess".

The many details which Macrobius is able to convey in the *Saturnalia* are traceable with certainty to two sources:[236] paragraphs 20-22 are told on the authority of Cornelius Labeo, who is twice mentioned by name. Though it is not before paragraph 27 that Varro is cited, it is clear that Macrobius has consulted Varro rather more extensively (directly or indirectly) than he professes. This is evident when comparing the interjacent passages with similar information from Arnobius and Lactantius (who cite as sources Sextus Clodius, Butas, Gavius Bassus, and Varro[237]), and with Tertullian's communications about *Fauni filia*, which are based upon Varro's 15th book of the *Antiquitates* (*De Diis Incertis*),[238] and especially Macrobius' paragraphs 22-25 with Tertullian's reference to the *insania patria* (also from Varro).[239] Moreover, the details which Macrobius attributes to Cornelius Labeo (mentioning him by name) show such a great similarity to discussions in other places which derive from Varro that it is hard to avoid the impression that Cornelius Labeo, too, leans upon Varro's ideas about Bona Dea.[240]

---

[232] The usual sacrifice to Proserpine is a cow, just as a bull is offered to Dis; cf. J. B. Carter, *Proserpina* in *ML* III 2 (1902-1909), coll. 3141-3149; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 309-310; Latte, *RR*, p. 247; G. Radke, *Proserpina* in *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), coll. 1283-1287.

[233] Ch. II, No. *67* (20).

[234] Cf. R. Peter, *Maia* II in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 2235-2240, esp. 2236; W. Link, *Maia* (2) in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), coll. 530-533, esp. 531-532; however, the derivation of *maialis* from Maia is at least uncertain (*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* IV 256 40; cf. Link, *l.c.*, col. 531); the two Varro passages referring to *maiales* describe the castration of boars and the term designs the barrow (cf. Peter, *l.c.*, col. 2236; Link, *l.c.*, coll. 531-532; also Isidore, *Etymologiae* II xxx 4; Cicero, *In Pisonem* 19); cf. *Res Rusticae* II iv 21; II vii 15; Festus and Paulus do not connect goddess and animal; Lindsay p. 40 (*s.v. Cantherius*), pp. 372-374 (*s.v. Solitaurilia*).

[235] The appearance of the two goddesses causes Varro to identify them; then the cult usages; and finally the names; cf. Agahd, pp. 213-214, frgm. 45a; cf. also p. 214, frgm. 46b; Mastandrea, p. 48; Servius' remarks about this derive from Varro (and others), cf. *ad* Virgil's description of Cybele as Domina (*Aeneis* III 113) Thilo-Hagen I, pp. 362-363; Agahd, p. 214, frgm. 47; *ad Aeneis* X 252-253, Thilo-Hagen II, p. 419; Agahd, , p. 214, comm. on frgm. 46; *ad Georgica* IV 64, Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 325; cf. also Isidore, *Etymologiae* VIII xi 60-66; cf. Mastandrea, p. 48, note 130. The etymology Maia from *magnitudo* is only found in Macrobius, cf. Mastandrea, p. 48, note 129 (but see Link, *l.c.*, coll. 530-531). The identity of Maia and Mater Magna is based upon this. However common the sacrifice of a swine to Tellus may have been (cf. in addition to the above data, also Mastandrea, p. 48, note 131) and however evident the relation Tellus-Mater Magna, the swine was only seen by Macrobius (Cornelius Labeo) as a reason to identify the two goddesses. So we may assume that the identification with the Earth caused the sacrifice of a swine to Mater Magna, and not the reverse.

[236] Ch. II, No. *67*.

[237] Ch. II, Nos. *61*, *62*, *63*.

[238] Ch. II, No. *57*.

Varro's tendency to trace sundry goddesses back to one original goddess, Terra,[241] appears to have influenced Macrobius' description of Bona Dea to a high degree. One reads:[242]

> Cornelius Labeo states that to this Maia, i.e. Earth, under the name of Bona Dea a temple was dedicated on the Calends of May, and this author affirms that the identity of Bona Dea with Earth can be inferred from the more secret cult rites themselves. He adds that in the books of the Pontiffs this same goddess is invoked as Bona Dea, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua: Bona (Good) because she is for us the source of all that is good for the maintenance of life; Fauna because she graciously takes care (*favet*) of all the needs of living creatures; Ops because it is upon her help (*ops*) that life depends; Fatua, from speech (*fari*), because, as we have said above, infants at birth cannot utter a sound until they have touched the earth.

That Macrobius considers the identification Bona Dea = Maia = Terra the most important of the series is evident from the end of the whole passage devoted to Bona Dea (29), where, without referring to the others, he mentions these three again. But this identification is not found in any other writer. And although Ovid records, like Macrobius, that the temple of Bona Dea was consecrated on 1 May, and although Maia is mentioned in his etymologies concerning the name of the month,[243] he does not make the inference from this that there was a relationship between Bona Dea and Maia. Macrobius knows of three factors which enable him to identify Maia with the earth: Maia's name may be derived from *magnitudo,* just as in the rites she is styled Mater *Magna*; the usual sacrificial animal of the earth, the pregnant sow, is offered to Maia too; the infant at birth gets the faculty of speech by touching the earth—hence the bond between Maia and Mercury (the god of speech) in her ritual.[244]

There are two reasons for Macrobius to identify Bona Dea with Terra: firstly the mysterious character of her cult; secondly the earth is invoked as

---

[239] Cf. Agahd, pp. 115-117; cf. also p. 81.

[240] Cf. Mastandrea, p. 30 and note 55.

[241] "Principes dei Caelum et Terra" (*De Lingua Latina* V 57); Varro not only makes Terra the head of the female deities but also derives the nature of many goddesses from her, for: "... potest fieri, ut eadem res et una sit et in ea quaedam res sint plures" (St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VII 24 = Agahd, pp. 213-214, frgm 46a; cf. G. Wissowa, *Tellus* in *ML* V (1916-1924), coll. 331-345, esp. 345; Mastandrea, p. 48).

[242] Ch. II, No. *67* (21-22).

[243] Ch. II, No. *35*; for the etymologies, cf. *Fasti* V 1-110; see also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I 12 16.

[244] Ch. II, No. *67* (20); cf. Mastandrea, pp. 48-49.

Bona Dea "because she is for us the source of all that is good for the maintenance of life."[245] Thus the two goddesses, Maia and Bona Dea, are each separately identified with the earth, and this for distinct reasons, so that their identification is effected through the "All-Goddess" and one should not assume that they necessarily resembled one another. In fact there are secondary arguments (but Macrobius does not use them for his identification): Maia and Fatua, who is at the same time Bona Dea, may be compared because they give the child the faculty of speech. The mysteriousness of the ritual is emphasized by other authors as well, but never as an argument for identifying Bona Dea with the earth (Terra). Cicero cites the mysterious nature in order to bring out its sanctity;[246] Juvenal considers the secrecy of the cult an occasion for sexual debauchery;[247] Arnobius thinks the repugnant content of the ritual its most relevant feature.[248] Macrobius' explanation of the name Bona Dea is proposed by him only, how many possible interpretations *Bona* may offer.[249] And to all appearances, the identification Maia—Bona Dea is not founded upon an actual notion from the practice of the cult of the two goddesses (apart from their joint feast), but originated in theological speculation with its endeavours to trace the goddesses back to one original idea: they are both the earth.[250]

Next comes the identification Bona Dea = Fauna = Fatua = Terra. Neither Fauna nor Fatua as appellations of the earth are proposed elsewhere. The identification Bona Dea-Fauna-Fatua, however, is quite common. In Macrobius' opinion, the earth is named Fauna "because she graciously takes care (*favet*) of all the needs of living creatures." This explanation corresponds with the interpretation of Bona, so that Bona Dea and Fauna become two similar manifestations of the earth. It is only in Macrobius that the earth is the basis of the relation Bona Dea-Fauna, whereas in other authors, also studied by Macrobius (cf. paragraphs 24 and 27), the bond is a direct and firm one. The interpretation of Fatua, "from speech (*fari*), because ... infants at birth cannot utter a sound until they have touched the earth", is only found here. That Fatua derives from *fari* was clear to others too, but Fatua as the earth was a notion unknown to them (see below). Macrobius' only explanation of Fauna—the goddess who *favet*—is proposed also by Servius, albeit with some reservations.[251] But to derive the name Fauna, like Fatua, from *fari* appeared a more obvious solution to the ancient scholar.[252] A direct association between Fauna-Fatua (with variations) and Bona Dea is met quite regularly: to Plutarch, Bona Dea (a Dryad) is the wife of the seer Faunus; Tertullian knows her as Faunus' daughter; Arnobius calls her Fenta Fatua, Faunus' wife; Lactantius describes Bona Dea as both sister and wife of Faunus, named Fenta Fauna or Fatua; to Servius and Macrobius she is the daughter of Faunus; Isidore, finally, knows her as Fatua, Faunus' prophesying wife.[253]

---

[245] Ch. II, No. *67* (21); cf. Mastandrea, pp. 50-51.

[246] Ch. II, No. *17*.

[247] Ch. II, No. *51*.

[248] Ch. II, No. *62*.

[249] However, that this was no invention by Macrobius (Cornelius Labeo) may be inferred from the fact that Bona Dea elsewhere, too, is considered a goddess of fertility and from a similar explanation of the name Mater Magna by Varro (Agahd, pp. 213-214, frgm. 46a): "Matrem, quod cibum pariat; Magnam, quod plurimum pariat."

[250] Cf. Lydus' remark about this, quoted by Mastandrea, p. 50, and the latter's commentary in that place.

When comparing these data it becomes obvious, in the first place, that there is considerable confusion. It starts with the interpretation of Bona Dea's relationship to Faunus: wife, both wife and sister, daughter. Nor is there agreement concerning the personality of the goddess: "Women's Goddess", Dryad, prophetess, drunkard, or a woman both showing modesty and well-trained in all skills. The name varies, if a name is supplied at all: Plutarch does not mention a name, only an appellation; to Tertullian Bona Dea is the proper name; to Arnobius the name is Fenta Fatua, and the appellative Bona Dea; Servius refers to the taboo upon the name of the goddess, mentioning the appellative only; in Macrobius, neither name nor title is found in the mythological data (in fact they occur in the following account); to Isidore she is Fatua. Two ideas are diametrically opposed to each other: Bona Dea's reception into the genealogy of the "primitive history" of Latium, where she is the mortal wife of King Faunus, and, on the other hand, her manifestation as a goddess. The result of the fusion of these two interpretations may be seen in her deification after she had been beaten to death by her husband (see above, § 1).[254]

It is remarkable that the idea of connecting this goddess with Terra, or the names with qualities of the earth, occurred to none of the other authors cited so that Macrobius, as regards the non-mythological interpretation, is an isolated case.[255] Whether Macrobius' source, Cornelius Labeo, had consulted

---

[251] *Ad Georgica* I 10; Thilo-Hagen III 1, pp. 132-133; *ad Aeneis* VIII 314; ch. II, No. *66*.

[252] Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VII 36; Servius *ad Georgica* I 10; Thilo-Hagen III 1, pp. 132-133; *ad Aeneis* VII 47; Thilo-Hagen II, pp. 129-130; *ad Aeneis* VII 81; Thilo-Hagen II, p. 132; see also ch. II, No. *66*: Martianus Capella gives a similar explanation and knows the greatest variety of names; ch. II, No. *68*; cf. the different explanation of the name Fatuus by Isidore; ch. II, No. *70*.

[253] See above, § 1.

[254] Just as Romulus from being human became a god and was then called Quirinus, or rather was identified with the already existing Quirinus (cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 155-156; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 246-271), so the wife of Faunus became the goddess Bona Dea, or was identified with a Greek parallel.

[255] Macrobius remarks that *Bona, Fauna,* and *Fatua* are to be found as *indigitamenta* of Terra in the *Libri Pontificum*; cf. Mastandrea, p. 51, note 144.

Varro in this, is not important in this context[256] in that this interpretation did not prompt anyone else to incorporate it in his exposition about Bona Dea. Though in Plutarch (and in Macrobius elsewhere, § 27) a more general image of the goddess is proposed by comparing her with the "Women's Goddess", anything more than a comparison is not suggested.

Although the details of the Bona Dea cult are to some extent recounted by the ancient authors in order to prove the truth of the myths—so that we may assume that the myths are based upon the cult observances—there is nowhere, apart from in Macrobius, any suggestion of Bona Dea being identified with Terra. So it seems likely that, despite Greek influences, which are apparent from the explanations concerning her nature, but which may not have been so important as has been suggested more than once,[257] Bona Dea occupied such an established position in pseudo-history that her merging into the all-embracing figure of Terra was only possible to the speculative theologian but did not appeal to the "historian". The fact that no one, apart from Macrobius—neither pagan scholar nor Christian writer—goes into the speculation about Bona Dea as Terra is relevant.[258]

The practice of the Bona Dea cult, as it appears from the dedications erected in her honour, is conspicuous for its variety of images of the goddess, which is attributable to the personal interpretation of the individual worshipper. To many people a bond with other goddesses was evident, as is apparent from the fact that Bona Dea is mentioned together with others in the dedications, or that her name even merges with that of another deity. A relationship with Terra is evident from the epigraphic sources, too, but it is based on attributes possessed by both of them and Bona Dea is not found as one of the (many) facets of the earth.[259]

The third identification by Macrobius, Bona Dea = Ops = Terra, is also unique. The earth is named Ops "because it is upon her help (*ops*) that life depends." The meaning which Macrobius attributes to Ops thus hardly differs from his explanations of the names Bona (Dea) and Fauna.[260] Ops as

---

[256] Cf. Agahd, pp. 113-126 (Quaestio IV: *Quae Varronis R.D. librorum I XIV XV XVI reliquiae per Cornelii Labeonis scripta ad posteros perfluxerint);* Mastandrea, p. 52.

[257] So, e.g., Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 216-217; Latte, *RR*, p, 228.

[258] Servius, e.g., in the case of other goddesses, is eager to seize upon the possibilities of identification, and St Augustine, whom we have to thank for the tradition of large sections of Varro's studies of the gods, is no less inclined to go into the latter's speculations regarding Terra as the "first goddess", but in this Bona Dea does not play a part and St Augustine, moreover, does not mention her at all; cf. the places cited above in Agahd and Thilo-Hagen.

[259] Cf., especially, ch. I, No. 127, and below, § 3.

[260] In addition to this interpretation *ops = auxilium* (cf. G. Rohde, *Ops* (3) in *RE* XVIII 1 (1939), coll. 749-758, esp. 756; Marouzeau), Macrobius proposes a derivation from *opus* (when speaking of the relations between Ops and Saturnus; *Saturnalia* I 10 20-21; cf. IX 1 4; Mastandrea, p. 52).

Terra is also known elsewhere in ancient literature,[261] yet a relationship with Bona Dea does not appear anywhere in the other literary sources. In fact, there are other suggestions: Bona Dea is invoked as *Opifera*,[262] and Ops *Opifera* as the protectress of the granaries reminds us of Bona Dea (Galbilla)[263] as the patroness of the *horrea*; [264] the exclusiveness and the mysteriousness of their cults show similarities.[265] Nevertheless, nowhere is a direct relationship between Ops and Bona Dea suggested, except by Macrobius, and it is probable that their bond comes into existence through the earth and is not based upon an independent identity of the two goddesses.

B) *A description of the cult of Bona Dea*

As has already been established in the discussion of the worshippers of Bona Dea (above, ch. IV), the worship of the goddess was not limited to one social level, nor did the expressions of devotion show a homogenous form.

Below, the various aspects of the Bona Dea religion will be discussed in separate paragraphs, with the express limitation, however, that the boundaries between the various forms of worship cannot always be drawn equally strictly, and that mutual dependence and interaction occur more often than not. It is not in the least surprising that there are points of contact and similarities between the various religious expressions since the worship concerns one goddess, however differently she may have been represented by her different worshippers.

We may assume that the State cult of Bona Dea was the least subject to outside influences as it was this very cult that could be considered an example of Roman tradition from—as far as we know—the 1st century B.C. till the late Empire. Nevertheless, in the authors many speculations are found (also) concerning the official worship of Bona Dea and concerning the State goddess herself. Yet, the comparison of the various conjectures and interpretations allows a, more or less, defined image of the State goddess and the State cult to be realized.

1. *The State cult of Bona Dea*

Two public feasts of Bona Dea were celebrated annually: the anniversary of the foundation of her temple on the Aventine is entered in the calendar and celebrated on 1 May; the date of the other celebration, nocturnal mysteries, was intercalated anew every year, with the restriction, however, that it was to be a night in early December. The latter feast was given more attention in ancient literature and so will be discussed here first.

---

[261] Varro is the first to represent Ops as Terra, *De Lingua Latina* V 57; V 64; Agahd, p. 213, frgm. 46a; St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VI 11; cf. IV 21.

[262] Ch. I, No. 60.

[263] Ch. I, No. 9.

[264] Cf. Rohde, *l.c.*, col. 750.

[265] The cult of Ops is an ancient one, her *sacrarium* in the Regia only admits the Vestal Virgins, except for the *sacerdos publicus* (= Pontifex Maximus?), and her cult is veiled in mystery; cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* VI 21; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III 9 4; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 203-204; Rohde, *l.c.*, coll. 750-751.

a) *The celebration in December*

The epigraphic sources do not give any information about these ceremonies, which are often described as mysteries,[266] and consequently we are altogether dependent upon such details as are found in ancient literature.

From the terms used to define the feast it is evident that the Bona Dea mysteries were ceremonies belonging to the State cult.[267] And the designations and references by the ancient authors who discussed the subject reveal that secret ceremonies were involved; the emphasis laid upon the nocturnal character is also an indication of their secrecy.[268] The noble, married, women of Rome were the participants in the ritual and the Vestal Virgins were present as well. The organization of the feast was entrusted to the wife (sometimes the mother) of the highest State official.[269] The house of the magistrate *cum imperio* was the place prescribed for the occasion.[270] And the ceremonies were held in early December and by night.[271]

When studying the passages in ancient literature which refer to this celebration, one should ask oneself not only *what* is said about it but also *why* the information in question is given. There are not many descriptions of the feast, and when an exposition is offered the greatest caution should be exercised, either because of the satirical character of the text in question (Juvenal),[272] or because of the speculative tendencies which influence the portrayal of the event (Plutarch, Macrobius).[273] The State cult of Bona Dea excluded men.[274]

---

[266] The only reference to the Bona Dea mysteries in epigraphy does not concern the State celebration. Though in this inscription (in Greek and verse, 3rd or 4th century A.D.; ch. I, No. 31) μυστήρια (and μύσται) are mentioned, the context is such that we may be certain that these mysteries are of a completely different nature from those celebrated *pro populo* by the women of the Roman nobility. The inscription is the epitaph of a seven-year old boy, who, as appears from the text, was priest of All The Gods, firstly of Bona Dea, then of the Mother of the Gods, of Dionysus and Hegemon. Both the sex of the deceased and his class (that of freedmen, because of his name), and further the mention of foreign deities, tell against the possibility that here State mysteries might be concerned, as they belonged to a traditional, aristocratic and Latin cult, which was exclusively female.

[267] See introduction to ch. IV and notes 1-4 there.

[268] *Ibidem* and notes 8, 12-21; Gagé, *Matronalia*, p. 139.

[269] See introduction to ch. IV and notes 6-11 there; Gagé, *Matronalia*, pp. 139-140.

[270] See introduction to ch. IV and note 5 there; Gallini, p. 260; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

[271] See below.

[272] Ch. II, Nos. *50*, *51*, *52*.

[273] Ch. II, Nos. *45*, *49*, *67*.

[274] See introduction to ch. IV and notes 7-10 there.

Yet, all those to write about goddess and cult were men. Consequently one should suspect conjecture rather than concrete information. The mysterious atmosphere surrounding the rites will certainly have excited curiosity and may have caused a more prurient description than was warranted by the actual facts. And although a detailed description of the ritual is not available, it is not surprising that many a writer revels in mentioning peculiarities. Moreover, apart from the speculation of individual authors, other influences obscure the picture one would like to form of the mysteries. For example, there is Cicero's influence upon subsequent authors. The excitement shown by Cicero about Clodius' intrusion during the celebration of the mysteries in Caesar's house caused the *fabula Clodiana*[275] to become a cliché in subsequent literature. Consequently, one aspect of the cult, the taboo upon the presence of men, received so much attention that it looks as if it were the most important one, and hardly any value were to be attached to other facets.[276]

Thirdly, our knowledge of the Bona Dea cult is influenced in a negative way by the observance of the traditional religion as it was recommended by the authorities. Just as Cicero endeavoured to justify his reactionary attitude by referring to Bona Dea's favourable disposition towards his policy,[277] so similar efforts were made after him. Augustus' endeavours to legalize his polity included, *inter alia,* his suggesting of parallels to his rule in the glorious past of Rome. The traditional values were emphasized in the religious sphere too, and this led to the restoration of the ancient cults belonging to the State religion. And thus it came about that Bona Dea, who, because of her mythology could easily be placed in the primitive Latin "history" and who, because of the antiquity of her cult, was an example of tradition, in both Cicero's and Augustus' days received more attention than her actual importance would justify, so that the picture of her worship in these periods becomes a distorted one.[278]

The vagueness of her name and the many facets of Bona Dea's nature, moreover, offered those who endeavoured to arrange the *theologia civilis* within the more abstract frame of the *theologia naturalis* every opportunity to obscure the goddess's own nature by the more general image of the "All-Goddess".[279] It is obvious that owing to such aspirations the descriptions of goddess and cult lack clarity. And a final hindrance is the polemical attitude of the Christian authors. In their attacks upon paganism no objectivity is to be expected and their descriptions of Bona Dea and her cult seldom offer a solid basis for a further insight into the theme.

---

[275] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I xviii 2.

[276] See below (the celebration in 62 B.C.).

[277] See below (the celebration in 63 B.C.); cf. Gallini, pp. 261-262.

[278] See introduction to ch. IV.

[279] See above, A 6.

These elements—the ignorance of the actual procedure, personal conjectures, political influences, religious speculation, an inimical attitude—are the reason why the image of Bona Dea, as presented in ancient literature, is lacking in clarity. In his catalogue of the religious laws, Cicero says in his *De Legibus:*[280] "Nocturnal ceremonies shall not be celebrated by women except those which take place for the people according to religious usage." From this it may be inferred that the feast in honour of Bona Dea was celebrated in accordance with strict rules. Moreover, we possess information concerning the celebration of two historical feasts, those in the years 63 and 62 B.C.[281] When combining the details concerning these feasts with the information found in other places and with Cicero's statement, a picture of the procedure of the nocturnal ritual in December may be drawn.

The celebration at Ciceros house in December 63 B.C.

It has already been stated that on several occasions in his life Cicero was personally confronted with the cult of Bona Dea.[282] This happened for the first time when, during his consulship, the mysteries were celebrated in his house. Neither Terentia, Cicero's wife, nor Cicero himself should be considered special worshippers of Bona Dea because of this; for the place prescribed for the celebration was the residence of the highest official present in Rome, and in 63 B.C. this was Cicero; consequently his wife was in charge of the organization of the ceremonies.[283]

In his *Life of Cicero,* Plutarch records, when describing in his account of the Catilinarian conspiracy the critical night of 3-4 December 63 B.C., how Cicero went to the house of a friend near by:[284]

> "As his own house was being used by women in secret rites celebrating the festival of a goddess, called the Good Goddess by the Romans, by the Greeks the Women's Goddess. Every year, at the house of the Consul, sacrifice is made to her by his wife or mother in the presence of the Vestal Virgins."

The miracle that occurs during these ceremonies and is described by Plutarch in the same biography, enables one to learn of one detail of the ritual:[285]

---

[280] Ch. II, No. *25.*

[281] The date of yet another feast, A.D. 8, which has been proposed, is too hypothetical to be discussed alongside the historical feasts; cf. L. Herrmann, *La faute secrète d'Ovide* in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* XVII (1938), pp. 695-725; *Nouvelles recherches sur la faute secrète d'Ovide, ibidem* XLIII (1965), pp. 40-52; cf. also J. Carcopino, *Rencontres de l'histoire et de la littérature romaines,* Paris (1963), pp. 127-129, who opposes Herrmann's conclusions.

[282] See introduction to ch. IV and below.

[283] See above, notes 269 and 270.

[284] Ch. II, No. *46.*

[285] Ch. II, No. *47.*

> "While Cicero was greatly worried over these events[286] the women received a sign during the sacrifice. For though the fire seemed to be out, a high and bright flame leapt up from the altar from the hot embers and charred bark. This caused a panic among the other women but the holy virgins pressed Cicero's wife Terentia to call on her husband as quickly as she could, asking him to do what he thought fit to save the country, since the goddess had given him a light as a sign of salvation and fame."

Concerning the same occurrence, Dio Cassius gives the following account:[287]

> "At daybreak he (Cicero) began to have high hopes on account of a divine sign, for during the sacrifice for the people celebrated in his house by the Vestals the fire unaccountably burst into a very high blaze."

Without specifying what sacrifice is exactly meant, Servius tells a similar tale and refers to the provenance of the miraculous story. He dates it to 64 B.C., one year earlier than the two other authors do. In his commentary on Virgil's verses *aspice, corripuit tremulis altaria flammis / sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse, bonum sit,*[288] Servius says:[289]

> "It is said that this happened to Cicero's wife when, after having offered a sacrifice, she wanted to pour a libation over the cinders; that flame revealed that her husband would become Consul the same year, as Cicero assures in his poem."

The poem referred to by Servius is Cicero's epic *De Consulatu Meo*.[290] Only a few passages of this work are preserved and it is impossible on this basis to decide which of the two versions should be preferred. And although Cicero, in connection with the Clodius affair (see below), had every opportunity to refer to Bona Dea and her cult, nowhere in the other writings is there a reference to this miracle. Servius does not record what sacrifice is meant and one wonders justly what ceremony could have been held in the house of the future Consul. Plutarch and Dio Cassius inform us that the Bona Dea sacrifice is concerned and associate the occurrence with Cicero's action against Catiline and his satellites. On account of the concrete information given by these two authors and of the fact that their version fits in very well with the pattern of Cicero's aim to justify his measures against the Catilinarians by referring to the divine approval, the story as told by Plutarch and Dio Cassius seems to be the original version.[291]

Such a miracle, i.e. the sudden blazing-up of a flame on the altar is not an unusual phenomenon in ancient literature.[292] So Cicero may have had examples in mind. And it has also been suggested that Cicero saw a connection between his own name, Tullius, and the meaning of the word *tullii,* which according to Festus, among others, stands for *vehementes proiectiones.*[293] This could include the sudden blazing-up of a flame.[294] However, apart from the uncertainty, which existed already in Antiquity, as to the meaning of *tullii,* neither Cicero himself nor any one else suggests a possible connection with Tullius. The following is evident: Cicero's political intentions in narrating the miracle; and just as later, in the Clodius affair, here, too, Bona Dea plays the role of a paragon of tradition. Against the revolutionary elements, by referring to an archaic and aristocratic sacrificial ceremony, Cicero pleads his right of protecting Roman tradition from modernism.[295]

---

[286] Ch. II, note 346.

[287] Ch. II, No. *58*.

[288] *Eclogae* VIII 105-106.

[289] Thilo-Hagen III 1, p. 107; cf. Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 216, note 91.

[290] Cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 535 and 536; Gelzer, *Cicero*, p. 96 and note 260.

[291] Cf., however, St. Weinstock, *Terentius* (95) in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 710-716, esp. 711.

The passages quoted convey only little information about the procedures of the feast in honour of Bona Dea. Apart from such details—which are to be found in other sources too—such as the wife of the first magistrate making the offering, the participation of the Vestal Virgins besides other women, the taboo upon the presence of men, the house of the highest official being the place of the ceremonies, nocturnal rites being concerned, the descriptions are not very informative. As to the celebration itself, we may conclude that a burnt offering was made, and that it was of an archaic nature because of the mention of bark as fuel.[296] If Servius, despite the lack of a direct reference, also has the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea in mind, after the burnt offering a libation was poured by the wife of the highest magistrate.[297] Finally, the exact date of the celebration of this year is known, the night of 3-4 December.[298]

The celebration at Caesar's house in December 62 B.C.; the Clodius affair

In contrast to the celebration of 63 B.C., the feast at Caesar's house cannot be dated exactly. However it is evident from one of Cicero's letters, dated 1

---

[292] Cf. Virgil, *Eclogae* VIII 105-106, quoted above; Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles* XIII 3; Weinstock, *l.c.*, col. 711.

[293] *Sv. tullii* (Lindsay pp. 482-483).

[294] Cf. Gagé, *Tanaquil,* pp. 101-102; *Matronalia,* p. 140.

[295] Cf. Gallini, pp. 261-262; below: *The Clodius affair.*

[296] Cf. Gagé, *Matronalia,* p. 140.

[297] Gagé, *Matronalia,* p. 139, states that the wife of the first magistrate merely organizes the festival and plays no part afterwards. This is contradicted by our sources (see above, note 269); cf. also Gallini, p. 260, who, with regard to the structure and substance of the festival, refers to analogous cases in which a couple plays a role: Flamen-Flaminica, Pontifex Maximus-Vestalis Maxima.

[298] Cf. Gelzer, *Cicero,* p. 96 and the notes; but cf. also Latte, *RR,* p. 228, note 3, who proposes the night of 4-5 December as the date; his remark "es (the feast) lag wohl immer am gleichen Tage" is not borne out by the ancient sources; cf. Wissowa, *RKR,* p. 217, note 1; Warde Fowler, pp. 255-256; Gagé, *Matronalia,* pp. 139-140; Gallini, p. 260 ("alla fine di dicembre" is not correct).

January 61 B.C., that in this case, too, it took place a night in (early) December.[299]

In 62 B.C. Caesar was Praetor Urbanus and, as is apparent from the feast being celebrated in his house, the highest magistrate present in Rome. The fact that he was also Pontifex Maximus does not bear upon the celebration being held in his house; it gives, however, an extra cachet to the attacks upon Clodius' sacrilege.[300]

The story of Clodius' entry during the celebration of the Bona Dea mysteries is defined by Cicero as the *fabula Clodiana,*[301] and it actually produces the impression of a burlesque.[302]

The lawsuit and political implications will be discussed here below only in as far as they may convey any further information about the concepts relative to the Bona Dea cult.[303]

The accounts of the event will be studied in a chronological order. We first learn of Clodius' appearance from a letter from Cicero to Atticus, dated 1 January 61 B.C. Immediately after the event, Cicero's indignation does not seem to be very strong. The use of the word *servula*, a little servant-girl, has rather an amusing effect in his account of the recent "chronique scandaleuse", in which Pompey's divorce from Mucia is narrated in the same breath as Clodius' sacrilege:[304]

> "I suppose that you have heard that P. Clodius, son of Appius, dressed up as a woman was caught in Caesar's house when the sacrifice for the people was being offered there; that he owed his safe escape to a little servant girl; that the affair created an enormous scandal ..."

The second letter in which Cicero refers to the intrusion does not mention Clodius by name.[305] But Cicero does give information about the procedure subsequent to the sacrilege (*nefas*): the offering was made anew by the Vestal Virgins; the case was brought before the Senate and referred by this body to the Vestal Virgins and the college of Pontiffs, who established that the case was one of sacrilege. The Consuls promulgated a bill to set up a special court of inquiry.[306] The tone of Cicero's remarks on the subject is ironical, rather than vindictive, until the date of the trial.[307] Between 15 March and 15 May

---

[299] Ch. II, No. *1*.

[300] The celebration was not at the *Regia* (cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 58 and 440), which was much too small for a visitor to get lost; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

[301] See above, note 275.

[302] Cf. Gallini, p. 258.

[303] The lawsuit and political implications have been studied in detail by Gallini and, especially, Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*

[304] Ch. II, No. *1*; cf. the notes there.

[305] Ch. II, No. *2*; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

[306] Cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, pp. 67-68.

[307] Ch. II, No. *4*: *pulchellus puer*; No. *6*: *iste sacerdos Bonae Deae*; No. *7*: *noster Publius*.

Clodius appeared before the court.[308] Cicero gave evidence as a witness for the prosecution and tried to rebut Clodius' alibi for the night of the ceremonies.[309] Aurelia, Caesar's mother, also appeared as a witness and declared that she had recognized the intruder to be Clodius[310] Yet, Clodius was acquitted, with 31 votes cast in his favour, and 25 against him.[311] The reason for the acquittal was attributed partly to bribery of the jury and partly to fear of Clodius' political power.[312] Anyhow, from Cicero's attitude at the trial the enmity between him and Clodius had become a fact. This was further fomented by vehement invective and they became very bitter towards each other. This seems to have wholly dominated—in Cicero's case at least—his life during the following years.[313]

Since Cicero seizes upon every opportunity for referring to Clodius' sacrilege, his attacks offer much information concerning Bona Dea and her cult. In the Senate of 15 May 61 B.C., Cicero made his first speech against Clodius and this led to an altercation between them. On the publication of a libel by Curio, the counsel for the defence, Cicero rewrote his invective, which was published during his exile in 58 B.C.[314] The speech is only fragmentarily preserved, yet with an extensive commentary based upon Cicero's own notes.[315] In his introduction to the oration *In Clodium et Curionem,* the Bobbio scholiast narrates, besides some new details, that the hatred between Cicero and Clodius originated in the charge against Clodius:[316]

> "For he was suspected of having committed adultery in the house of C. Caesar, both High Pontiff and Praetor, with the latter's wife Pompeia, and this at the time when the secret rites of Bona Dea—to which no men had admittance—were being celebrated by the Vestal Virgins and the most high-born women.[317] ... Moreover (*i.e. in addition to the scandal and the legal proceedings),* there was a decision by C. Caesar, the Pontiff himself, who repudiated his wife forthwith.[318] Subsequently P. Clodius was summoned for *incestum* (profanation) ..."[319]

---

[308] Cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

[309] Clodius asserted that he had been at Interamna that night, but Cicero declared that on the day of the feast Clodius had attended his morning reception. Cf. esp. ch. II, No. *8*; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, pp. 71-72.

[310] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *8*, *54*; Balsdon's questions, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 72, concerning Aurelia's evidence "How dark was it in the house? How good was her sight?" are quite irrelevant.

[311] Ch. II, No. *8*; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 72.

[312] For the bribery, cf. ch. II, Nos. *8* (frgm. VI; XXVIII); *42*; for the fear, ch. II, No. *8* (Introduction); Gallini, p. 258; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 72.

[313] Cf. ch. II, 1, Nos. *1*-(*29*), with only few passages which do not refer to Clodius.

[314] Cf. the introduction to ch. II, No. *8* with the annotations.

[315] Cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 65.

[316] Ch. II, No. *8* (Introduction).

[317] An ill-chosen time indeed! Cf. also ch. II, No. *8*, fragments XXIII and XXIV; Gallini, pp. 257-258.

[318] In fact, Pompeia's childlessness was probably the reason for Caesar to divorce her; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, pp. 72-73.

[319] See also the fragments I, II, V, XIII, XXIV, XXVIII, in all of which there is reference to

In his speech *De Domo Sua,* which was made on 30 September 57 B.C. by Cicero in an attempt to have the confiscation of his house annulled, we meet Bona Dea for the first time as a pronouncedly political weapon against Clodius,[320] who had had the site of Cicero's house declared a sacred area and had erected on that spot a shrine to Libertas.[321] One new detail regarding the cult is found in this oration: the penalty for violating the Bona Dea ritual is blindness.[322] This penalty is also, after Cicero, a useful identifying characteristic of the Bona Dea cult.[323]

The annulment of the dedication by the Vestal Virgin Licinia,[324] who in 123 B.C. under the *Saxum*, had dedicated an altar, a shrine, and a couch for the gods in the territory of the Bona Dea temple without the people's consent,[325] is cited by Cicero as an example of the strictness to be observed in connection with the State religion.[326]

De Haruspicum Responsis is Cicero's refutation of the charge of having desecrated the sacred site of the Libertas shrine by the rebuilding of his house.[327] In this oration, too, the Bona Dea affair is brought forward as both a religious and political argument to rebut the charges and indeed to aim them at Clodius. Many details of the goddess's cult are mentioned, and, though there is no actual description of the ritual, many a conclusion may be drawn. The remark that Clodius *has burnt his fingers at the most holy fires* is almost certainly a reference to the burnt offering, known from the celebration of 63 B.C.[328] The word *pulvinaribus* (*Bonae Deae*), on which Clodius was said to have committed his disgraceful adultery, is an indication of the feast having been a *lectisternium*;[329] and this is confirmed both by the reference to Licinia's dedication,[330] and by information found in the epigraphic sources.[331] It is in this oration, moreover, that the most explicit presentation of the Bona Dea cult as standing for ancient Roman tradition is found. To the advice of the

---

incestum, which may correspond to *nefas* (ch. II, No. *2*); cf. F. Klingmüller, *Incestus* in *RE* IX 2 (1916), coll. 1246-1249; A. Greenidge, *The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time,* Oxford, 1901, pp. 376-380; 386-389; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 68.

[320] See ch. II, the introduction to Nos. *9-13*.

[321] Cf. C. Wirszubski, *Libertas als politische Idee im Rom der späten Republik und des frühen Prinzipats.* Darmstadt, 1967 (= *Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the late republic and early Principate,* Cambridge, 1960^2); Gallini, pp. 267-268.

[322] Ch. II, No. *11*; from his commentary upon frgm. XX (ch. II, No. *8*) it may be inferred that the Bobbio scholiast has not understood this detail.

[323] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *30*, *32*, *34*; Piccaluga, *Bona Dea*, p. 200, note 21.

[324] See below, 2.

[325] Ch. II, No. *13*.

[326] See the annotations *ibidem*.

[327] See ch. II, introduction to Nos. *14-19*.

[328] Ch. II, No. *14*.

[329] Ch. II, No. *15*; cf. Nos. *21*, *23*.

[330] Ch. II, No. *13*.

[331] Ch. I, No. 54.

haruspices had been added that *ancient and secret rites had been celebrated with too little devotion and had been violated,* words that offer Cicero the opportunity of referring to the Bona Dea cult: [332]

> "For what sacrifice is as old as this that we have inherited from the Kings together with this town? Or, what so secret as this that excludes not only prying eyes but also eyes that might see it by chance, and where not only shamelessness but also inadvertence are denied admittance ... a sacrifice that is made by the Vestal Virgins, is made for the Roman people, is made in the house of the highest magistrate, is made with extraordinary ceremonial, is made to that goddess whose name even must not be known by men, and whom this person therefore calls the "Good Goddess" because he thinks she has forgiven him so great a crime."

Clodius' travesty is recorded in detail,[333] his (alleged) entry as a female harpist is referred to,[334] and, finally, it is suggested that Clodius' acting as a champion of the people is connected with his sacrilege.[335]

In 52 B.C., Clodius was killed in a skirmish with Milo, moreover, close by a sanctuary of Bona Dea at Bovillae.[336] The profaner had been punished and the goddess (and Cicero as well) had been avenged. But as late as 46 B.C., Cicero, in his *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, seized on the opportunity of referring to Clodius' sacrilege.[337]

In the *Periochae*, the epitomes of Livy's books, a summary is given of the Clodius affair (book CIII),[338] and Velleius Paterculus gives a longer account.[339] Asconius in his commentaries on Cicero's *In Pisonem* and *Pro Milone* gives many details.[340] Seneca records the affair and suggests that the jury at the Clodius trial had been bribed.[341] The account of the divorce of Proculeia and her husband, who is Praetor, in which the sacrifice in honour of Bona Dea is mentioned, could be a reference by Martial to Caesar's repudiation of Pompeia.[342]

A detailed description of the affair is to be found both in Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* and his *Life of Caesar*. All the elements to create a pleasant *fabula* are used. In his *Life of Cicero*, Plutarch narrates:[343]

---

[332] Ch. II, No. *17*.

[333] Ch. II, No. *18*.

[334] *Ibidem*; cf. Nos. *48*, *49*, *51*.

[335] Ch. II, No. *18*; cf. Nos. *10*, *20*; Gallini, p. 262

[336] See ch. II, introduction to Nos. *23-24*.

[337] Ch. II, No. *28*.

[338] Ch. II, No. *36*; cf. the confusion in that passage as regards the people concerned.

[339] Ch. II, No. *36'*.

[340] Ch. II, Nos. *37-41*.

[341] Ch. II, No. *42*; cf. also the detail of Clodius and Pompeia actually having committed adultery during the festival.

[342] Ch. II, No. *44*.

[343] Ch. II, No. *48*.

> "Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years but impertinent and arrogant by nature. In love with Caesar's wife Pompeia he stole into Caesar's house dressed and equipped as a female harper; for the women were celebrating at Caesar's house that secret sacrifice to which men had no admittance, and there was no man present; but since he was still a youth and without beard[344] Clodius hoped he would not be noticed by the women when he went secretly to meet Pompeia.
>
> But, because he entered a large house in the dark, he got lost in the corridors and walking about he was noticed by a servant of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, who inquired after his name. Forced to speak he claimed to be looking for a servant of Pompeia's, called Abra, but she heard by his voice that she was not dealing with a woman: she uttered a loud shriek thus calling the women together. After locking the doors and searching the whole house they managed to get hold of Clodius who had fled into the closet of the girl with whom he had entered. When this affair became the topic of the day Caesar repudiated Pompeia, and one of the Tribunes of the People brought an action against Clodius for sacrilege."[345]

In his *Life of Caesar*, Plutarch has the opportunity for narrating the adventure at even greater length and more romantically.[346] And at the same time it is an occasion for dwelling upon Bona Dea and her cult:

> "The Romans have a deity whom they call the Good Goddess, just as the Greeks name her the Women's Goddess. And the Phrygians, making her one of themselves, assert that she was the mother of King Midas, the Romans that she was a Dryad married to Faunus, the Greeks, further, that she was the one of Dionysus' mothers whom none may name.
>
> Whence the women decorate the ceiling of the hall where they celebrate her festival with vine twigs, and a sacred serpent is placed beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is a sacrilegious act for a man to come near or to be in the house when the secret rites are performed. During the religious service the women are rumoured to do many things among themselves that resemble the Orphic mysteries. Now, when the day of the festival comes round, a Consul's or a Praetor's wife takes over and arranges everything, after her husband, with anything male, has left the house. The most important part of the ceremonial is performed by night, when revelry attends the all-night celebrations and much music too is heard.

After describing the sexual debauchery on the occasion of the ritual in honour of Bona Dea and reminding the reader of Clodius' entry, under the disguise of a female harper, at the time, Juvenal sighs: *But now, what altars have not their Clodius?*[347] Next, Suetonius very briefly refers to the affair,[348] as does

---

[344] In 62 B.C., Clodius is 29 or 30 years old; cf. F. Fröhlich, *Clodius* (48) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 82-88; Gallini, p. 259, note 8; Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 66.

[345] The latter statement is not true; cf. Balsdon, *Fab. Clod.*, p. 67, note 20.

[346] Ch. II, No. *49*.

[347] Ch. II, No. *51*.

[348] Ch. II, Nos. *53*, *54*.

Appian, though he calls Caesar's wife Julia.[349] Dio Cassius, too, knows of the story and he is our last source concerning the affair.[350]

Clodius seems to have chosen an odd time for meeting Pompeia, and consequently many different motives have been suggested.[351] However, in this context more important than Clodius' motivation is the fact that his adventure induced the ancient authors to dwell upon Bona Dea and her cult. In addition to the details concerning the Bona Dea cult already known from the celebration in 63 B.C., the following inferences can be made from the descriptions above: the feast has the form of a *lectisternium*; there is a cult statue of the goddess flanked by a serpent; in the festive hall bowers of vine have been built; the ritual is said to resemble the Orphic mysteries; music and "revelry" accompany the rites. When combining the details found in the descriptions of the two historical feasts with the information in other places concerning the celebration in December we may sketch the following picture:

On the eve of the feast all the men, both members of the family and of the staff, leave the house of the magistrate where that year the rites are to be performed. The mistress of the house, together with the female servants (?), decorates the festive hall with plants and flowers, and bowers are arranged, covered with vine—though this must have been somewhat problematic in December. The cult statue, borrowed for the occasion from the temple (?), is set up in the festive hall and in front of the statue the *pulvinar* and a small table with the sacred vessels from which the goddess is thought to eat and drink.[352] Next a young sow (Juvenal) or a pregnant sow (if Macrobius' remark also relates to this feast) is sacrificed and a libation is poured by the mistress of the house. Then the participants, the noble women of Rome and the Vestal Virgins, make merry, drinking wine and being enlivened by music performed by female harpers and flautists (professionals, and consequently not noble?).

It is not easy to know what to make of Plutarch's remark that the Bona Dea rites remind one of the Orphic mysteries. It is possible that he has in mind something similar to Juvenal's ideas when the latter describes the feast as an occasion for debauchery.[353] The Orphic mysteries, too, were alleged to involve fornication.[354] In fact it is likely that in both cases the secret and mysterious nature of the celebrations added, to this ill fame, which, as regards Bona Dea, contrasts sharply with the chastity of the goddess in the myth and the continence of the women (the absence of men is an important rule) in the cult.

---

[349] Ch. II, Nos. *54'*, *54''*.

[350] Ch. II, No. *59*.

[351] Cf. Gallini, p. 262; Bömer, *Untersuch.*, p. 528; but see also Gelzer, *Caesar*, pp. 53-54, who does consider the meeting with Pompeia to be Clodius' motive.

[352] Cf. A. Hug, *Pulvinar* in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959), coll. 1977-1978; see also G. Wissowa, *Lectisternium* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), coll. 1108-1115, who (1109) refers to Licinia's dedication as an example of a *lectisternium* at the consecration of a temple (incorrectly: Licinia dedicates an *aedicula*; see ch. II, No. *13*).

[353] Ch. II, Nos. *50*, *51*, *52*.

[354] Cf. O. Kern, *Mysterien* in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 1279-1290 (*die orphischen* τελεταί), esp. 1288.

b) *The celebration on 1 May*

We have rather less information about *the* Bona Dea temple, her sanctuary on the Aventine, and the cult attached to it than about the celebration in December.

1 May is the traditional date of the founding of the temple on the slope of the Aventine, *sub Saxo*,[355] as we learn from both Ovid[356] and Macrobius.[357] On this date a pregnant sow was sacrificed to the goddess and very mysterious rites were performed, as Macrobius tells us, on the authority of Cornelius Labeo.[358] In fact this is the only information we have about this feast. The additional details conveyed by Macrobius correspond fully to those found in other authors which refer to the celebration in December. And Macrobius probably confuses the one feast with the other.[359] Nevertheless, for the most part his remarks may only be associated with the temple of the goddess and its cult, and it is very likely that the two feasts in honour of the same goddess were quite similar. When considering the taboos which are discussed in connection with the temple, it is evident that they correspond to the rules and interdicts which were studied above in the discussion of the December celebration.[360] Men are refused admittance.[361] Wine (at least its name) and myrtle are under the same taboo as that known from the December feast.[362] Macrobius'

---

[355] Cf. Warde Fowler, pp. 101-102; Platner-Ashby, p. 85; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 576; Latte, *RR*, p. 437; for the designation *sub Saxo*, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* V 147-158 (=ch. II, No. *35*); Cicero, *De Domo Sua* LIII 136-137 (=ch. II, No. *13*); Platner-Ashby, *l.c.*; A. van Heck, *Breviarium Urbis Antiquae*, Lugduni Batavorum—Romae, MCMLXXVII, p. 535, lists the temple of Bona Dea Subsaxana as last No. of *Regio* XII (*Piscina Publica*).

[356] Ch. II, No. *35*; the reference to Remus indicates that the temple should be situated on the Aventine (cf. Warde Fowler, p. 102; Bömer II, pp. 280-281); the date of its foundation may only be conjectured (cf. E. Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani a primis liberae rei publicae temporibus usque ad Augusti imperatoris aetatem Romae conditis* (Diss.), Marpurgi Cattorum, MDCCCLXXXIX, p. 27; Warde Fowler, p. 102; Brouwer, pp. 149-151; see above, ch. II, No. *1*). The restoration by Livia may be dated to the Augustan age.

[357] Ch. II, No. *67* (21).

[358] *Ibidem* (20-21).

[359] Cf. Warde Fowler, p. 102 (note 4).

[360] See above, a; cf. Warde Fowler, p. 102.

[361] Ovid, (ch. II, No. *35*) styles the temple *oculos exosa viriles*; Macrobius refers to three reasons for the interdiction: Medea's sufferings caused by her husband (and Bona Dea was alleged to be the same as Medea); the chastity of Faunus' daughter; that no man must taste of anything that relates to the feast of the Women's Goddess (ch. II, No. *67*); this may refer to the sacred winecups, which Hercules was not allowed to touch either (cf. ch. II, No. *32*; Warde Fowler, p. 102; cf. also Plutarch's remark (ch. II, No. *49*) that Aurelia, Caesar's mother, at the discovery of Clodius during the Bona Dea mysteries hastens to cover up the sacred objects).

[362] See above, A, 2 and 3.

description of the statue of the goddess standing under a vine reminds us of the bowers covered by vine that are set up in December in the house of the magistrate *cum imperio*[363] The great difference between the two feasts is the fact that we do not know by whom on 1 May the ceremonies in honour of Bona Dea were performed. Though we know of priestesses attached to the temple, named *antistites* according to Macrobius,[364] it is not clear what role they played at the celebration of 1 May. Though *antistites* is a designation that is quite often found—but preeminently where *sacra peregrina* are concerned—it is not one of the official Roman sacerdotal titles.[365] And the word is not used elsewhere in a Bona Dea connection. In fact we know *sacerdotes* of the goddess: one Aelia Nice is *sacerdos Bon(a)e Deae*;[366] and so is Terentia (Am ...);[367] the same title may be conjectured in a sepulchral inscription;[368] a freedwoman of Livia's is styled *sacerd(os) à Bona Dea*;[369] whereas these references all seem to come from Rome, we know at Frascati one *sacerdos Bonae Deae*.[370] As the title of *sacerdos* does not occur elsewhere in connection with Bona Dea, as contrasted with *magistra* and *ministra*,[371] one is inclined to think that it is the definition of the priestesses attached to the temple in Rome.[372]

Besides these epigraphic data, there is, in Propertius' description of the Bona Dea feast, mention of an *alma sacerdos*, also defined in the same passage as *anus*, who is in charge of the celebration by the *puellae*, as the poet calls the participants.[373]

Festus records that that the *sacerdos* of the goddess is called *damiatrix*, just as, according to him, Bona Dea herself was named Damia and the offering in her honour *damium*.[374] As it is Festus' intention to describe the celebration of the mysteries in December, where certainly no priestess was in charge,[375] we may assume that the reference to the *damiatrix* is attributable to the fact that Festus confused the two feasts. And, this name is found nowhere but in Festus and in Paulus (*ex Festo*).[376]

---

[363] Ch. II, No. *67* (25) and No. *49*.

[364] Ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[365] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 483; p. 370, note 3; P. Riewald, *Sacerdotes* in *RE* I A 2 (1920), coll. 1631-1653.

[366] Ch. I, No. 25.

[367] Ch. I, No. 26.

[368] Ch. I, No. 30.

[369] Ch. I, No. 36.

[370] Ch. I, No. 72.

[371] These titles will be discussed below, 2, in connection with the collegiate worship; cf. also the male *sacerdos* mentioned in ch. I, No. 79 and the ἱερεύς in No. 31; at Clodius' expense Cicero more than once indulges in ironical references to the former's appearance as *sacerdos*, ch. II, No. 1, *passim*, cf. Asconius, No. 7.

[372] And also in the case of the inscription from Frascati (ch. I, No. 72), since this is an epitaph, erected by relatives, and the woman herself, to whom the inscription relates, may have lived and held a position elsewhere. The lack of other finds in the immediate vicinity makes this probable.

[373] Ch. II, No. *32*.

[374] Ch. II, No. *55*; cf. Warde-Fowler, pp. 105-106.

[375] See above, a.

Though direct indications are lacking, it is a reasonable assumption that the priestesses who, according to Macrobius, were attached to the temple and managed the dispensary, organized the feast of Bona Dea on 1 May and celebrated it together with the women of Rome, without male participants. Propertius' description provides possible confirmation. However, it is unclear whether Propertius underlines the difference of ages in order to place emphasis on the high spirits of the participants by mentioning their youth (*puellae*), in contrast to the dignity of the priestess (*anus-alma sacerdos*) which gives a cachet of solemnity to the feast, or whether he had some other aim.

Besides the similarities between this celebration and that in December—the sacrifice of a sow, the wine, the absence of men—there are two important differences: Propertius' description suggests that the temple feast was celebrated by day, though this is not explicitly stated.[377] If what has been said above is true, and the *sacerdotes* (*antistites*) actually organized the 1 May festival, the other difference is that this celebration cannot have been held *pro populo*. For the participants in the mysteries were women of the highest class and represented the Roman State, whereas the *sacerdotes* belonged to the class of freedmen, as is apparent from their names. It is probable that the cult attached to the temple rather than the December rites will have been affected by outside influences.[378] This might account for Festus' mention of a *damiatrix* and his identification of the foreign Damia[379] with Roman Bona Dea.

However, that a public celebration is concerned may be inferred from the fact that the temple on the Aventine is considered an institution established by the State, just as the foundation day is entered in the official calendar as a feast.[380]

2. *The cult of Bona Dea as celebrated by* collegia

In the literary sources only two indications are to be found of the existence of the Bona Dea worship not linked to the State cult: Cicero records that there was a shrine of the goddess on a private estate near Bovillae;[381] and we know, also from Cicero, that the initiative of Licinia, in dedicating a shrine, an altar, and a couch of the gods in the territory of the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine, was declared illegal and annulled, since this personal dedication contravened the laws of the State religion, valid for the cult on the Aventine.[382]

---

[376] Cf. Placidus, ch. II, No. *69*, who only refers to the *damium*; Paulus Diaconus, No. *71*, provides the same information as Festus.

[377] Ch. II, No. *32*; there is mention of shadow, singing birds; the colours are clearly discernable; Hercules is very thirsty: all these details are indicative of the sun shining.

[378] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 483; see also Duff, *Freedmen*, pp. 129-130.

[379] See introduction and ch. I, No. 1.

[380] Ovid, (ch. II, No. *35*) considers the *patres* the founders of the temple; cf. the calendars in Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 576; Latte, *RR*, p. 437.

[381] Ch. II, No. *24*; cf. No. *38*.

The epigraphic data, on the other hand, about different forms of worship from the State cult are numerous. Some of these data relate to the worship of Bona Dea as performed by *collegia* under the goddess's patronage. These *collegia*—not to be confused with the *collegia* of magistrates, priests, and the like, in which cases the word defines a board of officials[383]—were associations of various kinds, founded for a lasting and common purpose and with a semi-official status.[384] The most important kinds were the professional clubs composed of men practising the same craft or trade, and the cult associations.[385]

In this context the professional clubs need not be discussed, but only the associations with religious bearings. The main characteristic of the latter type is the common patron deity. And the purpose was a dual one: the association had a savings fund, out of which the burial of deceased members was paid and, sometimes, a patch of ground was bought and maintained as a common burial-place; the other purpose was to be a social club—often with a clubhouse.[386] These *collegia* celebrated own *sacra privata*. Often the members were of foreign origin and through the common worship of an (imported) patron deity created a mutual bond and raised their social status. But there were also worshippers of the ancient Roman deities, such as Jupiter, Liber Pater, Ceres, Mars, and, especially in the lower orders, Hercules and Silvanus.[387] A mixture of native and foreign influences is to be perceived in the worship, e.g., of Bona Dea Caelestis by her *collegium cultorum* at Venafrum.[388]

The members paid contributions to meet the expenses of the collegiate cult and to maintain the clubhouse, which was often the sanctuary of the patron deity as well; a proportion of the contributions was set apart for the burial fund.[389] Usually, the membership were recruited from the lower classes, and one wonders whether, in addition to the burial insurance, a more general "social insurance" may be conjectured.[390] It was not only on the basis of their common origin, nor of their belonging to the same class, however, that people would form a *collegium* but the term also covered associations of people living in the same quarter. Such associations are to be suspected when reading expressions such as *Bonadienses* and *vicanae ad Bonam Deam.*[391] The *collegia* named after a deity, with or without the addition of *cultores*—cf. *collegium Bonae Deae* in Rome and *collegium cultorum Bonae Deae Caelestis* at Venafro[392]—had as their first purpose the burial of their members.[393] And this is borne out in connection with Bona Dea by quite a few sepulchral inscriptions referring to the membership of the deceased, or of other people mentioned, of a *collegium* under the patronage of the goddess and named after her (see the list below).

---

[382] Ch. II, No. *13*.

[383] Cf. Hausmaninger, *Collega* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 1244-1246.

[384] Cf. Waltzing I-IV; E. Kornemann, *Collegium* in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 380-480; H. Hausmaninger, *Collegium* in *DKP* 1 (MCMLXIV), coll. 1553-1554.

[385] Cf. Waltzing I, pp. 33-59.

[386] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 386; De-Marchi, *Cult. priv.* II, pp. 121-146; F. Geiger, *Sacra* (1) in *RE* I A 2 (1920), coll. 1656-1660.

[387] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*

[388] Ch. I, No. 75.

[389] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*

[390] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 387; Waltzing I, pp. 145-146, rejects such a notion (cf. also pp. 300-321).

As to the history of the *collegia*, it was traditionally believed that they originated in the reign of the Kings. As a rule, relations between the authorities and the *collegia* seem to have been excellent and the associations could rely upon support from the government. Only twice under the Republic, was an interdict issued relating to these organizations: in 186 B.C., the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus,*[394] and in 64 B.C., the interdict upon, probably, all *collegia.*[395] However, as early as 58 B.C., the abolished *collegia* were restored by Clodius and new ones were founded.[396] In the troubled times following Caesar's death, Octavian again abolished all the *collegia, praeter antiqua et legitima.*[397] From this time onwards and during the whole of the Empire, the authorities kept a sharp control over the *collegia*, and political and military associations were prohibited without exception. The Imperial policy, recognizing the importance of supporting the lower classes, left the *collegia tenuiorum* a great deal of freedom, however.[398] The religious associations, on the other hand, and especially those celebrating the cults of foreign deities, were closely watched, the authorities being always apprehensive of subversive activities under the cloak of religion.[399]

Just as the relations between State and *collegium* were regulated so there were also rules for the place of a *collegium* in the community to which it belonged. The *collegiati* enjoyed a certain esteem and rank above the *plebs urbana.*[400] Sometimes, the local authorities appear as *patroni* of *collegia* or are created honorary members.[401] The *lex* (*pactio, conventio*) *collegii* contains the regulations of the club. A number of these *leges* are preserved, both of professional guilds and religious organizations.[402] As appears from the sources, the founding of an association was usually a private initiative, and when a *constitutor collegii* is referred to, such an initiative must be meant.[403] Apart from instances when an interdict was issued by the authorities, the dissolution of an association must be imputed to a shortage of members.[404] As regards membership and the age prerequisite for entrance, there were mixed *collegia* and those for the separate sexes; children were admitted to religious associations: for example, in a Bona Dea connection, a seven-year old priest of a religious organization is known (ch. I, No. 31).[405] The number of members differed widely and varied from 16[406] to 1500 people.[407] The membership as a whole was called *populus* or *plebs collegii*.[408] Over the members were the *decuriones* and over those again the governing body.[409]

---

[391] Ch. I, Nos. 67 and 101.

[392] Ch. I, Nos. 35 and 75.

[393] According to Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 388, the word *cultor* is given the meaning of member of a burial insurance. So Waltzing I, p. 262.

[394] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 405-406; Waltzing I, pp. 61-90.

[395] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 406-407; Waltzing I, pp. 90-113.

[396] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 407; Waltzing I, pp. 94-104.

[397] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 408; Waltzing I, pp. 114-122.

[398] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 410; for the purport of the term, see Waltzing I, pp. 141-142.

[399] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 411.

[400] *Ibidem*, coll. 412 and 414.

In addition to other titles,[410] it is chiefly that of *magister* that is borne by a committee member. *Magistri* appear at the head of both professional guilds and religious organizations, numbering from two to ten. They were in charge of religious performances, such as the offering and the subsequent offering meal, but they were also active in other than religious affairs, such as controlling the funds, maintaining discipline, and executing resolutions.[411]

Sacerdotes, instead of *magistri* are chiefly found in the religious associations under the patronage of Eastern deities, but sometimes in other *collegia* as well.[412]

The title of *curator* may be implied by the expression *curam agens*, which occurs once in a Bona Dea connection;[413] similarly we learn also once of a *quaestor*.[414]

A rare designation is that of *minister*, which is not simply a slave's title as has been suggested.[415] We know of a number of Bona Dea *ministrae* who belonged to the freeborn class.[416]

---

[401] *Ibidem*, col. 415.

[402] See the list, *ibidem*, col. 416; cf. also Waltzing I, pp. 370-372.

[403] Cf. *CIL* VI 10.251a and XIV 3659 = Waltzing III, p. 273, No. 1088, and p. 664, No. 2367; Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 416.

[404] See the instances in Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 417.

[405] Cf. Waltzing I, pp. 347-348; cf. also p. 245, note 2.

[406] *CIL* XIV 252 = Waltzing III, p. 618, No. 2233.

[407] *CIL* VI 1060, 9405, 10.300 = Waltzing III, pp. 199-200, No. 737, pp. 256-257, No. 1023, pp. 284-285, No. 1136.

[408] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 418-420.

[409] *Ibidem*, col. 419.

[410] *Ibidem*, col. 420; cf. also Waltzing I, pp. 405-406.

[411] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 420-421; Waltzing I, pp. 385-405.

[412] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 421-422; Waltzing I, p. 47, note 2, p. 232, p. 272, note 4, p. 390.

[413] Ch. I, No. (104).

[414] *Ibidem*. If indeed the complement of ...*ribus* is correct. This is quite probable because of the near-by *pec(unia)*.

Practically every *collegium* had its *patronus* and *patrona*, distinguished people and who were asked because of their rank or wealth.[417]

The term *collegium* itself is found only twice in connection with Bona Dea, but other data indicate the existence of such associations in many more cases. One *collegium* is referred to in a sepulchral inscription from Rome, erected by the freedwoman Tyndaris for Veturia Semne, *honoured because of her dignity of* magistra *of the college of Bona Dea.*[418] Her name suggests that the deceased woman herself was a freedwoman too, one of Greek origin, like Tyndaris. The class and origin of the women are instructive as regards the membership of this *collegium*: foreign women belonging to the lower classes of society. The inscription is to be dated to the Empire. From Venafrum comes an inscription, also datable to the Empire, referring to existence of *the college of worshippers of Bona Dea Caelestis.*[419] From the same town *Cult(ores) Iovis Caelestis* are known.[420] These are mentioned by name and it is evident from the lists that men are involved, both freeborn Romans and freedmen of foreign extraction. It has been suggested in the past that Bona Dea Caelestis is none other than the Carthaginian supreme deity and that Bona Dea in this case is a mere appellative of that goddess.[421] However, in view of Jupiter Caelestis from the same place, this does not seem very probable since Jupiter as an appellative would be a strange phenomenon. That there were foreign influences affecting the worship of Bona Dea, and of Jupiter, in that place is all that may be inferred from their epithets. In view of the brief text of the inscription no conclusion may be drawn as regards the sex and class of the *cultores* of Bona Dea Caelestis, but the epithet Caelestis is indicative of foreigners (too?) being members of this *collegium*.

In addition to these two references to a *collegium*, a Greek loanword with the same meaning, *spira (σπεῖρα)* is also found in connection with Bona Dea. A pediment from Rome (Empire) bears the following inscription:[422] "To Bona Dea Venus Cnidia. Decimus Iunius Annianus Hymenaeus and the sodalities named Invicta and Haedimiana". Four elements are indicative of Greek influence: the identification Bona Dea-Venus Cnidia, the *cognomen* of the man referred to, the term *spira*, and the name of the one of the sodalities, *Haedimiana,* probably a clerical error, instead of *Phaedimiana.*[423]

---

[415] So Waltzing I, pp. 422-423; Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 424.

[416] And *magistrae* who are freedwomen appear in the same inscription, ch. I, No. 113.

[417] Cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, coll. 424-426; Waltzing I, pp. 425-446.

[418] Ch. I, No. 35; see the annotations in that place.

[419] Ch. I, No. 75; see the annotations in that place.

[420] *CIL* X 4852 = Waltzing III, p. 454, No. 1735.

[421] See the annotations *ad* ch. I, No. 75.

[422] Ch. I, No. 24.

The titles proper to the governing body of a *collegium* are numerous in the epigraphic sources relating to Bona Dea. It has already been pointed out above that the title of *sacerdos* in connection with Bona Dea occurs only in Rome and its surroundings which led to the surmise that the title referred to priestesses attached to the temple in Rome.[424] Nevertheless, *sacerdos* is not an unusual collegiate title, and it is impossible to establish with certainty who these *sacerdotes Bonae Deae* might have been—women on the committee of an independent college or a group of priestesses attached to the temple on the Aventine.

A sepulchral inscription, 3rd or 4th century A.D., refers to the building of a tomb. It was built by Aelia Nice, *sacerdos* of Bona Dea, for herself, for her *alumna* Claudia Nice, for Aelia Thalasse and Aelia Serapia, for Claudia Fortunata, Luccia Felicitas, and Valerius Menander.[425] These names are indicative of international origins, the Greek element preponderating. Their class is that of the freedmen, as is shown by the combination of Latin *nomina* and, mostly, Greek *cognomina* and by the lack of patronymics in the Latin combinations. The mention of Valerius Menander could be an indication that the sodality concerned admitted both sexes. The word *alumna* is rather problematic,[426] yet it does not seem too far fetched to think of Claudia Nice as an apprentice *sacerdos.*

The next *sacerdos* of the goddess is also to be found in a sepulchral inscription from Rome (Empire):[427] Terentia Thallusa (?) records the building of a tomb for Terentia Am..., priestess of Bona Dea and her *patrona*, and for Petronia. Though *CIL* proposes *Ampliata* to complete the *cognomen* of Terentia Am...,[428] this cannot be verified. It is impossible to decide whether a Greek or a Latin name is concerned. And although the completion *Thallusa*, too, is rather arbitrary,[429] this *cognomen* with an initial TH must be a Greek one. The relationship between the two women called Terentia is obvious: *patrona-liberta.* Petronia may be a member of the college on whose committee Terentia Am... sits (?).

A sepulchral inscription of doubtful provenance, but probably from Rome, has been supposed to refer to a *sacerdos* of the goddess. The lacunae, however, make it impossible to prove this.[430] The number of letters of the completion [*sacerdotis B*]*onae Deae* correspond with the first, quite acceptable, completion of the same inscription [*Dis Manibus*], but since the monument seems to be lost it is impossible to check this.[431]

---

[423] *Ibidem*, the annotations *ad et Haedimiana.*

[424] See above, § 1 b.

[425] Ch. I, No. 25.

[426] Cf. A. Mau, *Alumnus* (Θρεπτός) in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 1706; Lewis and Short, p. 99, *s.v.*

[427] Ch. I, No. 26.

[428] *Ibidem, ad* line 2.

[429] Cf., e.g., ch. I, No. 25: (Aelia) Thalasse.

[430] Ch. I, No. 30; see the annotations there on the uncertainty regarding the provenance of the monument.

From the tomb of Livia's freedmen on the Via Appia comes an inscription datable to Augustan-Claudian times and referring to a *sacerdos á Bona Dea*, Philematio, mother of Maenalus, who is head of a *decuria* of lackeys.[432] The findspot indicates that it is a sepulchral inscription, but for whom and by whom it was erected is not clear. The title of the woman is unique. It reminds one of designations as *ab epistulis*, *a manu*, [433] yet, in combination with a proper name, the construction is not at all a usual one. One wonders whether at the Court of Livia there was a sodality under the patronage of Bona Dea, the members being the Empress's slaves and freedmen, or whether Philematio held a priesthood elsewhere.

From Frascati comes the sepulchral inscription of a *sacerdos Bonae Deae*, erected by her relatives. This is the only place outside Rome where the title occurs.[434] Since only relatives of the deceased woman, Flavia Athenais, are mentioned it is possible that the woman, a freedwoman like the other people named, had, when advanced in years, retired from her office in Rome and died in the country amongst her family (?).

The title of *magistra* is a much more general one than that of *sacerdos*. Tyche (?) is a *magistra Bonae Deae* from Rome.[435] Though the name has but fragmentarily come down to us (HE) Tyche seems to be a quite acceptable completion. The expression *mag. Bonae Deae* may be considered a shorter form of *magistra collegii Bonae Deae*.[436]

Four inscriptions from Fidenae, Villa Spada, are indicative of the Bona Dea worship in that place, and that by a *collegium*. They are all to be dated to the Empire (ch. I, No. 51, after A.D. 105). A dedication *Numini Domus Augustae* mentions among the dedicants Italia, freedwoman of C. Julius Quadratus, *cos.* II in A.D. 105, who *ob magisterium Bonae Deae* is one of those who erect this dedication and give a banquet on 18 September.[437] Elsewhere in the text of the inscription there is mention of the restoration by the Senate of Fidenae of a sanctuary (?), which had been destroyed by fire, and this seems to have been the occasion to erect the dedication and give the banquet. It is probable that the restoration related to the Imperial cult rather than to that of Bona Dea, the more so as one of the other dedicants is a *VIvir*

---

[431] See ch. I, note 61.

[432] Ch. I, No. 36.

[433] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 4, *s.v. ab* (B 2 p).

[434] Ch. I, No. 72; see above, § 1 b.

[435] Ch. I, No. 27.

[436] Unless the reading should be: *the* magistra *Tyche to Bona Dea* (?).

[437] Ch. I, No. 51.

(probably) *Augustalis*. However, it is evident that there was a *collegium* of the goddess at Fidenae, and this is confirmed by the following data. A fragmentary inscription from the same place reads:[438] *Aquillia,* magistra (?) *of Bona Dea has* (?) *erected* (?). After *Aquillia* only an M survives, but, because of the possible genitive *Bonae Deae* and the other data from Fidenae, the completion seems acceptable. Also fragmentary is the dedication by a slave (?: only an S survives), whose name is lost but who appears to be a *magistra* of Bona Dea.[439] A fragment, found together with the two preceding ones, offers relevant information:[440] "Maria M........., freedwoman of a woman, *magistra* of Bona Dea, (has dedicated ?), a statue dressed in a *pallium* and silvered, an armchair, a couch for the gods, bleached clothes, ... three marble pieces of inlaid work (?), ... a closed chest (?)". Possibly one can infer a collegiate sanctuary, in which a cult statue of the goddess stood, and where the cult, according to the principle of the *lectisternium—pulvinar* is an indication of this —[441] was performed by a *collegium* managed by *magistrae*.[442] As is apparent from the data, the association was composed of slaves and freedwomen. The name of Aquillia, however, could be indicative of freeborn women being members, if indeed the M following the name stands for *magistra*.

From Signia, Segni, comes the dedication by a freeborn woman, who in her function as *magistra* presents the goddess with gifts (Empire):[443] "Two tunics, a small cloak, turquoise-coloured polished stones, and a bronze lamp". The articles of clothing will have been meant for the statue of the goddess, which may be compared with the *signum palliatum* from Fidenae (see above). The woman's title is indicative of the existence of a *collegium* under the patronage of Bona Dea at Signia. The mention of the patronymic indicates that a freeborn woman is concerned.

Much information is conveyed by a dedication from Civitella, dating from A.D. 111 (?) and reading:[444] "Julia Athenais, *magistra* of Bona Dea Sevina, had a pavement laid, benches made, and a workshop built; the roofs extended and the missing tiles supplemented, at her own expense. She also has erected a bronze altar, inlaid with iron, in an area of 190 feet in both directions (?). On the 1st of June under the consulship of C. Calpurnius Piso and M. Vettius Bolanus (?)". Apparently, it is a sanctuary belonging to a sodality, the freedwoman Julia Athenais sitting on the board. The benches referred to remind us of the *sedeilia* in the inscription of Octavia at Ostia, and the *officina* that is mentioned here might be compared with the *culina* that is roofed by Octavia.[445] Alternatively, this officina might refer to a dispensary, such as that which, according to Macrobius, was attached to the Bona Dea temple on the Aventine,[446] and where in this case medicines were made and distributed by *magistrae*?

---

[438] Ch. I, No. 52.

[439] Ch. I, No. 53.

[440] Ch. I, No. 54.

[441] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *13*, *15*, *21*, *23*; see above, § 1 a.

[442] Romanelli suggests that the chest (*armarium clusum*) mentioned in this inscription was meant for storing medicines; though this is quite possible, it remains but a hypothesis; see ch. I, No. 54, *ad* line 7.

[443] Ch. I, No. 69.

[444] Ch. I, No. 74.

The existence of a *collegium* under the patronage of Bona Dea at Luceria, Lucera, is apparent from a sepulchral inscription, dating from the Empire:[447] "To the Departed Souls of Lucerinus Hermes and Vergilia Prisca, *magistra* of Bona Dea." The class of the deceased is that of the freedmen; the title indicates that Vergilia Prisca sat on the board of an association under the patronage of the goddess, but the inscription does not convey further information.

From the vicinity of Tuder, Ilci, comes an Augustan rectangular base with a fragmentary statuette of a female figure.[448] The inscription reads: *Quieta, slave of Atia Pieris,* ministra *of Bona Dea and acting* magistra *(?)* ..... Provided that the reading *proma* as an abbreviation of *promagistra* is the correct one and *proma* here is not the female form of *promus*,[449] Quieta acts as deputy of the *magistra* of a *collegium*, Atia Pieris (?).[450] *Ministra* is a (lesser) rank, which is more than once found beside *magistra* (see below). There is further evidence for the cult of Bona Dea at Ilci in a dedication by three women belonging to the class of freedmen (of which also Atia Pieris is a member).[451]

Near Spoletium, at Acquajura, was a *lucus* of Bona Dea. The dedication of this sacred grove conveys some relevant details: [452] "A sacred grove has been dedicated to Bona Dea. In order that it may be cleansed again by members of the male sex, Renatia Maxima, wife of Umbro, ex-primipilar, has erected this altar, with the approval of the joint *magistra* Pompeia. She had it erected on her unoccupied land". This is not the sole reference to a *lucus* of Bona Dea. In his description of Hercules' encounter with the worshippers of the goddess, Propertius places this scene by a Bona Dea *lucus*, where her feast is being celebrated.[453] The "cleansing", *remundare*, must have been the cleaning-away of dead branches and the pruning of trees and shrubs. As regards such activities, we have ample evidence concerning the *lucus* of Dea

---

[445] Cf. ch. I, No. 63.

[446] See ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[447] Ch. I, No. 85.

[448] Ch. I, No. 93.

[449] *Ibidem*, annotations *ad* line 3.

[450] See the suggestion *ad CIL* XI 4635; cf. ch. I, note 228.

[451] Ch. I, No. 94.

[452] Ch. I, No. 95.

[453] Ch. II, No. *32*.

Dia near Rome, and concerning the attendant expiatory sacrifices.[454] The explicit mention in the present case of the cleansing being carried out *per masculos* corresponds to what we already know about the exclusion of men from the cult of the goddess. Just as in Propertius, in this case too it is apparent that only women are allowed to enter the *lucus*, apart from the exception mentioned. Whether these women were members of a *collegium*, whose *magistrae* are Renatia Maxima and Pompeia, is not clear. It is puzzling that Renatia Maxima has the altar erected on her own land, and not in the *lucus*. On the other hand, the regulations for building activities or whatever operations in the *lucus* were so strict—if the *lucus* of Dea Dia may be given as an example—that any change in the existing state was practically impossible.

There must also have been a *collegium* at Ostra, Ostra Vetere. An inscription from that place reads:[455] "Rufellia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, *magistra*, has given this present to Bona Dea". The only thing to be inferred from this text is that this freedwoman, probably of Greek extraction, sat on the committee of a *collegium* under the patronage of Bona Dea.

An inscription from Lucus Feroniae records the dedication of a silver mirror to the goddess by two *magistrae* of Bona Dea in A.D. 138.[456] And from the same place we have more indications of the existence of a *collegium* under the patronage of Bona Dea—if indeed the title *Sepernas* that occurs there applies to that goddess.[457] A dedication, dating from A.D. 222, mentions the names of *curam agentes* (= *curatores*?) and, probably, *quaestores*, terms also found in connection with *collegia*.[458] A *magistra* records the restoration of something that is undecipherable (only an A remains) in honour of Sepernas.[459] If a *collegium Bonae Deae* (*Sepernatis*) is involved it is evident from these sources that the membership was a mixed one, since the *curatores* and *quaestores* are men, and the *magistrae* women. The class is that of freedmen.[460]

After Rome, it is Aquileia that conveys most information concerning the Bona Dea worship by *collegia*. In addition to the State cult, the goddess seems to have been worshipped on a larger scale by these associations (and private people).[461] Three *magistrae* are mentioned together in an inscription from the church of S. Stefano, to the North of the town. The date is the Imperial age:[462] "Aninia Magna, daughter of Marcus, and Seia Ionis and Cornelia Ephyre, *magistrae* of Bona Dea have rebuilt the portico, and the shrine of Fonio".[463] In view of her name the first woman belongs to the freeborn class while the other two are freedwomen of Greek origin. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the *collegium*, on whose board they sat, admitted various classes. The mention of a portico could indicate that the association had its own building. Another dedication (Empire), whose probable provenance is Aquileia, also refers to a *magistra*:[464] "To the ears of Bona Dea. The *magistra* Petrusia Proba has given this for Galgestis Hermeros". Unfortunately, it is impossible to ascertain whether this dedication comes from the same place as the preceding one, and consequently, whether this *magistra* belonged to the same association as the three other women. It is unclear whether the man referred to was a member of the *collegium* of Petrusia Proba, or whether a personal connection is to be suspected. His name, however, is an indication that freedmen were involved. More information is given by two dedications that allegedly stood on the same stone (Empire):[465] "To Bona Dea Pagana. Rufia Festa, daughter of Gaius, and Caesilia Scylace, freedwoman of Quintus, *magistrae*, at their expense". And, "Decidia Paulina, daughter of Lucius, and Pupia Peregrina, freedwoman of Lucius, *ministrae* have built a temple of Bona Dea at their expense". The first relevant piece of information is that the various administrative ranks of the association are not linked with a particular class: both the *magistrae* and *ministrae* are either freeborn or freedwomen.[466] The goddess's epithet indicates that her *aedes* was situated outside town, perhaps S. Stefano.[467] If this is true, these women might be members of the same *collegium* as Aninia Magna *c.s.*, mentioned above, and the portico part of the *aedes*. Another *magistra* may be suspected behind the abbreviation M in an inscription, also from Aquileia, and entirely composed of abbreviations. It reads:[468] M B D D D. The findspot of a dedication to the Parcae and Bona Dea, S. Stefano, might point to a connection with the supposed sanctuary of a *collegium* in that place, but the lack of information makes it impossible to prove this.[469] Though her name is not explicitly mentioned, an inscription addressed to Dea Obsequens has been thought to relate to Bona Dea (Empire):[470] "Leuce, freedwoman of Anspania, and (?) Occusia Venusta, *magistrae*, have given this to the Gracious Goddess". The monument used to be in the church of S. Felice at Aquileia,[471] so that no connection with the *collegium* that can be situated in the vicinity of S. Stefano is likely. If indeed Dea Obsequens is Bona Dea, it is possible that we meet here a second *collegium* of Bona Dea at Aquileia, composed of (among others ?) freedwomen.

---

[454] See *CIL* VI 2023-2119 (*Acta Collegii Fratrum Arvalium*), *passim*.
[455] Ch. I, No. 97.
[456] Ch. I, No. 102.
[457] See Taylor, *Etruria*, p. 56 (quoted *ad* ch. I, No. 103).
[458] Ch. I, No. (104).
[459] Ch. I, No. (105).
[460] For the titles, see above.
[461] For the State cult, see ch. VII A 3; for the collegiate cult, ch. VII B 2, *2*; for private worship, see below, 3.

---

[462] Ch. I, No. 109.

[463] For Fonio, see ch. VII, note 112.

[464] Ch. I, No. 110.

[465] Ch. I, No. 113.

[466] Boissier's proposition, quoted by Waltzing and confirmed by Kornemann (see above), that there was a division in the sense that freeborn women qualified for the function of *magistra*, with that of *ministra*, however, intended for women of the class of slaves and freedmen, is therefore not correct.

[467] A church to the North of Aquileia, long since demolished; cf. *Friúli-Venezia Giulia*, map between pp. 288 and 289.

[468] Ch. I, No. 114.

[469] Ch. I, No. 115.

Perhaps we may infer the existence of the title of *ministra* in Rome as well from the formula to be read in a thanksgiving found three miles from town on the Via Ostiense: *ministerio Canniae Fortunatae.*[472] It is difficult to establish the date because of some grammatical discrepancies in the text.[473] The mention of medicines in connection with Bona Dea reminds us of what we know already about the dispensary which was attached to her temple in Rome.[474]

Besides Rome and Aquileia, Gallia Narbonensis is an area from which we have much information relating to the collegiate worship of Bona Dea. The title of *ministra* is the only one to be found there, and that of *magistra* does not occur. A dedication from Arelate, Arles, 2nd quarter of the 1st century A.D., is on an altar decorated with a wreath in which two ears are represented, and with a sacrificial jug and dish. As appears from the text of the inscription, it is a dedication to Bona Dea erected by the *ministra* Caiena Attice, freedwoman of Prisca.[475] The woman is apparently of the class of freedmen and the country of origin might be inferred from her *cognomen.* Also, as regards Glanum, St.-Rémy-de-Provence, we possess information concerning a collegiate cult there: an altar, 1st or 2nd century A.D., closely resembles that from Arles, and this, together with the title, *ministra*, occurring in the inscription, is the reason to assume that a dedication to (the ears of) Bona Dea is concerned, although the name of the goddess is not mentioned.[476] Together with this altar a big sacrificial table, with a text on one of the long sides, was found, also from the 1st or 2nd century A.D.:[477] "The *ministra* Attia Musa has erected this in hounour of the Mistress". The designation of Domina for Bona Dea is also found elsewhere, namely near Rome (Via Ostiense)[478] and in Dalmatia.[479] The findspot, the so-called temple of Bona Dea,[480] is a second indication that it actually is a dedication to Bona Dea. A third find from the same place is a pedestal, probably 3rd century A.D., with the inscription:[481] "Vinicia Eutychia to Bona Dea". The three women—Vinicia Eutychia probably belonging to the same *collegium*, but as an ordinary member—are freedwomen. The names are indicative of their Greek origin (?). And from the dates it may be inferred that the cult at Glanum continued for quite a long time.

---

[470] Ch. I, No. (117).

[471] The borgo S. Felice is to the South of the town (S. Stefano to the North); cf. *Friúli-Venezia Giulia, l.c.* (D 3).

[472] Ch. I, No. 44.

[473] *Ibidem*, the notes on the date.

[474] See ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[475] Ch. I, No. 130; cf. No. (131); for *auribus,* cf. ch. III B.

[476] Ch. I, No. 133.

[477] Ch. I, No. 134.

[478] Ch. I, No. 44.

[479] Ch. I, No. 127.

Besides the data cited above, we have some information suggesting the existence of associations under the patronage of Bona Dea: a big architrave, found on the Via Aurelia and dating from the Imperial Age, mentions two women, Popillia Psacas and Thaine, a freedwoman and a slave, as the givers of a present to Bona Dea.[482] Thaine appears to be Popillia Psacas' *collega*[483] and it seems likely that they were colleagues on the board of an association under the patronage of Bona Dea, to whom the dedication is addressed.

As appears from an inscription found near Ficulea and dating from the Imperial period, a *fanum* of Bona Dea is restored by two freeborn people, brother and sister and their freedwoman, with a Greek name, (Marcia) Nomas.[484] There is no clue as to whether the *fanum* was a private sanctuary, of the Marcii, or whether it was open to a larger public (an association ?). If indeed a collegiate sanctuary is concerned, it is probably that this *collegium* admitted both sexes, and various classes as well.

In addition to the many women referred to in the inscriptions as sitting on the board of an association under the patronage of Bona Dea or as priestesses of the goddess, one man (a boy) is definitely identifiable as a priest of the goddess: a sepulchral inscription from Rome, datable to the 3rd or 4th century, is written in Greek and erected in memory of "Aurelius Antonius, the priest of All Gods, first of all of Bona Dea, then of the Mother of the Gods, and of Dionysus and Hegemon". The monument for this boy, who died at the age of seven years and twelve days, was erected by his parents, Aurelia Antonia and Aurelius Onesimus.[485] They were freedmen and the father's second name points to Greek extraction. Greek influences are evident in the language of the text and in the gods referred to, with the exception of Bona Dea (Βοναδίη). The references in the text to μυστήρια and μύσται do not indicate whether joint mysteries of the four deities or distinct, separate cults are involved. The fact that the boy calls himself priest (ἱερεύς) of All Gods points to the former possibility, but the explicit division of the gods who are mentioned by name suggests the contrary. The boy's age, which seems to be rather young for a priest of a religious sodality, is a not uncommon phenomenon in this late period, when collegiate functions had sometimes become but sinecures.[486]

---

[480] See ch. VII B 3

[481] Ch. I, No. 135.

[482] Ch. I, No. 38.

[483] The complement [*coll*]*ega* is thoroughly acceptable.

[484] Ch. I, No. 50.

[485] Ch. I, No. 31.

From Puteoli, Pozzuoli, comes a dedication to Bona Dea, dated 27 October A.D. 62, referring to a priest, Philadespotus.[487] Of which deity he is a priest is not mentioned. Although the possibility that Philadespotus was a priest of Bona Dea, like Aurelius Antonius mentioned above, cannot be ruled out (i.e. a *sacerdos* of a cult association), it is equally probable that we meet here a parallel of the dedication by Attia Celerina in Rome. This woman dedicated a statuette of, in all probability, Bona Dea in the temple of Sabazius and Caelestis, at the suggestion of the priest Pegasus.[488] In this latter case, it is obvious that Pegasus is a priest of Sabazius. And it is possible that the dedication from Puteoli, too, was erected in a sanctuary which was consecrated to a different deity from Bona Dea and to which male priests were attached.

Finally we know of quarters named after Bona Dea. An inscription from Portus, Porto, records the existence of *Bonadienses*.[489] This name is an indication that a quarter (at Portus?) was named after a shrine or bigger sanctuary of Bona Dea. It is impossible to establish whether the inhabitants of the quarter were united in an association under the patronage of the goddess after whom they were named, though it seems probable when this dedication is compared with an inscription from Forum Clodi.[490] The latter gives instructions to the inhabitants of a *vicus* of Forum Clodi for the celebration of the birthdays of Divine Augustus, of Tiberius, and of Augusta (Livia). As regards the present discussion, the following line is relevant: "On the birthday of the Empress we have treated the women of the Bona Dea quarter to mead and cakes." The *mulieres vicanae ad Bonam Deam* apparently celebrate a separate feast, and this indicates that they were a distinct group. It would not be in the least improbable if this local women's association had Bona Dea as their patroness.

3. *The cult of Bona Dea as celebrated by private people*

The variety in individual worship of Bona Dea may be best illustrated by the example of a dedication from Dalmatia, which not only presents a comprehensive image of the goddess, but also proves that the most diverse ideas influenced the individual worshipper of Bona Dea.

---

[486] See ch. I, note 64.
[487] Ch. I, No. 79.
[488] Ch. I, No. (6).
[489] Ch. I, No. 67.
[490] Ch. I, No. 101.

On a limestone altar, found at Časka (Cissa) on the isle of Pag off the Dalmatian coast, and dating from the (early) 1st century A,D., the following text is read (in translation):[491]

> Calpurnia, daughter of the *augur* Lucius Piso and granddaughter of Cnaeus Piso, has given this (altar) as a present to Bona Dea Domina Heia Augusta Triumphalis, the Mistress of land and sea, the Protectress, the Mistress of wisdom and medicine, the Goddess of right judgement.

The text is clear enough as regards the identity of the dedicant: Calpurnia is the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, *cos.* 1 B.C., in this inscription, as elsewhere, styled *Augur* so as to distinghuish him from his contemporary L. Piso *Pontifex.*[492] Calpurnia's grandfather, Cn. Calpurnius Piso (Frugi?), was *cos. suff.* (together with Augustus) in 23 B.C.[493] These Calpurnii Pisones belonged to one of the few Republican families that remained active in the government of the State during the Julian-Claudian epoch.[494] If indeed it was to C. Piso and his two sons that Horace dedicated his *Ars Poetica*,[495] it is likely that this family, in addition to their political activities, also took part in cultural life under Augustus. A woman belonging to this milieu would have been thoroughly conversant with Roman life, and someone of her class would certainly have been familiar with the Bona Dea cult in its official Roman version. Yet, this family also had close connections with Liburnia, because of their estates in that country, and with other places round the northern part of the Adriatic Sea.[496] Two other dedications erected by Calpurnia in these regions give no information beyond her own and her father's names, however.[497] But we do know of members of the family being *IIvir* of Pola (Pula) and governor of Dalmatia.[498] The large number of Calpurnii with a native *cognomen* prove that the family's residence in this province was not of a transient nature, and that the bonds with Liburnia and surrounding territories were firm ones.[499]

---

[491] Ch. I, No. 127.

[492] Cf. E. Groag, *Calpurnius* (74) in *RE* III 1 (1897), col. 1383 (No. 99 = Pontifex); *PIR*² II, pp. 67-68, No. 290.

[493] Cf. F. Münzer, *Calpurnius* (95) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1391-1392; *PIR*² II, pp. 57-58, No. 286.

[494] Cf. Münzer, *Rom. Nob.*, pp. 142-143; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p. 331.

[495] Cf. Schanz-Hosius II, p. 135; Münzer, *Calpurnius* (95), col. 1392.

[496] Cf. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 199-200, 331.

[497] *Ibidem*, p. 331, note 3.

[498] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, *cos.* 58 B.C., was the first *IIvir*, together with L. Cassius Longinus, of Pola; cf. F. Münzer, *Calpurnius* (90) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1387-1390; Broughton II, pp. 193-194; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p. 331; *PIR*² II, p. 61, No. 288; the Consul of A.D. 27, L. Calpurnius Piso, was governor of Dalmatia, probably in the early reign of Claudius; cf. E. Groag, *Calpurnius* (76) in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1383-1384; *PIR*² II, pp. 69-70, No. 293; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p. 331.

[499] Cf. Wilkes, *l.c.*, note 4.

This appears to have influenced Calpurnia's religious views: Bona Dea's many titles in Calpurnia's dedication are nowhere else found in such a quantity and are unique as regards some of their substance too, and show definite indications of other than Roman influences. Despite the fact that most of the epithets are found nowhere else in relation to Bona Dea, it is evident that it is this goddess to whom Calpurnia meant to address her dedication, as appears from the fact that the text of the inscription opens with the goddess's "common" name. Moreover, some of the attributes referred to are known from elsewhere as belonging to her (though, without the first name, they could relate to other goddesses as well). The abbreviated form of the usual name of the goddess does not in the least mean that this, first, invocation is of secondary importance. Indeed, we may assume that the identifiability was such that the abbreviation was thought sufficient. This is borne out by those dedications, mostly from the same regions, that present the goddess in that way, without any titles added to the abbreviated name.[500] Although Bona Dea is therefore clearly recognizable, the majority of the epithets are indicative of the originally Roman goddess having undergone external influences. The concrete appellations suggest the influence of local cults; and it is hard to avoid the impression that the generality of some of the formulas indicates the influence of such philosophical tendencies on religious ideas as had reached their summit in Rome just before the time when Calpurnia erected her dedication to Bona Dea.[501]

The analysis of Calpurnia's ideas concerning the nature of Bona Dea gives an idea of what the individual worshipper could imagine when invoking the goddess. One should realize that the time when Calpurnia erected her dedication was also the hey-day of the Bona Dea cult as part of the Roman State religion, as is apparent from the building of a number of temples throughout Italy.[502] This interest in the cult stimulated by the authorities has influenced the other forms of worship, those by the *collegia* and by individuals.[503]

---

[500] Ch. I, Nos. 109, 110, 114, 118, (119), 123, 124', 125.

[501] Varro dedicated his *magnum opus*, the *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum* (for the greater part preserved in St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and used in the attacks upon Paganism; cf. Schanz-Hosius I, pp. 564-565; Agahd, pp. 7-15), to Caesar. In his introduction Varro expresses his anxiety that the old gods would disappear, and that not by outside attacks but by the Romans' neglect. His work was intended to retain these gods, and Caesar was the obvious man to realize this in practice (cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 3, 32, 181). In the 15th book (*De Diis Incertis*), as he says himself (St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VIII 1; cf. Agahd, pp. 24-25), Varro endeavoured to reconcile the *theologia civilis* with the *theologia naturalis*.

[502] See below, ch. VII.

[503] See the digression on this in ch. VII A 3.

The analysis of Calpurnia's dedication

B(onae) D(eae)

This beginning makes it certain that the dedication is actually addressed to the goddess whom this study concerns.[504]

Dom(inae)

In a dedication from Rome, erected as a thanksgiving for the recovery from an eye-disease, Bona Dea is also described as *Domina*. The dedicant is *bineficio Dominaes medicinis sanatus.*[505] And in the Liburnian dedication Bona Dea is also represented as a goddess of healing by the designation *Remediorum Potens* (see below). Furthermore, a dedication from Glanum (St.-Rémy-de-Provence) calls Bona Dea *Domna.*[506] This inscription is rather vaguely dated by its editor to the 1st or 2nd century A.D. Although the syncope, *Domna* instead of *Domina*, which is quite often found in the epigraphic language, may have parallels at an early stage,[507] that is not a sufficient reason to date this inscription to the earliest possible period. Yet, the 1st century is not an impossible date and would correspond with the time when Calpurnia erected her dedication. The grammatical discrepancies make it is difficult to determine the date of the cited Roman inscription.[508]

Both in the epigraphic sources and ancient literature not a few goddesses bear the title of *Domina* (just as gods bear that of *Dominus).*[509] Bona Dea is not one of the goddesses who are thus styled in literature, yet the fact that three times she bears that title in an inscription makes it evident that in her personality were recognized some attributes which made it possible to invoke her as *Domina*. If we may believe Servius' commentary on *Aeneid* III 113,[510] in Varro's view, Mater Magna ranks as *the* Domina: "sane dominam matrem deum dictam Varro et ceteri adfirmant; nam et ibi Proserpinam ideo a Vergilio dominam appellatam, quod ipsa terra esse dicatur, sicut et mater deum''. The earth is considered to be the point of departure and the identification with the earth justifies the title.[511]

---

[504] For the frequency of this abbreviation, see epigraphical index.

[505] Ch. I, No. 44.

[506] Ch. I, No. 134.

[507] Cf. also *Oclata* for *Oculata* (ch. I, No. 13); cf. E. Meyer, *Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik*, Darmstadt, 1973, pp. 33-35.

[508] See *ad* ch. I, No. 44.

[509] Cf. R. Peter, *Domina* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), col. 1197; W. Drexler, *Kyria und Kyrios* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 1755-1769, esp. 1767-1768 (*Domina-Dominus*); M. Ihm, *Domina, Dominus, Dominae* in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 1301-1302; Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 118; Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 221, note 8; for the term as an appellation, cf. Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* IV, pp. 82-88.

[510] Thilo-Hagen I, pp. 362-363; cf. *Aeneis* III 438, Thilo-Hagen I, p. 419; *Aeneis* VI 397, Thilo-Hagen II, p. 62.

There can be no question of local influences upon Calpurnia's interpretation of Bona Dea in the case of this epithet. The cult of Mater Magna, who, as appears from Servius' words, is considered the Domina, was not introduced into Liburnia before the end of the 1st century A.D., consequently after Calpurnia's time.[512] As for the cited Gallic inscription, local influences may be suspected, the example being the native *Matres*. Yet, equally there was a close relation between Bona Dea and Cybele in southern Gaul.[513]

The inscriptions naming Bona Dea *Domina* are not numerous, and the likely influences behind the use of this title are various: theological speculation with its tendency to consider all the goddesses as an aspect of the ''All-Goddess'', the earth, may have influenced Calpurnia's use of the title *Domina*, as that in the cited inscription from Rome; the inscription from Glanum may have been influenced by local religious conceptions as well.

Heiae

In the first place, this name is not clearly legible; moreover, owing to the lack of directly comparable data, it can give only little information about the substance which Calpurnia in her use of this name wants to give to her interpretation of Bona Dea.

Eia Augusta—the epithet always accompanies the name—must have been a Histrian goddess since she is mentioned only in three inscriptions from Pola and Nesactium.[514] Unfortunately, the texts of these inscriptions give no details which could enable us to form a picture of this Eia.[515] What is evident is that local ideas influenced Calpurnia's image of Bona Dea. It is difficult to decide whether this was an altogether personal interpretation or whether it was perhaps a more generally accepted one. The fact that at Nesactium both Bona Dea and Eia were worshipped does not help us to find an answer to that question.[516]

A[ug(ustae)]

Augusta, a title borne by Bona Dea in a number of inscriptions, is an epithet which conveys nothing concerning the character of the goddess herself, yet much concerning her position in the religious organization as it was propagated by the government.

---

[511] Cf. Agahd, p. 214, frgm. 47, and the notes.

[512] Cf. J. Medini, *Le culte de Cybèle dans la Liburnie antique* in *Hommages* II, pp. 732-756; for the date, pp. 750, 752, 756.

[513] Cf. Turcan, pp. 58-61.

[514] See H. Steuding, *Eia Augusta* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), col. 218; M. Ihm, *Eia* in *RE* V 2 (1905), col. 2013; both Steuding and Ihm are only acquainted with *CIL* V 8 (=*II* X 1, 3).

[515] See Šašel's observation on this, quoted ch. I, note 305.

[516] See ch. I, No. 122.

No less than eight times Bona Dea's name is accompanied by this epithet, moreover in regions far apart, though never in Rome. Bona Dea is named *Augusta*: at Viterbo (ch. I, No. 100); at Aquileia, three times (Nos. 108, 111, 112); at Sila and at Lambaesis, Numidia (Nos. 138, 139); at Mactaris, Provincia Byzacena (No. 140); and in the dedication by Calpurnia.

Although the word *augustus* is of an earlier date, it is used for the first time as an adjective designating a person in 27 B.C., as the title of Octavian.[517] Nor does the word seem to have been used before this date as an epithet to the name of god or hero.[518] In 27 B.C., Octavian was styled Augustus because this word was borrowed from the religious language and consequently, more than any other title, could define his role decreed by the gods and emphasize the augural character of his task.[519]

There is not much difference of opinion concerning the addition of *Augustus* to divine names. It has been assumed that the point of departure is to be found in the worship of the gods of the Imperial House, the Lares Augusti and Vesta Augusta, and that the epithet is meant to stress that the deity in question is worshipped as the Emperor worships his own gods.[520] Besides, the notion that by using the epithet homage is paid at the same time to the Emperor himself is anything but strange.[521] Just as the deities of the Roman Pantheon could becomes gods of local significance outside Rome and, throughout the Empire, became municipal patron gods, so the opposite also occurred and local deities could have official recognition under their own or Roman names. For this purpose the epithet *Augustus* is used. Consequently, its meaning is not different from that of *publicus*,[522] so that a change from a religious to a political purport is indicated: the concept is used to express loyalty to the State, i.e. the Emperor.[523] Thus, although the epithet *Augusta* may convey something as regards the dates of the inscriptions in which Bona

---

[517] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 7; cf. G. Humbert, *Augustus* in *DA* I-I (1877), p. 561; K. J. Neumann, *Augustus* in *RE* II 2 (1896), coll. 2370-2372; J.-A. Hild, *Romulus et Remus* in *DA* IV-II (n.d.), pp. 891-895; H. Heinen, *Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes, chronologische Uebersicht von 48 v. bis 14 n. Chr.* in *Klio* 11 (1911), pp. 129-177; 151: sources regarding the year 27 B.C.; J. Gagé, *Romulus-Augustus* in *MEFR*, XLVIIe année (1930), fasc. I-V, pp. 138-181.

[518] Cf. Gagé, *l.c.*, p. 156; Wagenvoort, *Imperium*, pp. 41-42.

[519] Cf. Gagé, *l.c.*, pp. 158-165.

[520] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 84-85.

[521] Cf. E. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial, son histoire et son organisation, depuis Auguste jusqu'à Justinien,* Paris, 1891, pp. 156-157.

[522] Cf. F. Mourlot, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Augustalité dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1895 (=*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, fasc. 108), pp. 79-80; 97-98; cf. also W. Drexler, *Kaiserkultus* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 901-919.

[523] Cf. Latte, *RR*, pp. 324-325.

Dea is thus styled, it does not give any information about the nature of the goddess herself.

The position of the word, in the present case just after Heia, causes a certain association with this name in particular, the more so as Heia, in all of the three other inscriptions that we know, is also named *Augusta*. Yet, the inference from this that the epithet belongs to Heia only is not borne out by the other instances which also name Bona Dea *Augusta*.

Triumphali

This title is borne by Bona Dea elsewhere as well: from Sutrium (Sutri) comes an inscription addressed *Bonae Deae Regi[nae] / Triumphali*. The date may be the early 1st century A.D.[524]

Triumphalis does not occur in Latin poetry as an epithet to a divine name,[525] but much the more so does *Regina* (and *Rex*).[526] In inscriptions the independent use of *Regina* is found,[527] though the word is much more usual as an epithet of Juno and of Isis.[528] Juno *Regina* is well-known to Varro already.[529] Her title derives from her ruling all earthly things.[530] When comparing Juno Regina (= Tellus), as she is portrayed by Varro, to Isis, also according to Varro's idea, the analogy, despite the lack of the title, is obvious:[531] "Principes dei Caelum et Terra. Hi dei idem qui Aegypti Serapis et Isis." And although in Apuleius Juno too is mentioned, in the answer to Lucius' prayer, as one of the manifestations of the "All-Goddess", *the Regina* in this case is Isis.[532] And Macrobius' comparison between Bona Dea and Juno is based upon both of them carrying the royal sceptre, and consequently upon the attribute of Regina.[533] To Macrobius, as to Varro, Isis is none other than the Earth.[534]

A relationship such as may be established between Bona Dea and Juno from both literary and epigraphic-archaeological sources,[535] cannot be determined with regard to Isis and Bona Dea on the basis of direct data. However, secondary information is not lacking: apart from the fact that we learn of a worshipper of Bona Dea who is named Isia (a datum to be handled with the greatest caution, though)[536] comparison of two inscriptions—one addressed to Bona Dea, from Signia,[537] the other to Isis, from Nemus Dianae not far from Signia[538]—indicates that the statues of the two goddesses were dressed in a similar manner in the same district; and just as Bona Dea is defined as *Caelestis* and *Regina Caelestis*,[539] so Isis is named the *Regina Caeli*.[540] In these cases African influences are obvious,[541] as in religious speculation practically every (Greek or) Rom,an goddess possessed potentialities to be identified with the African (Carthaginian-Semitic) "All-Goddess".[542] On the other hand, Bona Dea is not unknown in Africa, as is apparent from the epigraphic material.[543]

---

[524] Ch. I, No. 99.

[525] Only Aegisthus is thus named; cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 4.

[526] *Ibidem*, p. 144.

[527] Cf. O. Seeck, *Regina* (1a) in *RE* I A 1 (1914), col. 472.

[528] *Ibidem* (1b + c), coll. 472-473.

[529] Cf. Agahd, pp. 121-122, 215-217 (*De Iunonis cognominibus*).

[530] *De Lingua Latina* V 67.

[531] *Ibidem*, 57.

[532] *Metamorphoses* XI 5.

[533] Ch. II, No. *67* (23).

[534] *Saturnalia* I 20 18; I 21 11.

[535] See ch. III A.

However seldom the title *Triumphalis* may occur, when comparing this inscription to the one naming Bona Dea *Regina Triumphalis* a relationship with Isis, who is rarely called *Triumphalis* but often *Regina*, seems to be effected.[544] To the sovereignty expressed by this title also point Isis' appellations *Domina*, a title she also shares with Bona Dea, and Κυρία.[545] The conjecture that Isis influenced Calpurnia's idea of Bona Dea is borne out by other titles in the present dedication.

Terrae / marisq(ue) Dominatric[i]

This long title is unique as regards Bona Dea. Just as the designation of Bona Dea as *Domina* makes her an abstract divine concept, a similar tendency may be suspected when she is named (*Regina*) *Triumphalis*. But the present one of her appellatives is too concrete to be traced back to "monotheistic" speculation.

The word *dominatrix* occurs but seldom.[546] What is unusual, however, is not the description of Bona Dea as *Dominatrix* but the whole of the formula: Bona Dea as *Mistress of land and sea* hardly corresponds to the image of the goddess derived from the other data concerning her.

---

[536] Of the 399 people in Italy whose names have some connection with Isis, only seven may with certainty be considered worshippers of the Egyptian deities (cf. Malaise, *Conditions*, pp. 26-27); see ch. I, No. 16 A-B.

[537] Ch. I, No. 69.

[538] *CIL* XIV 2215 = *ILS* 4423 = Malaise, *Inventaire*, pp. 63-64.

[539] Ch. I, Nos. 70, 75, and 136'.

[540] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI 2.

[541] Cf. F. Cumont, *Caelestis* in *RE* III 1 (1897), coll. 1247-1250; F. A. Hoevels, *Wer ist die Regina Caeli des Apuleius?* in *Hermes* 102. Band (1974), pp. 346-352.

[542] Cf. Cumont, *l.c.*, col. 1249; Hoevels, *l.c.*

[543] Ch. I, Nos. 137, 138, 138', 139, 140, 141.

[544] Cf. Malaise, *Conditions*, pp. 182-183.

[545] *Ibidem*.

[546] Cicero refers to *caeca ac temeraria dominatrix animi cupiditas* (*De Inventione* I 2) and Seneca names Crete the *dominatrix freti* (*Hippolytus* 85); Lewis and Short, p. 608, *s.v.*

Terra stands here for land as a concept (as contrasted with sea), and not for the concrete (arable) field, which is called *ager.*[547] Consequently, Bona Dea is not to be seen here as a protectress of agriculture because of this title, though she may be one elsewhere when she is called *Agrestis, Sevina* (?), or *Cereria.*[548]

Though Bona Dea was worshipped in quite a few ports, such as Pozzuoli, Porto, Ostia, Trieste, and last but not least Aquileia,[549] nowhere is any indication to be found of her being considered a goddess of the sea. And though, no doubt, in Calpurnia's case, the nearness of the sea may have played a role in the invocation of Bona Dea as *Mistress of the sea,* one cannot assume that it was the determining factor in attributing to Bona Dea a capacity which—at least elsewhere—does not belong to her. Also the proximity of *Terrae,* which generalizes the formula, prevents us from considering Bona Dea as a true sea-goddess.

But there are two goddesses—who not only resemble each other but also Bona Dea—who are qualified to be invoked as *Mistress of the sea*: Fortuna and Isis. As one of her many titles Fortuna boasts the name of *Domina aequoris.*[550] The title of *Gubernatrix,*[551] though capable of a wider interpretation, also points to the sea. And this is borne out by Fortuna's representations in the plastic arts, where the helm is her most usual attribute.[552] Emerging from the sea,[553] Isis in answer to Lucius' prayer in Apuleius, calls herself the one who, at her will, disposes of the *maris salubria flamina.*[554] Afterwards she appears to be the protectress of people on land and at sea.[555] And the nearest parallel to *Terrae marisque Dominatrix* is the description of Isis as γαίης πάσης καὶ πόντου δῖαν ἄνασσαν.[556]

The assimilation of Fortuna and Isis is a well-known fact.[557] The relationship between Bona Dea and Isis is chiefly evident from the inscription of Calpurnia (besides the secondary data referred to above), but there is ample evidence for the connection Fortuna-Bona Dea. Both goddesses appear as

---

[547] In his first subdivision of the universe, Varro uses *terra* as the counterpart of *caelum* (*De Lingua Latina* V 16, cf. 21). *Ager* is the concrete term: "ager dictus in quam terram quid agebant, et unde quid agebant fructus causa" (*ibidem,* 34).

[548] Ch. I, Nos. 44 (Rome), 74 (Civitella), 112 (Aquileia).

[549] Ch. I, Nos. 78, 79 (Pozzuoli and surroundings), 67, 68 (Porto), 55-(66) (Ostia), 108-121 (Aquileia).

[550] Horace, *Carmina* I xxxv 6; cf. Carter, *Epitheta,* p. 38.

[551] Terence, *Eunychus* 1046; cf. Carter, *l.c.*

[552] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR,* p. 264; R. Peter, *Fortuna* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1503-1549, esp. 1528-1536; W. Otto, *Fortuna* in *RE* VII 1 (1910), coll. 12-42, esp. 39.

[553] *Metamorphoses* XI 3.

[554] 5.

[555] 25. Cf. W. Drexler, *Isis* in *ML* II 1 (1890-1894), coll. 360-548, esp. 474-490.

[556] Cf. Drexler, *l.c.,* col. 475.

[557] Cf. W. Drexler, *Isis-Fortuna und Fort. Panthea* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), coll. 1549-1555.

Conservatrix (see below). In invocations of the goddesses as personal patronesses of sites or people, that capacity is made known by means of an illustrating epithet.[558] And both goddesses manifest themselves as protectresses of woman in general.[559] The distinction between Bona Dea and Fortuna is sometimes very vague (see especially below, *Conservatrici*).

From this title of Bona Dea in the dedication of Calpurnia, it becomes evident that the tendency to assimilate was already so accepted that in Bona Dea Calpurnia can at the same time invoke Isis-Fortuna. At least, it is hard to avoid that impression.[560]

Conservatrici

The editor of the Calpurnia inscription supposed that *Conservatrici* was to be joined to *mentiumque bo[n]arum* in the next line.[561] But in view of the suffix *-que* to *mentium* this is not very likely. This copulative particle is added to the word which it connects and it is often preferred to *et* as it indicates a closer connection.[562] Since *-que* is used to connect two equivalent words, it is next to certain that it serves here as a copulative between *Conservatrici* and (later following) *Potenti*. *Atque* and *ac* are copulative particles meaning *and also, and moreover, and even,* and indicate a relation between single words or whole clauses.[563] Because of the meaning of the conjunctions, it is more plausible that *mentiumque bo[n]arum / ac remediorum Potenti* should be considered one whole clause. This means that *Conservatrici* is an independent epithet.

In Latin poetry *Conservator/Conservatrix*[564] does not occur as a divine epithet, this as contrasted with *Servator/Servatrix*, a word with a similar meaning.[565] In numismatics and epigraphy, however, *Conservator/Conservatrix* is a frequent attribute of a deity's name.[566]

Bona Dea, as a goddess who saves in concrete situations, is a well-known phenomenon in our epigraphic sources.[567] However, literary data suggest that the goddess may also be seen as a protectress in a more abstract sense.[568] Either power, saviour in an abstract sense and protectress in a concrete situation, is also found in ideas concerning Isis and Fortuna (Tyche) when they appear as *Conservatrix* or Σώτειρα.[569]

---

[558] Fortuna Conservatrix *horreorum Galbianorum* (*CIL* VI 236; cf. Otto, *Fortuna*, col. 35) and Bona Dea *Galbilla* (ch. I, No. 9) are very similar as protectresses of the granaries.

[559] Cf. Bona Dea as *Feminea Dea*, ἡ γυναικεία θεά (cf. literary index) and Fortuna *Muliebris* (cf. Peter, *l.c.*, coll. 1519-1520.

[560] In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, XI 5, she calls herself also *Dictynna* Diana (Mistress of land and sea); cf. O. Jessen, *Diktynna* in *RE* V 1 (1903), coll. 584-588.

[561] See *ad* ch. I, No. 127, line 4 (Šašel's commentary).

[562] Cf. Lewis and Short, pp. 1508-1509, *s.v.*

[563] *Ibidem*, pp. 189-192, *s.v. atque.*

[564] *Ibidem*, p. 430 *s.v.*

[565] Cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 147.

[566] Cf. S. W. Stevenson-C. R. Smith-F. W. Madden, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, London, 1964 (1889), pp. 252-254.

[567] Cf. her title *Oclata* (ch. I, No. 13), the thanksgiving *ob luminibus restitutis* (No. 44), the *pro salute* inscriptions in her honour (Nos. 90 and 138').

In view of the fact that, in all probability, *Conservatrici* in Calpurnia's dedication is used absolutely, and that there is no further indication of a concrete act of saving, we may assume that Bona Dea in this case is to be considered the *Conservatrix* in an abstract sense, a goddess of salvation and comparable to Isis and Fortuna.[570]

Mentiumque bo[n]arum / ac remediorum Potenti

Potens is a very common epithet in Latin poetry. It is used in combination with a reference to the way in which the deity is *Potens—Silvarumque Potens Diana*;[571] *Hecaten Caeloque Ereboque Potentem*[572]—or in a absolute manner—*Potentem Lucinam*;[573] *Potens Trivia.*[574] And the epigraphic material proves a similar usage: Jupiter is invoked as *tempestatium divinarum Potens,*[575] as Mars may be named *militiae Potens.*[576]

Elsewhere, in Rome, Bona Dea is invoked with an analogous epithet: *Conpos* (*compos*).[577] In contrast to *Potens* in Calpurnia's dedication, *Conpos* in the Roman inscription is used absolutely.

Mentium bonarum Potens might define Bona Dea as a goddess of spiritual welfare (besides her role as a goddess of corporal health: *remediorum*) but the plural *mentium bonarum* is an argument against such an explanation. The abstract *mens*, a term describing intellectual power and its expression,[578] when plural often becomes concrete and means the *feelings, sentiments.*[579] Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the plural of the abstract noun might be used to describe the *mens* of everyone (individually). It is also possible to compare *mentium bonarum Potens* to Cicero's explanation of the adjective *Bona* as part of Bona Dea: *gracious, benevolent.*[580] The same meaning may also be read in Macrobius' discussion of the goddess's nature.[581] Moreover, in a dedication, the goddess is named *Obsequens*,[582] and we learn of prayers addressed *auribus Bonae Deae.*[583] All this is indicative of her qualities of a benevolent goddess who answers prayers. Because of this, a second possible translation of the present formula would be *the goddess who is capable of benevolent feelings.*

---

[568] See esp. Cicero's ideas about this and his representation of the goddess as the protectress of the Roman State; ch. II, No. 1, *passim.*

[569] Cf. O. Höfer, *Soteira* (Σώτειρα) in *ML* IV (1909-1915), coll. 1236-1247, esp. 1244 and 1247; cf. also Malaise, *Conditions*, pp. 184-187; Isis' title *Restitutrix* (p. 185) is probably not shared by Bona Dea; the latter is named *B.D.R.* in a Roman inscription (ch. I, No. 10), but in all probability the *R* stands for *Restituta*, since a restoration is concerned (cf. Nos. 11 and 12).

[570] Cf. also Bona Dea's and Fortuna's joint appearance at Aquincum (ch. I, No. 129).

[571] Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 1.

[572] Virgil, *Aeneis* VI 247.

[573] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V 303-304.

[574] Catullus XXXIV 15; cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 141

[575] *CIL* VIII 2609; cf. A. Von Domaszewski, *Tempestates* in *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, 1898, pp. 112-114 (=*Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1909, IV pp. 22-24); *Dei certi und dei incerti* in *ARW* 10, pp. 1-17 (=*Abhandlungen* etc., pp. 150-170, esp. p. 164).

[576] *CIL* VIII 2634; cf. Von Domaszewski, *Rel.*, p. 34, No. 48.

[577] Ch. I, No. 20; cf. Lewis and Short, p. 393, *s.v. compos.*

[578] *Ibidem*, pp. 1132-1133, *s.v.*

[579] So, e.g., Suetonius, *Caligula* LX: the attitude towards others; cf. Latte, *RR*, p. 240, note 2; Bömer, *Untersuch.*, pp. 154-160.

Remediorum Potenti corresponds to numerous data referring to this aspect of Bona Dea, i.e. her quality of a goddess of healing. And though we learn from Macrobius that a dispensary was attached to her temple,[584] it is especially the epigraphic sources which show what an important facet of the goddess's capacities medicine was considered.[585]

Deae bene iudicanti

As the Goddess of right judgement Bona Dea is a unique phenomenon. In the whole of the source material there is nowhere an indication to be found of ideas of such a nature concerning the goddess. Nor are there any other parallels. It is unclear whether this formula is meant to be an enlargement upon, or a further explanation of, *mentium bonarum Potens* (see above), or whether Bona Dea is to be considered a female judge. The latter suggestion is not borne out by any other information we have, so that, however vague the formula may be, one is inclined to opt for the former possibility.

C) *Conclusion*

Roman religious ideas were no doubt at a (relatively) early stage already influenced by Greek concepts of religion, which in their turn were much coloured by philosophical influences. Later, the influence of the Eastern cults upon Roman religion was of equal, if not of greater, significance.

The (original) gods of the Roman State were primarily gods of the community, and in their nature there were only slight potentialities for the creation of a personal relationship between god and individual worshipper. Yet it would have been a strange phenomenon if the Romans, when extremely important problems—such as illness or death—were concerned, had not selected a god or gods to whom to address their individual prayers.

---

[580] Ch. II, No. *17*; cf. also above, ch. III B.

[581] Ch. II, No. *67* (22).

[582] Ch. I, No. (117).

[583] Ch. I, Nos. 110, (131), 133; Weinreich, esp. pp. 46-68.

[584] Ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[585] See above, A 3 and 4.

The modern predisposition to emphasize the social aspects of the community to such a degree that the individual might appear a mere part of society, has, where the study of ancient religion is concerned, led to conclusions which are not supported by the information from Antiquity.[586] This same information suggests that, in the personal sphere as well, a relationship was aimed at or felt to exist between the (or a) deity and the worshipper, however much the Roman considered himself a member of the community. This tendency was most certainly present and was furthered by the authorities, and the Roman revealed this feeling not least when expressing his religious beliefs. And, as regards the cult of Bona Dea, it is evident that such a faith developed under Greek or Eastern influences, i.e. of religions which, independent of State interests, concentrated on the individual exclusively, or a group of like-minded people, by offering them the promise of salvation, which might be interpreted in a personal way.

Bona Dea was a State goddess; she guaranteed the welfare of the community, and consequently was politically interpreted. Her feast was celebrated *pro salute populi Romani*, and that at the house of the magistrate *cum imperio*, the preeminent representative of the State. The celebration of her rites was reserved to the women of noble birth, representing the community, and this elite element ensured both the purity of the cult and the bond with the State. Cicero's interpretation of the goddess was greatly influenced by his own political aim, yet he could only make use of her as a polemic factor by emphasizing her connection with the State in general, i.e. with the community. Although the Clodius scandal is described by Cicero in his letters as a shocking occurrence exemplifying the extreme rashness of Clodius' character, but certainly not as an act which could be interpreted as an attack upon the State, it is different when he addresses the community. In Cicero's speeches the Clodius affair develops into a violation of all that is good and sacred in Rome; the sacrilege enables Cicero to picture Bona Dea almost as a personification of the Roman State and as the preeminent goddess of the Romans. And Cicero is extremely serious when, before the Roman community, he refers to Bona Dea as the protectress of that same community.[587]

This goddess, the reflection of the Roman State, is to Cicero at the same time, however, a personal patroness. And she is portrayed so concretely that she does not disdain to avenge herself personally upon Clodius, Cicero's enemy, just as in 63 B.C. she had taken a personal interest in Cicero's policy and shown her approval by means of a miracle.[588]

---

[586] Entirely different ideas about this are to be found in Becher, *Heilgötter*, esp. pp. 211-213.

[587] This is not the case in his letters, cf., e.g., ch. II, Nos. *1*, *4*, *7*.

This dual image of Bona Dea, on the one hand the common protectress of the Roman State, and on the other hand a goddess with whom it was possible to enter into personal relations, is emphasized, even more than in the literary sources, in the epigraphic material. Although there is no indication of neglect of Bona Dea's role as a deity of the community, one meets her in the inscriptions as a goddess who is personally interpreted by the individual worshipper. And, without losing her connection with the aristocracy, she becomes a goddess who appeals to all classes of society. The marked discrepancy between the emphasis laid upon her aristocratic character in the literary sources, and her role apparent in the epigraphic data, where she appears as a goddess for "everyone", is most certainly not attributable to a social revolution, as has been said,[589] but to the fact that Bona Dea had in her nature the potential to appeal to everyone. And considering the fact that the aristocracy were only a small percentage of the population, it is not surprising that most expressions of Bona Dea worship originate from the lower classes.

It is an established fact that the perception of this goddess was influenced by the tendencies that led to a generalization of the gods' image. We only have to think of Macrobius' picture of Bona Dea (ch. II, No. *67*), or of the titles to be found in Calpurnia's dedication.

The development of the Bona Dea image in the course of time may be recapitulated as follows.

The cult of an ancient Latin goddess is concerned, interwoven with the "history" of Latium; as a fertility goddess and through the female, representative, part of the population she guarded the community.[590] Since fertility, both of field and cattle and of woman as well, was as much an individual concern as one of society as a whole, Bona Dea acted as the protectress of both land and its tiller, his house and stock. The vagueness of the appellation of the goddess offered wide scope for the personal interpretation of her name. Fertility and health, further, are concepts which are interrelated, and Bona Dea as a goddess of healing is not surprising. At the same time, however, in conformity with the traditional attitude of the Roman citizen, this goddess continued to be worshipped as the protectress of the community, and this by that group of the population which was considered representative of the whole people.

At the introduction of foreign religious ideas and under the influence of subsequent religious speculation, attempts were made to create a general picture of the divine hierarchy. It was not until then that Bona Dea was considered a goddess comparable to many others. She became a facet of the ''All-Goddess'', but this applied only in religious theories. The ''ordinary'' worshipper, however, was too familiar with her own name and attributes to forget them. Moreover, however much she borrowed from that first goddess, the Earth (Terra, Tellus), or her original qualities rendered her easily assimilable to the Earth, she remained a goddess who was capable of independently protecting both State and individual. And though the Augustan reaction, by reverting to tradition, endeavoured to reinstate her in her rank of an ancient Roman State goddess, the foreign influences had by then become an integral part of her religion.

---

[588] See above, 1 a.

[589] As Bömer, *l.c.*, asserts.

[590] Cf. Gagé, *Matronalia*, pp. 5-12.

When the Eastern religions began to influence Roman religious thinking, Bona Dea too was affected by those cults which propagated the message of salvation, and the image of the goddess was adapted to the new way of thought. Her nature once again became more general, but was that of a (female) Saviour, the *Conservatrix*, rather than that of the ''Original Mother''. Yet nor did this process cause a complete loss of the original image. That her name continued to exist, whether or not with a personal touch added by the worshipper, is proof that Bona Dea survived in her own right and that her own attributes had not been forgotten but rather were accentuated by the qualities of the goddesses who could be compared to her.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS FOR THE CULT BASED ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS COMPARED WITH OTHER DATA

As to the temple of Bona Dea on the Aventine in Rome, which, in the literary sources, is described as the goddess's most important sanctuary,[1] there is a complete lack of archaeological and epigraphic data.[2] Yet, because of the value attached to this temple by our other sources, a short discussion of it as an introduction to this chapter may be justified.

In addition to Ovid's reference to the *Saxum* as the part of the Aventine where the temple stands,[3] similar information is given by Cicero. In his *De Domo Sua* (LIII 136-137), he refers to an event in 123 B.C. as an example of strictness in religious affairs. It is the dedication by the Vestal Virgin Licinia, an *ara, aedicula,* and *pulvinar*, erected *sub Saxo*.[4] Licinia's dedication is annulled by the authorities on the advice of the Pontifex Maximus, speaking on behalf of the college of Pontiffs: "That, which Licinia, daughter of Caius, had consecrated on public ground without the people's consent, did not seem a valid consecration to them". Not only Cicero's reference to the site of the temple as a *locus publicus*[5] but also the whole purport of the passage make it clear that a sanctuary belonging to the State religion was involved and that such a sanctuary was to be protected from personal religious initiatives—even those of a noble Vestal Virgin.[6]

Tibullus defines the sanctuary with the vague term *sacra* (neuter plural); he refers to the exclusion of men and to the punishment attached to the violation of the taboo (blindness). And he records that there are altars.[7]

In Propertius' description of the feast in honour of the "Women's Goddess" some discrepancies are to be found concerning the locality of the occurrence. On the one hand, he speaks of a *lucus*,[8] on the other hand there is mention of an *aedes* and there are more indications of a building standing on the site, such as the altar hidden in a remote shrine.[9] It is possible that the poet intends to situate the temple in a *lucus*.

---

[1] The temple is still referred to by the name *Subsaxana* in the late *Regionarii* (cf. P. Graffunder, *Regionarii* in *RE* I A 1 (1914), coll. 477-480); see Platner-Ashby, p. 85; A. van Heck, *Breviarium Urbis Romae Antiquae*, Lugduni Batavorum—Romae, MCMLXXVII, p. 535.

[2] Marucchi's reference, *Éléments*, p. 173, to the find of ex-votos in the form of eyes in that place has no supporting evidence and seems to be a mere fiction.

[3] Ch. II, No. *35*.

[4] Ch. II, No. *13*.

[5] Cf. B. Kübler, *Locus* in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), coll. 957-964, esp. 958-959, 961-963.

[6] Cf. Bömer, *Untersuch.*, pp. 528-534.

[7] Ch. II, No. *30*; cf. the annotations in that place.

[8] Ch. II, No. *32*; a *lucus* of the goddess is to be found in the epigraphic sources as well, see ch. I, No. 95; cf. also Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 110.

Ovid speaks of *aedes Bonae Deae*[10] or of *templa.*[11] He is the only one to refer explicitly to the site of the temple, the *Saxum*, where Remus took the auspices (the S.E. side of the Aventine).[12]

In the reference in the *Periochae* of Livy's history there is evident confusion in the description of the place of Clodius' sacrilege as the goddess's *sacrarium* (meaning the temple?).[13]

Festus refers to the *aedes Bonae Deae* merely in connection with the rule which refused men admittance, in his explanation of the word *religiosus.*[14]

Aelius Spartianus, one of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* mentions an *aedes Bonae Deae* amongst Hadrian's building activities.[15] This information is not confirmed by any other writer, and it has been thought that a restoration of the known sanctuary rather than a new building may be involved.[16]

Lactantius refers to the *aedes Bonae Deae*, besides those of Vesta and Ceres, in connection with the order that forbids the presence of men. He uses the word *penetralia* to define the three temples (under the influence of the term *penus Vestae*?).[17]

Macrobius is the only one to give details when describing the temple: it is consecrated on 1 May to Maia under the name Bona Dea; the ritual is very mysterious (always supposing that the author does not refer to the December rites).[18] One wonders whether Macrobius is referring to a cult statue in the temple when he records that Bona Dea, like Juno, is represented with a sceptre in her left hand.[19] A vine spreads over her head (painted or sculptured over the statue in the temple?).[20] In the temple live snakes which are completely tame.[21] Further, there is a dispensary attached to the temple and it is tended by priestesses.[22] The temple—or the whole of the temple domain?—is taboo to men.[23]

---

[9] Vv. 27, 54 (*limina*); 28, 56 (*casa*); 29 (*aedem*); 62 (*ianua*).

[10] Ch. II, No. *33*.

[11] Ch. II, Nos. *34* and *35*.

[12] Though Cicero refers to this site in connection with Bona Dea, he does not explicitly mention a temple standing there; ch. II, No. *13*.

[13] Ch. II, No. *36*; cf. the notes ch. II, 284-285.

[14] Ch. II, No. *56*.

[15] Ch. II, No. *60*.

[16] Cf. Merlin, *L'Aventin*, p. 362, note 3; Platner-Ashby, p. 85.

[17] Ch. II, No. *64*; cf. Festus (Paulus *ex Festo*), *s.v. Penus* (Lindsay pp. 296-297); Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 159; Platner-Ashby, pp. 557-559.

[18] Ch. II, No. *67* (21).

[19] *Ibidem* (23); cf. the dedication from Aquincum, ch. I, No. 129: *Bonae Deae Iunoni*; see also above, ch. III A.

[20] *Ibidem* (25).

[21] *Ibidem*; see above, ch. VI A 4.

[22] *Ibidem* (26).

[23] *Ibidem* (26, 27, 28).

For the history of this sanctuary we depend upon Ovid's poetical description: the temple is founded by one Claudia, consecrated by the Senate, and restored by Livia.[24] Though we find only little information relating to the sanctuary itself in ancient literature, the remains of sanctuaries found in other places are a source of supplementary information for a reconstruction: we are to think of walled premises (cf. Propertius) on which are an altar,a *cella* (with a cult statue; cf. Macrobius), annexes with a dispensary (Macrobius), and perhaps a priestesses' residence with a kitchen and a workshop.[25]

Whereas, as regards the Roman temple of Bona Dea on the Aventine, we have only literary data from which to draw our conclusions about building and cult,[26] it is quite the reverse in the case of the sanctuaries outside Rome. As regards not only the temple but also the entire cult of the goddess outside the capital, our conclusions must be drawn from information of an archaeological and epigraphic nature—apart from two brief references in the ancient literature.[27] And it is a further restrictive factor that the epigraphic data relating to the distribution of the cult as part of the State religion cover a relatively short length of time: the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.—the 1st half of the 1st century A.D.. And while this is no doubt an indication of the cult flourishing in that period, it is a hindrance to our vision of the historical development. Although, in this regard, archaeological remains are a welcome addition to our knowledge, then again the small number of places where evidence of the cult is found, at least as a part or reflection of the State cult, is a handicap to our getting a clear picture of the cult as propagated by the authorities.

A) *The sanctuaries outside Rome belonging to the State cult*

1. *The cult centre of Bona Dea at Laverna*

It is apparent not only from archaeological remains that a Bona Dea sanctuary was built according to a standard plan, but this is also borne out by the dedication recording the building of such a sanctuary. It is an inscription from the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. from antique Laverna (Pagus

---

[24] Ch. II, No. *35*.

[25] A kitchen as an annexe to a sanctuary of the goddess is recorded in a dedication from Ostia, ch. I, No. 63, a workshop in an inscription from Civitella, ch. I, No. 74.

[26] This does not apply to other places of worship in Rome, for which we do have epigraphic information; cf. ch. I, Nos. 3 (*aedem cum signo*), 5 (*aediculam-aram-saeptum clusum*); 10-11-12 (*simulacrum-aedem*), 18 (*aediculam-gradus-tectum-focum*).

[27] Cicero refers to a private sanctuary at Bovillae; cf. ch. II, No. *24*; No. *38* (Asconius); Lactantius speaks of the cult practised *Romae et in plerisque urbibus*; ch. II, No. *64*.

Laverneus?),[28] a *pagus* near Sulmo, modern Prezza near Sulmona, in the country of the Paeligni. It reads (in translation; see ch. I, No. 89):[29]

> Lucius Statius Chilo, son of Gnaeus, Lucius Pettius Pansa, son of Gaius, Gaius Pettius Gemellus, son of Vibius, and Lucius Tattius Coxsa, son of Titus, *magistri* (presidents), have had built for the inhabitants of Laverna (?): a quarry-stone wall, a gate, a portico, and a temple of Bona Dea, by decree of the district, and they have (officially) approved of the project.

That this inscription was meant to be an official document is proved by the facts that the members of the governing college are listed in full and with their title; that it is recorded that the building is undertaken *pagi decreto*;[30] and that the verb *probare*, a term that expresses official approval, is used.[31] The substance of the inscription is important in three respects: there is reference to a place-name which is otherwise unknown;[32] information is given about the government of a *pagus*, a country district, and about the competence of the *magistri*;[33] the list of the parts of the building is relevant to our knowledge of the plan of a Bona Dea sanctuary.[34] It is clear from this list that it is not one building but walled premises (*murus caementicius*) with one gate (*porta*); within the wall a courtyard surrounded with a portico (*porticus*), and in the centre of the courtyard (or against the back wall) a sanctuary (*templum*). This plan corresponds fully to those of the Bona Dea sanctuaries that have been excavated, at Ostia and Trieste.[35]

---

[28] The place-name is to be reconstructed from the word *Laverneis* (cf. also *CIL* I² 1794); it has quite generally been assumed that the name was *pagus Lavernae*, but in view of the names of other *pagi*, mostly composed of *pagus* and a congruent adjective (cf. the list in J. Toutain, *Pagani, Pagus* in *DA* IV-I (n.d.), pp. 273-276), the reading *Laverna* is to be preferred when the word is used substantively, or otherwise *pagus Laverneus*. At any rate, this latter reading offers a solution of *Laverneis*, the dative of *Lavernei*, the name of the inhabitants of the *pagus* (to make *Laverneis* correspond to *magistri*, as has mostly been proposed, is hardly acceptable). E. Kornemann, *Pagus* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2318-2339, suggests, 2322, such a possibility, however without adducing arguments or using the name in that form. Most scholars have presumed that the name derives from Roman Laverna, a goddess of the Underworld and the protectress of thieves (cf. G. Wissowa, *Laverna* in *ML* II 2 (1894-1897), coll. 1917-1918; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 236; J.-A. Hild, *Laverna* in *DA* III-II (1918), p. 1000; K. Latte-Eva Fiesel, *Laverna* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), coll. 998-999; Latte, *RR*, p. 139; W. Eisenhut, *Laverna* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 523; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster (1979²) (=*Fontes et Commentationes* 3), pp. 173-174; cf. also Lewis and Short, p. 1044, *s.v.*). In view of the other *pagi* named after deities, such as *p. Venerius, p. Minervius* (Toutain, *l.c.*, p. 275), *p. Herculaneus* (Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 2324), this is a possibility. Besides the many advocates of this theory (Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 236, note 6; Latte, *RR*, 139—but see also Latte-Fiesel, *l.c.*; Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 2322; Eisenhut, *l.c.*), there are one or two who repudiate it (G. Radke, *Laverneis magistri* in *DKP* 3 (MCMLXIX), col. 423). A connection with Plutarch's story that Sulla received a *prodigium* περὶ Λαβέρνην (*Life of Sulla* VI 11) has been suggested (cf. H. Philipp, *Lavernae* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), col. 999; Latte, *RR*, p. 139; but cf. also Radke, *ll. cc.*). However, although the names are similar and certainly Etruria influenced the religious ideas of the Paeligni (and the name Laverna occurs in Etruria as well: *CIL* I² 446: *Lavernai pocolom*), the information is not explicit enough to draw conclusions, the more so as there are other names of a similar form but without any connection (Cicero writes, *Ad Atticum* VII viii 4, that he met Pompey near Lavernium, not far from Formiae; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Att.* III, p. 178 (text), and p. 308 (commentary), where he quotes Boot: *Fortasse vicus qui a Dea Laverna nomen accepit*; cf. also Cicero, *De Fato*, frgm. 5 = Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III 16 4, where the name Lavernium is to be found as well; see H. Philipp, *Lavernium* in *RE* XII 1 (1924), col. 999 (incorrectly referring to Macrobius II 12); Radke, *l.c.* (in *DKP*), dismisses any connection.

[29] See the annotations there.

[30] Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 7, refers, in connection with *pagi decreto*, to Bona Dea's epithet *Pagana* at Aquileia (ch. I, No. 113); Calderini, p. 120, links in the Prezza dedication *Bonae Deae* with *pagi*, on the basis of *Pagana*. This is not correct, in my opinion.

[31] Cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1449, *s.v.*; Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, p. 87.

[32] See above, note 28.

To answer the question how Bona Dea happened to come from Latium to this country, a glance at the contacts between Rome and the Paeligni may be elucidating. Relations between the Paeligni and Latium developed at an early date and originated in the mountain people's custom of grazing their cattle in winter in the neighbouring lowlands, in Campania and Latium, as well as in Apulia. By 350 B.C., the Paeligni were already officially allied with Rome and in or about 304 the tribe was within the Roman sphere of influence.[36] For more than two hundred years the Paeligni remained true to their treaty with Rome, but during the Social War the treaty was broken.[37] Even after the submission of the Vestini and Marrucini, the Paeligni stood their ground, until the confusion caused by an earthquake enabled the Romans to invade the country.[38] In 87 B.C., the Senate, in the hope of receiving help against Marius and Cinna, bestowed citizenship upon the Paeligni, as it did upon the other Italian peoples. The country was then divided into *municipia*, but Sulla's return changed all this again.[39]

---

[33] The polity of a *pagus* is regulated by a *lex pagana* (cf. *CIL* X 3772; cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*, col. 2323). The assembled community, the *pagani* or *delecti*, passes resolutions, as is apparent in the case at issue from pagi *decreto* (cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*;Toutain, *l.c.*, p. 276; see also E. Kornemann, *Paganus* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2296-2297; G. Rohde, *Paganalia*, *ibidem*, coll. 2293-2295). Mostly the authorities of a *pagus* are styled *magistri* (according to Kornemann, col. 2324, the government composed of three *aediles* is the original Italic form; the term *magistri* is much more frequent, however); sometimes their number is three (*CIL* I² 1794), sometimes four, as in the Prezza dedication, but two is the usual number. In addition to this principle of collegiality there is the annual change of magistrates, and the Roman example is obvious: thus, on the gravestone of a *magister* of the *pagus Felix Suburbanus* (Pompeii; *CIL* IX 1042) there are two *fasces*; cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*). In addition to their government functions they superintended religious life and were responsible for the district sanctuary (sometimes assisted by *curatores fanorum, flamines* and *flaminicae*; cf. Kornemann, *l.c.*). Moreover, they were in charge of the *lustratio pagi* and organized the *Paganalia* (cf. F. Boehm, *Lustratio* in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), coll. 2029-2039, esp. 2032-2033; Rohde, *l.c.*; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 399, note 1; p. 439, note 7; Kornemann, *Pagus*, col. 2325).

[34] It is altogether plausible that the building activities mentioned in addition to those of the temple, are also to be connected with *Bonae Deae*, since the undertaking is recorded as a whole, and only that name occurs by way of explanation; Kornemann, *Pagus*, col. 2323, presumes that a *city wall* is concerned, but this is impossible as there is question of a *pagus*.

[35] See below, §§ 2 and 4; B, § 1.

[36] Cf. M. Hofmann, *Paeligni* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 2227-2271, esp. 2245-2246; E. Vetter, *Paeligni* (*Sprache*), *ibidem*, coll. 2271-2275.

[37] Cf. Hoffmann, *l.c.*, coll. 2249 and 2252-2257.

[38] *Ibidem*, coll. 2257-2258.

From 59 B.C. Caesar's laws brought stability to the country. The result was extensive building activities.[40] Thus the period of the inscription from Prezza was one of recovery of the country under the watchful eye of Rome.[41] In addition to this Roman influence it is beyond doubt, despite the scarcity of information about the Paeligni, that the Roman and Greek influences upon their way of thought were not negligible. Before the arrival of the Romans the Paeligni, like so many tribes of Italy, were no more than a group of *gentes* (clans), with only loose mutual ties. And though there were permanent priestly colleges, permanent secular officials were unknown. However, religious influence, in the long run, caused the colleges which were competent in religious questions to produce advisers on matters of a profane nature, too. Yet, the religious aspect of the government remained preponderant.[42]

Of the gods of the Paeligni only the names, with no information about their attributes, have been handed down. Divine concepts were worshipped,[43] but also individual gods, some of them original but, at a later stage, assimilated to Roman and Greek deities, others adopted from Etruria or Rome or, indirectly, from Greece.[44] A goddess who, *qua* character and function, may be compared to Roman Bona Dea is not to be traced from what we know about the Paelignian divine hierarchy.[45]

---

[39] *Ibidem*, col. 2258.

[40] It had been supposed for a long time that in 46 B.C. a comprehensive so-called *Lex Iulia Municipalis* was issued and that this *lex* realized the new ordering of Italy; cf., for the legislation of 59 B.C., E. Weiss, *Leges Iuliae* (1) in *RE* XII 2 (1925), coll. 2362-2363; P. Groebe-A. Klotz, *Iulius* (131) in *RE* X 1 (1918), coll. 186-275, esp. 197; Gelzer, *Caesar*, pp. 64-91; for the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, cf. J. M. Nap, *Lex Iulia Municipalis* in *RE* XII 2 (1925), coll. 2368-2389; E. Kornemann, *Municipium* (1) in *RE* XVI 1 (1933), coll. 570-638, esp. 611-613; H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*, Göttingen, 1965, pp. 113 ss. and *passim*. Since then, however, it has been proved that the theories concerning the existence of a *Lex Iulia Municipalis* were not well-founded: cf. A. N. Sherwin White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1973², pp. 167 s.; E. J. Bruna, *Lex Rubria*, Leiden 1973, pp. 270 ss. and 305 ss.

[41] Cf. Hofmann, *l.c.*, coll. 2259-2260.

[42] *Ibidem*, col. 2245.

[43] *Semones, cerfi, aisi*; cf. Hofmann, *l.c.*, coll. 2242-2245; Vetter, *l.c.*, coll. 2272-2274; see further W. Otto, *Semones* in *ML* IV (1909-1915), col. 707; A. Klotz, *Semones* in *RE* II A 2 (1923), coll. 1356-1357; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 130, note 2; p. 192, note 9; Latte, *RR*, p. 56, note 3.

[44] Individual deities are Herentas, afterwards identified with Venus (cf. Wissowa, *Herentatis* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), col. 2298; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 290), Pelina, perhaps not an original form, considered the mother of the *Peli-g<e>ni* (cf. O. Höfer, *Pelina* in *ML* III 2 (1902-1909), col. 1861; W. Ehlers, *Pelina* in *RE* XIX 1 (1937), col. 327; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 50, note 2; but cf. also G. Radke, *Paeligni* in *DKP* 4 (MCMLXXII), col. 403), Jupiter and the Dioscuri as common Italic gods, and Minerva, introduced from Etruria or, at a later stage, Rome (cf. Hofmann, *l.c.*, col. 2245). From the Greeks, via Apulia and Campania, the Paeligni adopted deities such as Urania (Aphrodite), Persepona, and Herc<l>e (who may, however, have been introduced from Etruria as well) (*ibidem*).

[45] It would be rather too far-fetched in the case of Herentas-Venus to think of Bona Dea Venus

From comparison of these data—direct Roman influence upon the structure of Paelignian society, the lack of distinct boundaries between civil and religious governments, the lack of a native parallel of Bona Dea, the time of the reorganization of the country corresponding to the date of our inscription—we may draw the conclusion that the introduction of the Bona Dea cult dates back to the time of the inscription from Prezza and, moreover, that the introduction of the Roman State cult is concerned. It is impossible to determine how the cult was celebrated, yet the form of the sanctuary is indicative of the intimate nature, which (in Rome) was one of the characteristics of the cult.[46]

Still, there are some questions which remain open: why is it Bona Dea who was introduced here? Was it the personal preference of some Paelignians who had become acquainted with the cult in Rome? Was it a result of Roman religious propaganda (cf. the political emphasis of Bona Dea by Cicero in about the same period), which used a "genuinely-Latin" goddess for this purpose?[47]

With due reserve, the following suggestions may be proposed. Bona Dea was introduced from Rome as a State goddess. Roman policy considered this particular goddess an eminent symbol to underline the bond between the Paeligni and Rome. Thus the Roman goddess played a part in the politics of colonization. A specifically Latin deity (at least in origin), rather than a more generally worshipped one, qualified for this role. In addition, it is possible that the people concerned had a personal preference for Bona Dea.[48]

The information relating to the Bona Dea cult in these regions shows that the introduction met with response and the worship was not an ephemeral fashion. Although these documents are of a personal nature, i.e. individual dedications by women belonging to the class of freedmen,[49] they are none the less relevant as they date from a later period than the Prezza inscription, and are consequently indicative of continuity in the worship of the goddess in

---

Cnidia (ch. I, No. 24), in the case of Urania of Bona Dea Caelestis (ch. I, Nos. 70 and 75), in that of Persepona of the identification Bona Dea-Proserpine as proposed by Macrobius (ch. II, No. *67*). The character of Bona Dea shows such a range of facets that similarities may easily be found, but their general nature does not justify any conclusions about a special relation to these gods.

[46] In the other dedications from *Regio* IV (ch. I, Nos. 86, 87, 88) no titles are to be found which could be indicative of priestly functions, nor indications of the existence of *collegia* under the patronage of Bona Dea; cf. also Hofmann, *l.c.*, col. 2242.

[47] See ch. II, No. 1.

[48] The miracle at Cicero's house during the Bona Dea ritual and the *prodigium* seen by Sulla, on both occasions involving the flare-up of a fire, are very similar, and one wonders whether any conclusions may be drawn from this (cf. ch. II, Nos. *47* and *58*, and Plutarch, *Life of Sulla* VII 11).

[49] Ch. I, Nos. 86, 87, 88; Ovid, who devotes three passages to Bona Dea (ch. II, Nos. *33*, *34*, *35*) and about whose relationship to the goddess quite a few conjectures have been made (cf. ch. II, note 236 and ch. VI, note 281), comes from near-by Sulmo.

these regions, albeit on a different level from that indicated in the dedication from Prezza. The epithet borne by the goddess in one of the three other dedications (from Alba Fucens; ch. I, No. 86), *Arcensis Triumphalis*, makes it clear that in that place Bona Dea was seen as a goddess belonging to a certain quarter (near the triumphal arch)[50] and possibly as the patroness of that quarter. The marble cippus from Marruvium (No. 87) is in itself more relevant than the inscription on it (which only records that Aponia Clara had dedicated it to Bona Dea), because it is probable that such a monument stood in a public place. Something similar may be assumed as regards the dedication of an *aedicula* and an *ara* (San Vito; No. 88). These three monuments, all dating from the Empire (a more exact dating is impossible because of the lack of further information), prove not only that the cult continued to exist after the 1st century B.C., but also that the generally received perception of Bona Dea is concerned, as the goddess is referred to twice without an epithet (Nos. 87 and 88) and once with a definition which only indicates the place where her shrine (?) stood (No. 86).

2. *The cult centre of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina at Ostia*

From Ostia comes a series of five inscriptions recording the building of a temple (*aedes*) in honour of Bona Dea. The remains of the sanctuary have been excavated outside the Porta Marina. The date is the early Julian-Claudian period.[51]

As regards Ostia this is not the earliest indication of the existence of the Bona Dea cult; we know from information dating back to the 1st century B.C. that Bona Dea was worshipped at Ostia.[52] However, these data do not refer to the Bona Dea cult as part of the State religion—at least there is no information to support such a conclusion—and therefore they will be discussed elsewhere (below, B 1). All in all, the data suffice to state that the Bona Dea cult flourished at Ostia from (at the latest) 50 B.C. up to and including the Julian dynasty. Though the cult continued to exist at Ostia it was no longer prosperous, as is evident from reduction in size of the sanctuary outside the Porta Marina and from the lack of finds of a later date elsewhere at Ostia.[53] As appears from the inscriptions which were found there, the worship of the goddess was practised at Ostia both as it was encouraged by the State and on personal initiative.

---

[50] Among the remains of ancient Alba Fucens no triumphal arch is listed; cf. the sources in ch. I, note 207, and further J. Mertens, *Alba Fucens (Albe)* in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites,* Princeton, 1976, p. 31.

[51] Ch. I, Nos. 55-59.

[52] See below, B 1.

[53] See below.

The text that reflects the cult as part of the State religion and records the construction of the sanctuary outside the Porta Marina reads (in translation; ch. I, Nos. 55-59):

> Marcus Maecilius Furr....., son of Marcus, *duovir*, has had the temple of Bona Dea built at his own expense, and he has also approved of the building.

There are two positive indications of the official nature of the inscription: Maecilius has the temple built in his capacity of *duovir*, and this fact is underlined by the use of the term *probare*.[54] Moreover, the fact that there are several copies, in addition to the big dedicatory inscription, could be an indication that a document of an official nature is concerned.

The sanctuary mentioned in the text stood outside the walls and in the square outside the Porta Marina, on the prolongation of the *decumanus maximus*. We may justly ask ourselves why this is the only sanctuary excavated at Ostia that was built outside the city walls. But for the fact that the construction of the temple was recorded in the early 1st century A.D., in the Maecilius inscriptions, as an official dedication, one would be inclined to presume that a cult independent of the State religion was concerned. But, as is evident from the text of the dedication, this is not the case. Bona Dea is referred to with no epithet or name of another deity, so that we may assume that the generally received goddess, as she was represented in the State religion, is meant. And this is underlined by the fact that a *duovir* of the town undertakes the building.

As was the case at Prezza, the sanctuary is not a mere temple but a complex of buildings. This occupied the space delimited by the *decumanus maximus*, by the entrance to the square with portico of the Porta Marina, by a block of storehouses, and by the Via di Cartilio Poplicola.[55] This complex, originally measuring 33.30 × 17.35 m, was built in three phases.

In the first phase the sanctuary was a wholly enclosed compound with one entrance, in the east wall. Within the enclosure stood a small prostyle and tetrastyle temple, flanked by a brick portico and three other rooms of different proportions. A wall, in *opus reticulatum* of good quality, constituted the enclosure. The entrance opened directly on a rectangular area with a small altar in tuff. Next there was a corridor that led to the temple and to a courtyard. Next to the first room was a bigger hall with a mosaic pavement. The temple was built in *opus reticulatum* (9.40 × 6.60 m). The ground-plan is preserved: the temple, without a podium, stood on a single base and was built at the level of the other rooms.[56] of the *pronaos* the bases of the four columns are preserved, in travertin and of rough workmanship (diameter 0.60 m), directly resting on the brickwork; the columns must have been made of brick or tuff and covered with stucco. Between the columns lie travertin thresholds.[57] In the *cella* there survives a fragment of the marble cornice of the first altar, which was replaced at the reconstruction of the building (see below). And in the *cella* there are also traces of the original black and white mosaic.[58] In front of the temple, the foundation of an altar is preserved.[59] The southern half of the compound is an area with only a brick portico, with three wings, the eastern wing enclosing the area facing the temple, the western one reaching to the south wall of the temple.[60]

---

[54] See above, note 31.

[55] Cf. Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 158, fig. 3.

[56] *Ibidem*, pp. 160-161.

It is only from the inscriptions that we know that this is a Bona Dea temple, with annexes, as it was planned in the 1st half of the 1st century A.D. This date is provided by the type of construction, the mosaic fragments in *pronaos* and *cella*, and further by the level of the sanctuary, which corresponds to the Julian-Claudian level of the town.[61]

With the first alteration of the groundplan (the second building phase), the entrance was removed 3 m to the North and at the same time fitted with a threshold and two columns in travertin.[62] To the left of the entrance, east side, a quadrangular room was created, paved with mosaic.[63] The level of this pavement is higher than that of the other rooms. The moving of the entrance was due to the construction of a basin on the square of the Porta Marina. For this purpose the N.E. angle of the complex was sacrificed but, by way of compensation, a lobby was added to the sanctuary and the room next to the entrance .[64]

The third building phase took place as late as the 3rd century. Then, the premises were drastically reduced in size. The southern half was separated from the sanctuary and used for different purposes: the portico disappeared, the level was raised, and the space divided into big rooms, probably for business purposes.[65] The old enclosure was pulled down and a new one built. Also a wall was built separating sanctuary and new building. Instead of the portico one pilaster in yellow brick was erected in the axis of the middle of the temple. In order to widen the *decumanus maximus*, the back wall of the temple was also pulled down, and a new wall was built more to the inside.[66]

---

[57] *Ibidem*, pp. 161-162: "Nel pavimento rimane piccolissima parte del mosaico a tessere molto fini cm. 1 bianche e nere. E cioè parte dell'ansa sinistra di una grande tabella ansata contornata da una striscia fra due linee parallele che ne costituiva il bordo. Vi si leggono i resti delle seguenti lettere M·I e più sotto S."

[58] *Ibidem*, p. 162; for further details, cf. pp. 162-163.

[59] Three tuff blocks laid in sand; *ibidem*, p. 163.

[60] *Ibidem*, and p. 162, fig. 7.

[61] Cf. Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, pp. 83-84.

[62] Cf. Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 164.

[63] *Ibidem*: "a tessere di cm. 1½ di cui rimane parte della fascia marginale nera e del campo bianco decorato da una stella centrale a quattro punte, a cui convergono quattro elementi geometrici campaniformi, e fra di essi si dispongono quattro elementi a forma di crateri campanati su piede triangolare stilizzato e due elementi lunati. Il pavimento è a un livello più alto degli ambienti preesistenti, leggermente inclinato verso l'ingresso."

[64] *Ibidem*: "Queste modifiche sono attestate e chiarite cronologicamente dalla identità della muratura che è di buona cortina laterizia."

The conclusion which is to be drawn from these changes is that the cult of the goddess—at least in this sanctuary—was no longer as flourishing as before and that, because of its decline, the reduction of the sanctuary was inevitable. And though the worship of the goddess continued to be practised in this place, it did not survive until the end of antique Ostia.[67] The remains of the complex, levelled with the ground, were discovered under the ultimate street level of the town. This complete disappearance is not attributable to medieval devastations and plunderings[68] but rather to the fact that the whole compound was used for different purposes in the last period of Ostia. And whether there was a shift in emphasis in the cult of Bona Dea from the official to the personal sphere and the worship of the goddess then concentrated in town (see below, B 1), or whether, in general, less interest was felt in the Bona Dea cult at a later stage, it is clear that less room was required than formerly and this points to fewer worshippers.

The plan of the sanctuary corresponds to what we know about the exclusivity of the Bona Dea cult.[69] A relevant detail is that there was probably a dispensary and an indication of this is the counter in one of the rooms (f). It may be compared to the dispensary which Macrobius mentions as attached to the temple of Bona Dea on the Aventine.[70]

Besides the particulars already discussed above, there are two points which deserve further attention. The fact that the sanctuary stood outside the town is surprising. The wall of which the Porta Marina is part dates back to the time of Sulla,[71] and consequently the Bona Dea temple in its first phase was already built outside the city wall. And this despite the fact that in Claudian times there was room enough within the walls to lay out the vast *Campus Matris Magnae*.[72] Though there are other buildings outside the Porta Marina,[73] and this district requires a more extensive survey, the sepulchral monuments there may be proof that no expansion of the town in this direction was planned.[74]

---

[65] Which, however, is not demonstrable on the basis of the finds; *ibidem*. One wonders whether it was then that one of the dedicatory inscriptions was reused in the Baths of the Forum (ch. I, No. 56; cf. Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, p. 84).

[66] Cf. Calza, *Bona Dea*, pp. 164-165.

[67] *Ibidem*, p. 165.

[68] Cf. G. Calza, *Ostia* in *RE* XVIII 2 (1942), coll. 1654-1664, esp. 1663; Francesca Pasini, *Ostia Antica, insule e classi sociali, I e II secolo dell'Impero*, Roma, 1978, pp. 97-104.

[69] Cf. the other sanctuaries discussed in this chapter; see also Von Sydow, pp. 394-395.

[70] Ch. II, No. *67* (26).

[71] Cf. Calza-Becatti, p. 9.

[72] Cf. *CCCA* III, pp. 107-110, No. 263; p. 110: the building phases are Claudian, Antoninian, and of the end of the 2nd century.

[73] See Calza-Becatti, plan (at the beginning), Nos. 81-86.

In Rome, the indigenous gods qualified for a sanctuary within the *pomerium*,[75] and this also may have been the case at Ostia, influenced as it was by Roman principles.[76] Should it be true that Roman rules as regards this also apply to Ostia, then it is a strange phenomenon that the *aedes* of Bona Dea, an indigenous goddess and one belonging to the State religion, stood outside the walls (=*pomerium*?).[77]

A second question concerns the founder of the sanctuary. From the inscription we only know that it was M. Maecilius Furr... and that this man was *duovir* of Ostia. Neither the *nomen* Maecilius nor a *cognomen* with the initial letters Furr—Furrianus occurs once in Rome, never at Ostia[78]—is found in the prosopography of Ostia.[79] It is possible that this Maecilius whom we meet at Ostia belonged to the Roman family of that name, that he had business interests in the port, and that because of his influence he qualified for the function of municipal magistrate.[80] Did this (probably) Roman bring the cult of Bona Dea with him from the capital on his own initiative and, during his term of office at Ostia, try to invest it with the character of a State cult as was the case in Rome? Personal initiative is evident in the fact that Maecilius financed the building himself and that the sanctuary was not built at the expense of the community (see, however, above, where the official character is discussed).

Bona Dea was already worshipped at Ostia before Maecilius founded "his" sanctuary in that place. The dedication by Octavia, which records building activities relating to a different sanctuary, in town, dates from—at the latest—50 B.C.,[81] Nothing, however, in this latter dedication proves any connection with the State cult of Bona Dea. Like Maecilius, Octavia came from elsewhere, probably from Forum Clodi,[82] and it looks as if these two foreigners brought the cult of the goddess with them to their new home. No doubt Maecilius' magistracy would have added an official character to his personal initiative.[83]

---

[74] The supposition that the Bona Dea sanctuary is a private shrine and part of the near-by storehouses—as in Rome Bona Dea *Galbilla* was worshipped in the *horrea Galbiana*; ch. I, No. 9—is unfounded. To assume that chthonian aspects of the goddess played a role and explain the site of the temple (this explanation was based upon a supposed relation Bona Dea-Damia-Laverna; see the articles cited above, note 28) is contrary to the official status, which is evident from the text of the inscription.

[75] Cf. A. Von Blumenthal, *Pomerium* in *RE* XX 2 (1952), coll. 1867-1876, esp. 1871-1872; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 8.

[76] As to the *coloniae*, in the case of the *pomerium* the same rules applied as in Rome; cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 143; Von Blumenthal, *l.c.*, coll. 1869-1870.

[77] Whereas, e.g., Mater Magna, who continues to be considered an imported goddess, has her sanctuary within the walls; see above, note 72.

[78] Cf. Zevi, *Brevi note ostiensi*, pp. 87-88.

[79] Outside Ostia the name Maecilius occurs already at an early stage, both in literary and epigraphic sources (cf. F. Münzer, *Maecilius* in *RE* XIV 1 (1928), col. 230 and the subsequent articles, coll. 231-232). It was a Roman family with many senators and other officials. An inscription from Capua and dating from the Republican age also mentions a L. Maecilius (*CIL* I^2, 1592=X 4155).

[80] Cf. Zevi *Brevi note ostiensi*, p. 88.

[81] Ch. I, No. 63; cf. note 125 there.

The Bona Dea worship centres in two places, one inside and one outside the town. Elsewhere remarkably little information regarding the cult is found.[84] There are no references to *collegia* under the patronage of the goddess, although such associations were extremely flourishing at Ostia,[85] and they are well-known from other places with Bona Dea as their patroness.[86] Such a variety of data as we possess relating to the status at Ostia of Mater Magna, a goddess in many respects similar to Bona Dea,[87] has not survived in the latter's case. A survey of all the sources shows that the cult of Bona Dea at Ostia flourished in the early Julian-Claudian period and after that suffered a decline. The flourishing of the cult elsewhere too is a remarkable feature of the Augustan age.[88] It seems likely that Augustus' endeavours to reinstate religious traditions influenced Ostian ideas as well, but that the subsequent general decline of the State religion on a traditional basis also affected the Bona Dea cult at Ostia.[89]

3. *The temple of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria at Aquileia*

Among the abundant epigraphic evidence from Aquileia, which relates to Bona Dea, there is one inscription which in all probability refers to the State cult of the goddess, despite some objections which may be raised.

These objections, however, essentially shift the emphasis rather than contradict the fact that an official dedication to the goddess is concerned. In the first place, it is a freedwoman (Tyche) who finances the building referred to, and this points to a personal initiative. Yet it is also true that the *dedicatio* wholly changes the nature of an object or an enterprise (see below). And though the first epithet of the goddess, *Augusta*, suggests the sphere of the

---

[82] Cf. Cébeillac, pp. 521-530.

[83] A dedication of an *aedes* and a *statua* (?) from *Regio* I-*Insula* IV-5 (ch. I, No. 64) is so uninformative that any conclusion must seem premature.

[84] Cf. the two (supposed) Bona Dea statuettes: ch. I, Nos. (65) and (66).

[85] Cf. Waltzing III, pp. 593-599, 600-641.

[86] See below, B.

[87] Cf. *CCCA* III, Nos. 362-449.

[88] Cf. the restoration of the temple in Rome; the dates of the temples of Aquileia and Trieste, below.

[89] Already by the end of the Julian-Claudian period, the differences from the Augustan age are noticeable. *Fatum* and *Fortuna*, based upon Stoic philosophy, have mostly superseded the helping or punishing gods of Roman tradition, so emphasized by Augustus; cf. Liebeschuetz, pp. 142, 147-150.

Imperial religious policy, it must not be forgotten that, under the Empire, the religion of the Head of State was the religion of the State as well.[90] The second epithet, *Cereria*, Bona Dea shares with Mater Deum Magna, who at Aquileia bears the same title.[91] This epithet transfers the attention from Bona Dea as an independent deity to a special aspect of her nature which she shares with other goddesses. The similarities between Bona Dea and Ceres—for *Cereria* refers to the latter goddess[92]—which are attested by other epitheta as well,[93] and may be reconstructed from Bona Dea's appearance as the protectress of *horrea*,[94] appear to have been recognized only at a relatively late stage[95] and not to have influenced Bona Dea's manifestation as an independent goddess.

Yet, these objections referred to above and, more or less, disproved, are counterbalanced by other data in the text of the dedication which indeed underline the official character of the inscription. Faustus Barbonius is *quattuorvir* of the town and in this capacity he undertakes the *dedicatio* of the *aedes*. The original location of the inscription, the Aquileia cathedral, could be a further indication: on its site in Antiquity was the Capitol of the town, an extremely appropriate site for a deity who belonged to the State religion.

The inscription, which is listed as being *Aquileiae in ecclesia maiore* (*CIL*) or *presso la Basilica* (Calderini), though I could not find it there, reads (in translation; see ch. I, No. 112):

> Dedicated to Augusta Bona Dea Cereria. Tyche, freedwoman of ......, has built the temple at her own expense, the *quattuorvir* Faustus has dedicated it.

Although Faustus, as a *praenomen*, rarely occurs after the Republican period,[96] the epithet *Augusta* suggests that the inscription dates from the

---

[90] *Augustus/Augusta* is a very frequent divine epithet at Aquileia; cf. Calderini's lists, *passim* (pp. 91-190).

[91] *CIL* V 796: *M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) / Cereriae / v(otum) s(olvit) Fruticia / Thymele / M(arci) Statini Dori*; cf. *CCCA* IV, p. 92, No. 220.

[92] The usual adjective derived from Ceres is *Cerealis* (*Cerialis*); cf. Lewis and Short, p. 318, *s.v.* This word occurs also as a *cognomen*, cf. the articles in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1981-1982, *s.v. Cerialis. Except for our two instances, Cererius* does not occur.

[93] Bona Dea bears the epithet *Agrestis* (ch. I, No. 44); perhaps *Sevina* (ch. I, No. 74) may also be mentioned in this context, if indeed Eisler's suggestion (p. 143) that she was named after "dem Saatgut, das sie schützen sollte" is correct (mostly *Sevina* is considered a local epithet (see *ad* No. 74) or a derivation of the *gentilicium* Sevius or Sevinus; cf. A. Klotz, *Sevina* in *RE* II A 2 (1923), col. 2018; cf. further Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 7).

[94] Cf. Bona Dea Galbilla (ch. I, No. 9) belonging to the *Horrea Galbae* (*Galbiana*), the granaries where the *annona publica* was stored; cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 261-262.

[95] The three inscriptions referred to date resp. from the Augustan age or A.D. 68 (No. 9); one is difficult to date (No. 44); from 1 June A.D. 111 (?; No. 74); see also below, the literary data.

[96] Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Namenswesen* in *RE* XVI 2 (1935), coll. 1611-1670, esp. 1661; Kajanto, *Cognomina*, pp. 41, 72, 272; cf. also pp. 29-30; but cf. also Faustus Cornelius Sulla; Gelzer, *Rom. Nob.*, p. 156; F. Münzer, *Cornelius* (377) in *RE* IV 1 (1900), coll. 1515-1517; in fact, the same name is borne by the consul (*suff.*) of A.D. 31; cf. E. Groag, *Cornelius* (378), *ibidem*, col. 1517; *PIR*² II, p. 362, No. 1459; and by the consul of A.D. 52; cf. E. Groag, *Cornelius* (391) in *RE, l.c.*, col. 1522; *PIR*² II, pp. 363-364, No. 1464.

Imperial era. The epithet *Cereria*, which will be discussed below, may also be indicative of the date of the inscription.

There are two lacunae in the text of the dedication: the name of the *patronus* or *patrona* of Tyche is incomplete (...*ystis*) and also a word after *aedem* is missing (...*i*; possibly a further definition of the temple in the form of an attributive in the genitive ending in -*i*).[97]

It is evident from the archaeological and epigraphic sources that the territory of Aquileia, Trieste, and wider environs, was, after Latium (with Rome in the first place), the most important centre of the Bona Dea religion. From Aquileia and its immediate surroundings come fifteen inscriptions referring to Bona Dea and her cult, including the putative dedications to the goddess, and one bronze statuette of Bona Dea.[98] From Trieste come two inscriptions which in all probability refer to the goddess, and the temple of the goddess has been excavated as well (see below, 4). From Nesactium (Vizače) comes a small altar dedicated to Bona Dea,[99] and from Staranzaro the base of a basin with an inscription.[100] If indeed Dalmatia may be counted the wider environs[101] the altar found in the isle of Pag should be included in this list.[102] The identity of the worshippers indicates that the cult of the goddess in this country was not limited to one variety of worship. Further, the inscription cited above, together with one of the Trieste inscriptions, provides evidence that the cult formed part of the State religion.[103] The collegiate worship is evident from the occurrence in several dedications of titles proper to those sitting on the board of a *collegium*.[104] Lastly, individual worship is a phenomenon not unknown in these regions.[105]

The worship of Bona Dea in Venetia and Histria was no more exclusively a "women's affair" than it was in Rome. Dedications by and for men, in addition to those made by men in their capacities as municipal magistrates,[106] are not at all unusual.[107] In the inscriptions there is reference to both the offering of smaller gifts, such as a silver dish[108] (or the inscription is written on the gift itself—basins[109]), and the dedication of buildings to the goddess,[110] from which it is evident that Bona Dea worship at Aquileia was not limited to one sanctuary.[111]

---

[97] *ILS* 3499: "Fortasse non integra fuit in fine".

[98] Ch. I, Nos. 108-121.

[99] Ch. I, No. 122.

[100] Ch. I, No. 124'.

[101] Aquileia's influence on Dalmatia was a strong one, apart from the fact that some of the immigrants came from this town; cf. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, pp. 209, 232-233, and *passim*.

[102] Ch. I, No. 127.

[103] Ch. I, No. (124).

[104] See below, B 3.

[105] See ch. VI B 3.

[106] So Faustus Barbonius at Aquileia (ch. I, No. 112) and L. Apisius and T. Arruntius at Trieste (No. (124)).

[107] Ch. I, Nos. 110, 111, 118, 119, 119'. In Nos. 118, 119, 119' the abbreviations *B.D.* or *D.B.* are found. With the argument that the dedicants are men, the inscriptions are listed under the head *Belenus* in the Aquileia museum. The abbreviation *B.D.* is very common at Aquileia and surroundings, standing for Bona Dea (nor is *D.B.* unknown, cf. ch. III A). The dedicants being men is no argument to exclude Bona Dea since dedications to the goddess by men are not excep-

The finds in this region are not least relevant because of the indications of Bona Dea's associations with other deities: Fonio,[112] Ceres and Mater

---

tional. If indeed the abbreviation designated Belenus, there must already have been confusion in Antiquity, and this does not seem very plausible.

[108] Ch. I, No. 115.

[109] Ch. I, Nos. 123, 124', 125.

[110] Ch. I, No. 109; the piece was found to the North of Aquileia, S. Stefano; also No. 115 (an altar for the Parcae—a silver dish for Bona Dea) comes from this place, and so it seems likely that the portico was part of a sanctuary; see below, B 2.

[111] Ch. I, No. 113; unfortunately, the exact findspot is not recorded; the mention of *magistrae* and *ministrae*, however, may be indicative of a sanctuary belonging to the collegiate worship; see below, B 2; one of the dedicants is Decidia Paulina; Decidia Egloge (No. 115) could be a freedwoman of the same family; cf. Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, coll. 29-30.

[112] Ch. I, No. 109; three *magistrae* of Bona Dea restore a portico, and further a shrine of Fonio; cf. above, note 110. One of the *magistrae* is known from the only other dedication to Fonio that has been found: *CIL* V 758 = *ILS* 4895 = Calderini No. 10; this inscription comes from S. Stefano as well; it reads: *Fonioni / sac(rum) / Seia Ionis / mag(istra) / d(onum) d(edit)*. The lack of details has caused conflicting ideas about Fonio. Cf. H. Steuding, *Fonio* in *ML* I 2 (1886-1890), col. 1496, who considers the name a variant of Faunus; this is rejected by M. Ihm, *Fonio* in *RE* VI 2 (1909), col. 2838; cf. Calderini, p. 121: "Per quanto riguarda Fonio siamo anche più poveri di informazioni, perchè le uniche citazioni, in cui appare il nome di questo dio, sono le Aquileiesi, da cui peraltro risulta che il suo culto riservato a una speciale *aedicula* era ospitato nel tempio stesso della Bona dea e coltivato dalle stesse *magistrae*, come vedremo. Il dire questa divinità veneta (...) mi pare, se non impossibile, certamente prematura ...;" Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 27: "Tra gli antichissimi numi indigeti del Lazio due particolarmente continuarono ad avere culto populare in Aquileia, Fauno e Fauna, non però con il loro primo nome italico, scomparso dall'uso, ma con l'appellativo Silvano per l'uno e con l'epiteto e l'invocazione Bona Dea per l'altra, i quali furono in voga durante tutta l'antichità.—*Faunus* è sopravissuto nella voce *Fonio*? Lo farebbe supporre l'affinità dei due culti per il fatto che in Aquileia si hanno dediche fatte a Fonione da sacerdotesse della Bona Dea (...). D'altra parte vi si oppone il rito dei due culti, rigorosamente maschile l'uno e femminile l'altro, così che in codesto problematico Fonio, documentato soltanto in Aquileia, dovremo piuttosto ravvisare una divinità indigena preromana, come Beleno, Timavo e altre, la quale avrà avuto un'edicola accanto o entro un santuario della Bona Dea." Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 4, considers Fonio an indigenous god appearing beside Bona Dea. If Fonio is related to Latin Faunus, the relationship between Faunus and Fauna (Silvanus and Bona Dea) elsewhere may further elucidate the presence of Fonio in a Bona Dea sanctuary. Cf. the epigraphic data: the dedication to Diana, Silvanus, and Bona Dea (ch. I, No. 8); the dedication to Silvanus by a priest of Liber Pater *Bonadiensium* (No. 67); two dedications (together?) erected by the same man, one to Bona Dea, the other to Silvanus (No. 76 and *CIL* X = *ILS* 3519); two contemporary inscriptions found in the same place, one dedicated to Bona Dea (No. 107), the other *Sanctissimis Faunibus* (*NS* 1926, p. 40); a dedication to Bona Dea, Panthaeus, Diana, and the Silvanae (No. 128); another similarity may be the sharing of the epithet *Castrensis* by Bona Dea and Silvanus (see below). The literary data: ch. II, Nos. *45* (Bona Dea is Faunus' wife); *49* (Bona Dea is a Dryad married to Faunus); *57* (Bona Dea is Faunus' daughter); *61* and *62* (Bona Dea is Faunus' wife); *63* (Bona Dea is wife and sister of Faunus); *66* and *67* (Bona Dea is Faunus' daughter); cf. also *68* and *70*.

Magna,[113] the Parcae,[114] and Silvanus.[115] And the epithets of the goddess point to either the sites of worship, *Castrensis*,[116] *Pagana*,[117] or her own qualities, *Obsequens*,[118] or to the sphere in which the worship is practised, *Augusta*.[119] Most illustrative of the importance of the cult in the North of Italy is the abbreviation *B.D.*, which often occurs.[120] Although this abbreviation is not unusual in other places,[121] it is nowhere found as frequently as in Venetia and Histria (Dalmatia). This frequent use of the abbreviation is proof that the goddess was widely known, the more so as it occurs both with and without further definitions.

Considering all the evidence, it is obvious that the dividing lines between the various forms of Bona Dea worship became extremely vague. This is especially exemplified in the dedication by Tyche and Faustus Barbonius: the building is financed by a freedwoman, consequently a woman who does not belong to the cult as organized by the State; the two epithets, *Augusta* and *Cereria*, create respectively a relation with the Imperial religious policy and one with a form of worship which does not correspond to the State cult. Nevertheless the combination of *sacrum* in the second line and the abbreviation *D.D.*, *dedicavit*,[122] makes the inscription an official document, since the

---

[113] The title *Cereria*, derived from Ceres and shared by Bona Dea and Mater Magna, is the clearest indication at Aquileia.

[114] Ch. I, No. 115.

[115] Silvanus and Bona Dea in this region share the title *Castrensis*, which we know from elsewhere added both to Bona Dea's and Silvanus' name. As for Bona Dea: ch. I, No. 111, cf. Nos. 29, 39, 34 (*Castri Fontanorum*); cf. also the observations of C. Thierry, *Castellum* (II: château d'eau) in *DA* I-II (n.d.), pp. 937-940; J. W. Kubitschek, *Castellum* (3) in *RE* III 2 (1899), col. 1758. For Silvanus *Castrensis* in Rome, see *CIL* VI 31.012; see further Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 218, note 8: "als Schutzgottheit bestimmter Örtlichkeiten fast gleichbedeutend mit dem Genius loci"; Latte, *RR*, p. 231, note 2; p. 334; p. 333, Latte asserts that Silvanus Castrensis corresponds fully to the Genius Castrensis or Fortuna Castrensis; Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, pp. 243-245; *Bona Dea*, col. 29; Calderini, p. 128, proposes that *Castrensis* indicates a connection with the Army; this is not proved by anything.

[116] See the enumeration of data in note 115.

[117] As appears from this inscription, Bona Dea *Pagana* had her own *aedes* at Aquileia, or outside the town (?: S. Stefano?). Cf. the contrast *castrensis-paganus* in juridical language; R. Leonhard, *Castrensia Bona* in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1773-1774.

[118] Ch. I, No. (117); the title *magistra* in this inscription prompted the theory for the identification of Dea *Obsequens* and Bona Dea; this *Gracious Goddess* may be suspected in the dedication *Auribus Bonae Deae* at Aquileia (No. 110); in the two ears on an altar in honour of Bona Dea at Arles (No. 130); cf. also No. (131) from Arles; No. 133 from Glanum: *Auribus* and the representation of two ears. Cf. also ch. III A.

[119] Three times at Aquileia Bona Dea is styled *Augusta* (Nos. 108, 111, 112), and also, in the Dalmatian dedication, this is one of her many titles (No. 127). *Augusta* connects Bona Dea with the sphere of the Imperial religious policy; cf. Calderini, *passim*, and above, Ch. III C.

[120] At Aquileia, Nos. 109, 110, 114, 118, 119, 119' (*D.B.*); at Trieste, No. 123; at Staranzaro, No. 124'; at Campo di Mezzo, No. 125; at Časka, No. 127.

[121] See epigraphical index.

[122] A different possibility, such as *dono (donum) dedit*, is not very plausible, since it is apparent from the text of the dedication that it was Tyche who financed the building; for the abbreviation, cf. Cagnat^4, pp. 421-422.

dedicatio by private people does not make an object *res sacra*.[123] And the man who consecrates the *aedes*, Faustus Barbonius, is *IVvir* of Aquileia and in that capacity competent to undertake an official *dedicatio*.[124] Yet, Tyche, who finances the building—which in cases of a *dedicatio* made in conformity with the rules was usually done at the expense of the community—was, judging by her name, of Greek extraction and consequently disqualified by class and origin to join those who worshipped Bona Dea as a State goddess.[125]

It has already been said above that Bona Dea shares the epithet *Cereria* with Mater Magna only. This is certainly not the only indication from Antiquity that there was a relationship between Bona Dea and Mater Magna. Ancient literature and epigraphic data are clear on this score.[126] *Cereria* in this case associates the two goddesses, who were considered to be deities of the aristocratic classes of Roman society in particular,[127] with a goddess who, though not unknown in the patrician sphere from her role in the wedding ceremony *per confarreationem*,[128] was preeminently considered a deity of the *plebs*.[129]

In the past the conclusion has been drawn that native Ceres was already, at an early stage of Roman history (the middle of the 3rd century B.C.), identified with Greek Demeter.[130] And something similar has been suspected as regards the identification Bona Dea-Damia, though we have little information on that point.[131] In view of the discrepancies in the cult of Ceres, and that of Bona Dea, the soundness of these conclusions is doubtful.[132] Though Ceres no doubt was very similar to her Greek counterpart she certainly had perceptible characteristics which distinguished her from Demeter. Apart from her name, which continued to exist and was given to imported Demeter as well, there are aspects of her cult which indicate originality: the taboo on the use of wine in her ritual,[133] and the emphasis laid on the *castitas*,[134] two features found in the cult of Bona Dea as well.

---

[123] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 385 and 473; see also E. Pottier, *Dedicatio* ('Ανάθεσις) in *DA* II-I (1892), pp. 41-45; G. Wissowa, *Dedicatio* in *RE* IV 2 (1901), coll. 2356-2359.

[124] Cf. W. Liebenam, *Duoviri* in *RE* V 2 (1905), coll. 1798-1842; the rules that apply to the *IIviri* apply to the *IVviri* too; for the competence of such an official, cf. esp. coll. 1806-1807.

[125] Though the master's arbitrary choice is decisive when a slave is given a name, from the fragmentary name of the *patronus* or *patrona* of Tyche (*...ystis*) it is evident that a non-Latin and probably Greek name is involved. For the naming of the unfree, cf. ch. IV, note 31.

[126] The data are to be found in Brouwer, *passim*.

[127] As to Bona Dea, cf. above, introduction to ch. IV; Gagé, *Matronalia*, p. 141, note 1, announces a study about this aspect of Mater Magna; cf. also P. Habel, *Ludi publici* in *RE* Suppl. V (1931), coll. 608-630, who (628) suggests that Augustus considered Mater Magna the deity of the Julian family; cf., *ibidem*, the emphasis on the aristocratic character of the *Megalensia* as contrasted to the plebeian of the *Cerealia*.

[128] Cf. Gagé, *Matronalia*, p. 17.

[129] *Ibidem*, p. 16.

[130] Cf. G. Wissowa, *Ceres* in *RE* III 2 (1899), coll. 1970-1979, esp. 1970 (cf. 1973); Th. Birt, *Ceres* in *ML* I 1 (1884-1886), coll. 859-866, esp. 859-861; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 297-304; Latte, *RR*, pp. 161-162; Dumézil, *Rel. rom.*, pp. 367-368.

[131] Cf. ch. II, Nos. *55*, *69*, *71*; see also ch. III A.

[132] It is certainly not true that the State goddess Bona Dea is superseded by the goddess who, influenced by the worship of other, foreign goddesses and by assimilation caused by these influences as well as by religious speculation, was worshipped by private people.

Only three places in ancient literature suggest—and it is mere suggestion—that there existed a relation between Bona Dea and Ceres. Firstly there is the rule to be found in Cicero's *De Legibus*:[135] "Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunto praeter olla quae pro populo rite fient. Neve quem initianto nisi, ut adsolet, Cereri Graeco sacro". These "nocturnal ceremonies celebrated by women which take place for the people according to religious usage" are no doubt the mysteries of Bona Dea. *Neve* creates a direct connection between the two prohibitions. In this section of Cicero's work no other gods are mentioned, so that the mention of Bona Dea and Ceres (together) is significant. One wonders whether it was Cicero's intention to contrast *rite* (in conformity with the traditional rules) and *Graeco sacro* (in conformity with Greek ritual).[136] Could the Greek influences upon the Bona Dea religion, which can be perceived both in ancient literature and in epigraphic sources,[137] have induced Cicero to mention side by side the cult of Ceres, after the Greek example, and that of Bona Dea, and did he perceive similarities in the two cults?

To Lactantius the taboo upon the presence of men constitutes a similarity between the cult of Bona Dea and those of Vesta and Ceres.[138] Yet this taboo, such an important aspect of the Bona Dea worship, is not so strictly maintained in the cults of Vesta and Ceres: although indeed the *penus Vestae* only admitted the Vestal Virgins, the temple was accessible to the Pontifex Maximus as well (albeit as the only one of the male sex);[139] since the attendants of Ceres' temple are men, the *aediles (plebei) Ceriales*,[140] Lactantius' statement does not apply here.[141]

---

[133] Cf. Wissowa, *Ceres*, col. 1977.

[134] *Ibidem*, coll. 1977-1978.

[135] Ch. II, No. *25*; cf. De Plinval (see *ad* ch. II, No. *25*), p. 117; Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 298 and 301.

[136] See Festus, *s.v. Ritus* (Lindsay pp. 336, 337, 364); cf. Lewis and Short, p. 1596, *s.v. rite*; R. Ganschinietz, *Ritus* in *RE* I A 1 (1914), coll. 924-943; for the Greek Ceres feast, see Cicero, *Pro Balbo* XXIV 55; Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 301.

[137] Thus, there is reference to *pulvinaria*; ch. I, No. 54; ch. II, Nos. *13*, *15*, *21*, *23*.

[138] Ch. II, No. *64*.

[139] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 159; cf. also the story of L. Caecilius Metellus (*cos.* 251 and 247 B.C.), told by Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VII 141: it was said that he became blind when salvaging the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p. 274.

[140] Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 299.

[141] Though indeed there are taboos on contacts with men in the cult of the goddess (cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 300; Gagé, *Matronalia*, p. 143), they do not relate to the *aedes Cereris* (which would be strange, as Ceres shares her temple with Liber (and Libera); cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, pp. 298-299; Platner-Ashby, pp. 109-110.

Finally, Macrobius recognizes a clear relation between Bona Dea and Ceres:[142] "Eandem (*i.e. Bona Dea*) alii Proserpinam credunt, porcoque ei rem divinam fieri, quia segetem quam Ceres mortalibus tribuit porca depasta est". The assimilation to Proserpine would make Bona Dea Ceres' daughter. In Rome, Ceres was worshipped together with Liber and Libera, Dionysus and Kore, and it is certain that associations between Bona Dea and Liber existed,[143] just as the identification with Proserpine is not a mere fabrication.[144]

The title *Cereria*, from Aquileia, would be extremely appropriate to the "daughter of Ceres".[145] However, apart from the last source, Macrobius—living about 400 years later than the *Cereria* inscription—there is little information concerning a possible association Bona Dea—Ceres: Cicero, rather, appears to mention the two goddesses because of the contrast, while Lactantius' observation is founded upon an inaccuracy. And also the epigraphic data are summary: Bona Dea bears some epithets from which a connection with agriculture may be suspected, *Agrestis*,[146] and *Sevina* (?).[147] However, the attachment of titles to Bona Dea's name does not mean that we are meant to think at the same time of Ceres, the preeminent goddess of agriculture.

Nevertheless, Bona Dea is unquestionably called *Cereria*, in one case, at Aquileia. Aquileia, port and crossing of roads to the North and the East, was familiar with a great variety of religions.[148] In the case of some of these cults it is probable that, even before Roman colonization, they were celebrated by the native population (Silvanus, Belenus), and that upon the arrival of the Romans there occurred an assimilation to the model which was imported by them.[149] The migration of the rural population to the town may have introduced such religions into Aquileia. Indicative of rural features, at least as regards their purport, are the epithets *Pagana* and *Cereria*, borne by Bona Dea at Aquileia.[150]

---

[142] Ch. II, No. *67* (23).

[143] See ch. VI A 2.

[144] See ch. VI A 6.

[145] Though the usual adjective derived from the name Ceres is *Cerealis* (*Cerialis*), cf. Lewis and Short, p. 318, *s.v.*

[146] Ch. I, No. 44 (Rome).

[147] Ch. I, No. 74 (Civitella); the epithets *Bona, Casta*, and *Pia*, which are shared by Bona Dea and Ceres, are not very informative because of their generality; cf. Carter, *Epitheta*, p. 23.

[148] Cf. the lists in Calderini, pp. 95-103 (Belenus); 112-114 (Silvanus); 119 (Bona Dea); 123 (Mater Magna); 125 (Diana); 127 (Aesculapius); 130-131 (Mithras); 134-135 (Isis); 137-138 (Feronia); 141 (Dispater-Aeracura); 142-143 (Fata); 144-147 (Jupiter); 152 (Mars); 154 (Mercury); 159 (Minerva); 160 (Venus); 162 (Nemesis); 163-164 (Fortuna); 165 (Spes); 166 (Dominae); 167 (Iunones); 170 (Vires); 171 (Di Deaeque); cf. also pp. 183-184.

[149] *Ibidem*, p. 188.

[150] Ch. I, No. 113; cf. Calderini, p. 188.

In the epigraphic sources there is no trace of a Ceres worship at Aquileia.[151] And this corresponds to the situation elsewhere: as to Rome, there is only slight information,[152] and, apart from Africa, where the plural *Cereres* (Ceres and Proserpine) is often found, we do not have any data from the provinces; Central and Southern Italy supply most of the evidence.[153] The Ceres who is worshipped is the goddess of the corn-supply, as is evident from the representations on coins (together with Annona) and from the dedications by people who are concerned with the *annona*.[154] Apparently Aquileia is no exception in the omission of Ceres from the local divine hierarchy. That there was nevertheless at Aquileia a need for a goddess with the capacities of Ceres is to be inferred not only from the presence of goddesses such as Terra Mater,[155] the *Iunones* and *Domnae*;[156] chthonian deities related to Ceres, such as Dispater[157] and Hecate;[158] Ceres' cult associates elsewhere, Liber and Libera;[159] but above all from the worship of Bona Dea *Cereria* and Mater Magna *Cereria*.

Aquileia with its environs was one of the most fertile districts of Italy and, besides trade, agriculture was a source of wealth. Mentions of *horrea* at Aquileia indicate the presence of large quantities of corn, either harvested in the country itself or imported.[160] Though Ceres, who was considered the preeminent corn goddess, is herself not mentioned, it is obvious that such conditions required an equivalent of this deity. It is possible that Bona Dea *Cereria* and Mater Magna *Cereria* were the protectresses of the corn production and corn trade, which were of great importance to the town's economy.

It may be worth considering whether the connection of Bona Dea *Cereria* with the Imperial House, as it is evident in the inscription from the epithet *Augusta*,[161] is corroborated by the representation on a silver dish from

---

[151] Though Liber and Libera, Ceres' cult associates in Rome, do occur; cf. Calderini, pp. 155-157, who proposes that perhaps assimilated indigenous deities are involved.

[152] Though Ceres was never listed in the genealogy of the Imperial House, as is the case with many other gods, she was not neglected: Ceres' temple, destroyed by a fire, was rebuilt by Augustus and, in A.D. 17, consecrated by Tiberius (cf. Platner-Ashby, pp. 109-110); Augustus erected an altar in the *vicus Iugarius* to Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta (*ibidem*, p. 110); in a Sicilian inscription Livia is called *Ceres Iulia Augusta* (*CIL* X 7501; cf. Wissowa, *Ceres*, col. 1977).

[153] Cf. *CIL* VI 87 (*Cereres Castae*?); cf. the list in Wissowa, *Ceres*, coll. 1978-1979.

[154] *Ibidem*.

[155] Cf. Calderini, p. 124; see also ch. VI A 6.

[156] Cf. Birt, *Ceres*, col. 866.

[157] Cf. E. Wüst, *Pluton* in *RE* XXI 1 (1951), coll. 990-1026, esp. 1000; Calderini, pp. 140-142.

[158] *Ibidem*, pp. 126-127, 142.

[159] See above, note 151.

[160] Wine, too, was an important item and the Liber worship at Aquileia is not surprising; cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* XIV 60; see for the other sources Calderini, pp. 297-232 (*L'industria e il commercio*).

[161] This title is not borne by Mater Magna at Aquileia; cf. *CCCA* IV, pp. 90-92, Nos. 219-220.

Aquileia, and now in Vienna. This dish, which is comparable to the silver *phiala* which Decidia Egloge presented to Bona Dea (also at Aquileia),[162] was found on the Cassis estate to the North of Aquileia.[163] It has been proposed that an Emperor of the Julian-Claudian House is represented when making an offering to the goddess Ceres,[164] and that the goddess is a personification of Livia.[165] It is impossible to do more than ask whether there is such an identification; stating, as has been done,[166] that Bona Dea Cereria is none other than Livia is mere hypothesis.

To summarize, the following can be stated about the dedication to Augusta Bona Dea Cereria: it appears to be of Augustan date;[167] in view of Augustus' religious policy and his endeavours to create a *concordia ordinum* (in a wider sense than intended by Cicero when using this term),[168] it is plausible to draw the following conclusions from this inscription: the State goddess constitutes outside Rome an element of the Imperial policy and consequently is named *Augusta*;[169] the second epithet, *Cereria*, creates a connection between aristocratic Bona Dea and plebeian Ceres.[170]

Yet, the nationality of the freedwoman Tyche might present a different explanation of the epithet *Cereria.* The name of the woman is an indication that she was Greek, and the priestesses of Ceres had to be of Greek extraction.[171] The woman who erected the dedication to Mater Magna Cereria also bore a Greek name.[172] Could both women have come from a region where Ceres was worshipped under her own name, e.g. Southern Italy or Sicily? It is possible that these women, in a country where the name Ceres does not correspond to local traditions, endeavoured to continue a worship brought with them from their homeland, and to project it upon two goddesses who resembled the goddess of their own country, and to express this by the appellative? It is possible, but the proposition must remain mere hypothesis.

---

[162] Ch. I, No. 115.

[163] Cf. *Friúli-Venezia Giulia*, plan opposite p. 288 (A 3).

[164] Cf. H. Moebius, *Der Silberteller von Aquileia* in *Festschrift für Friedrich Matz*, Mainz, 1962, pp. 80-97, and, lastly, A. Alföldi, *Redeunt Saturnia regna* VII 3 (*Der Silberteller von Aquileia*) in *Chiron* 9 (1979), pp. 570-576 (with a survey of the previous studies).

[165] Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 29.

[166] Sticotti, *l.c.*, suggests: "in questa figura ci pare adombrata l'imperatrice Livia, alla quale si attaglierebbe il titolo di Augusta Bona Dea Cereria dell'iscrizione aquileiese".

[167] The epithet *Augusta* makes an Imperial date certain, despite the fact that Faustus as a *praenomen* after the Republic seems to be very old-fashioned. One may wonder whether provincial names were more conservative than those in Rome. In contrast to this, however, the relations between Rome and Aquileia were very close ones, and, in general, the contacts between the local notables and Rome were very frequent. Members of the highest class in the province can definitely not be represented as provincials in the pejorative sense (cf. T. N. Mitchell, *Cicero, The Ascending Years*, New Haven-London, 1979, pp. 2-6 (regarding the connection of Cicero's, provincial, family with Rome); Gelzer, *Rom. Nob.*, p. 109). The combination of these facts led to a dating to the *early* Empire, under Augustus (with some reservations).

[168] Cf. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, pp. 260-263.

[169] This epithet is borne by many gods at Aquileia (see Calderini's lists, cited above, note 148). It seems too far-fetched to identify Livia and Bona Dea, because of this epithet, as Sticotti does (see above, note 166), however much the Empress was honoured at Aquileia (cf. her portrait with a mural crown (?) from Aquileia; Greifenhagen, *Vesta*, p. 17 and note 48).

[170] Something similar may be noted where the Mater Magna cult is concerned. Despite the importance of the aristocracy in this cult, the care of the *ludi Megalenses* in 45 B.C. was transferred from the curule to the plebeian magistrates; cf. P. Habel, *Ludi publici* in *RE* Suppl. V (1931), coll. 608-630, esp. 628; for Ceres-Mater Magna, cf. also Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 326, note 3).

[171] Cicero, *Pro Balbo* XXIV 55; cf. Wissowa, *RKR*, p. 298.

4. *The temple of Bona Dea at Tergeste*

From the early 1st century A.D. dates an inscription at Tergeste-Trieste recording the dedication by the authorities of a sanctuary. Neither the name of the deity for whom the sanctuary is built nor the nature of the building is mentioned. However, from other finds in that place could be inferred that a complex dedicated to Bona Dea is concerned.[173]

The text of the dedication is on the upper surface of a block in the form of a capital. It reads (in translation):[174]

> Lucius Apisius, son of Titus, and Titus Arruntius, son of Lucius, *duoviri*, have seen to these building activities, by decree of the municipal Senate and at the public expense.[175]

The official character of the dedication is indicated by three particulars in the text: the executives of the town see to the building (and the consecration?), it is done by decree of the municipal Senate, and the community supplies the money.[176]

In the centre of Trieste,[177] between Corso and Via S. Caterina,[178] a symmetrical complex, *ca.* 3.50 m below the present street level was excavated in 1910.[179] The remains of the walls, of good quality and built of sandstone, constitute a rectangle of 12.13 × 12.04 m.[180] Other finds on the site determine its date and identification. Three basins, executed in local sandstone, were found, two of which, as appears from the inscriptions, were dedicated by Barbia (Stadium). One fragment shows only the name of the dedicant.[181] The identification of the building was based upon the text on the rim of the other basin, reading: *Barbia L(uci) l(iberta) Stadium B(onae) D(eae) merito.*[182] From the lettering these basins could date from the 2nd century A.D. And from the dedication of the building, dating to the Augustan age,[183] continuity of the cult in that place may be inferred. The other finds comprise a series of coins, from Augustan bronzes to 4th century types, fragments of lamps and bowls, two bases of columns and bronze fragments.[184] The coins point to the site having been used from the Augustan period till the 4th century ; for what purpose is not clear, though it is not impossible that during this period the building continued to be used as a Bona Dea sanctuary.[185]

---

[172] (Fruticia) Thymele; cf. *CCA* IV, p. 92, No. 220.

[173] Ch. I, No. 123.

[174] Ch. I, No. (124).

[175] Is a word like *templum* to be understood, because of *faciundum*? Beside *aedes*, that word occurs as the designation of a sanctuary of the goddess, both in the literary and epigraphic sources. Scrinari (see ch. I, note 290) refers to a *tempietto* (= *sacrarium*), yet the complex appears to be too large to be thus designated.

[176] Apart from some exceptions, when money was set aside by special decree, this is an essential requirement when religious building of an official nature is concerned; cf. above, note 123.

[177] Cf. H. Philipp, *Tergeste* in *RE* V A 1 (1934), coll. 722-723; Scrinari, *Trieste*; G. Radke, *Tergeste* in *DKP* 5 (MCMLXXV), col. 605.

[178] Cf. *Friúli-Venezia Giulia*, plan between pp. 336 and 337 (D 5).

[179] Cf. Calza, *Bona Dea*, pp. 157-159, plan p. 157, fig. 2; Scrinari, *Trieste*, pp. 72-75, plan p. 73, fig. 3.

[180] Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 157; cf. Scrinari, *Trieste*, p. 72: 12.10 × 12.04 m.

The groundplan shows a wholly enclosed compound, with one gate on the East side (probably), the worst preserved part. This gate opened on to an area with three wings surrounding a tetrastyle portico, which was accessible by broad stairs. At the back of this area, yet detached from the back wall, stood a *cella*. To either side of this, at the ends of the two lateral wings of the courtyard, two rooms are recognizable. Their back and outer side walls were the outer wall of the compound. The level of the *cella* is 0.50 m under the level of the stylobate.[186] The fact that no remains of capitals, rafters, or roof, were found has led to the inference that above the foundations the building was constructed of wood.[187]

To the West of the compound, along the Via S. Caterina, was a portico with a retaining wall, and parallel to this a canal, crossed by a street. Both portico and street are at a level of 2 m above that of the enclosed compound, and this points to a later date.[188]

---

[181] *II* X 4, 2 (see *ad* ch. I, No. 123); Scrinari, *Trieste*, p. 74, refers to *two* dedications to Bona Dea, but though this most probably is the case it is not certain.

[182] Ch. I, No. 123. These *labella* stood upon small columns, one of which has been excavated; the height of the combination was 0.90 m, a practical height, which suggests that these basins were actually used and were not erected as a mere dedicatory gift. Such a basin has (fragmentarily) been found at Campo di Mezzo near Aurisina, not far from Trieste (see *Friúli-Venezia Giulia*, map between pp. 416 and 417, cf. p. 351; *Atlante* 1, 37 B 2), among the remains of a Roman villa (ch. I, No. 125).

[183] Other indications for dating the sanctuary to the early Empire are the lack of *cognomina* in the nomenclature of the two *duoviri* and the wording of the text of the dedication; cf. Scrinari, *Trieste*, pp. 74-75, and the *II* commentary.

[184] See ch. I, notes *ad* No. (124).

[185] Nor do the other finds convey indications that the building continued to be used as a Bona Dea sanctuary. Yet the fact that there are no traces of drastic alterations suggests that the temple had the same function from its foundation to the 4th century (however, see also note 186, below).

[186] Between the small temple and the Northern wall of one of the side rooms there is a drain of a more recent date than the other remains. It continues beyond the portico (indicating a different use of the complex or merely the need for a better drainage in the existing building?).

[187] This was Sticotti's opinion; cf. Scrinari, *Trieste*, p. 74; Calza, *Bona Dea*, p. 159.

[188] Cf. Calza, *l.c.*; Scrinari, *Trieste*, p. 73, fig. 3.

The little we know of Tergeste does not convey much information about religious life in that town. That there existed cults of such gods as were connected elsewhere with Bona Dea, such as Mater Magna and Silvanus, is apparent from epigraphic sources. Unfortunately, these are too summary to draw conclusions regarding a connection in Tergeste as well.[189] Also, the lack of data makes it virtually impossible to trace how far, in religious matters, Aquileia influenced its less important and younger neighbour. The dedication by Barbia Stadium (ch. I, No. 123) names Bona Dea by the mere abbreviation *B.D.*, with no further definition in the form of an epithet nor any other information about the religious ideas concerning Bona Dea's nature at Tergeste, whereas, at Aquileia, the inscriptions are often more informative.[190]

The name of the dedicant of the two basins, Barbia (Stadium), however points no doubt to Aquileia. The name Barbius (Barbia) is a frequent one in *Regio* X, in Noricum and Pannonia. It may be inferred from a number of *cognomina* borne by members of this *gens* that in many cases they were merchants.[191] In spite of the spread of the name, its concentration at Aquileia is such, both among freeborn people and among freedmen,[192] that it seems likely that Aquileia was the homeland of those who bear that name.[193]

And what in all probability applies to the origin of Barbia Stadium may perhaps be suspected in the case of the second *duovir* who is mentioned in the dedication of the temple, T. Arruntius. This man is otherwise unknown, unlike his colleague, T. Apisius, whose epitaph (which also mentions his *cognomen*, Pupus) is preserved.[194] In spite of the wide distribution of the name Arruntius, without distinct preference for Northern Italy,[195] an indication of T. Arruntius' origin might be perceived, with due reservation, in the fact that at Aquileia there are two Arruntii known as *decuriones*, members of the municipal council.[196] It is not in the least unlikely that Arruntius, who was *duovir* of Tergeste, had relations of a certain standing in the neighbouring town.

---

[189] Though it is possible that there was a temple dedicated to Mater Magna it is not certain; cf. Scrinari, *Trieste*, pp. 75-76 (b. *Il tempio della Dea Cibele*); *CCCA* IV, pp. 96-98, Nos. 239-244. Sticotti, Silvanus (*Castrensis*) may have been worshipped in a *lucus* near the *castrum* of the town; cf. Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, p. 243; *Bona Dea*, col. 29 (for Bona Dea *Castrensis* see below, note 190).

[190] Nor is the only epithet that Mater Magna bears at Tergeste, Blaudia (*CCCA* IV, pp. 96-97, No. 240) indicative of this cult having come from Aquileia. So there is only *Castrensis*, Bona Dea's epithet at Aquileia and Silvanus' at Trieste, although this does not constitute an explicit link between the two cities since either deity has the same epithet elsewhere (ch. I, Nos. 29, 39, cf. 34; for Silvanus, see *EE* IV 755; Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, p. 243).

[191] Cf. the annotations *ad* ch. I, No. 123; Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, pp. 303-304; *Bona Dea*, col. 34; Calderini, p. 468.

[192] Cf. Calderini's list, pp. 467-468.

[193] The most important representative of the family is *...B]arbius ... [Fu]lvius Aemilianus,* who was *quaestor pro praetore provinciae* (which?), *aedilis plebis* and *praetor* (*CIL* V 864; cf. *PIR*² III, pp. 210-211, No. 530). To assume that all the Barbii are descended from this man, as does Sticotti, *Epigrafi*, pp. 303-304, is going too far, but a relationship is quite possible.

[194] *CIL* V 549; see *ad* ch. I, No. (124).

[195] Cf. *PIR*² I, pp. 220-229, Nos. 1123-1152.

Though one cannot confidently draw far-reaching conclusions from what has been said above, it may be stated that a State cult of Bona Dea probably existed at Tergeste.[197] The goddess was worshipped in an enclosed complex, to be compared to the other known sanctuaries of Bona Dea. The cult was practised at least during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., and perhaps until the 4th century. The date of its foundation corresponds to the flourishing of the cult throughout the Empire. In this temple, though founded by the government, people who did not belong to the upper class were admitted as well, since the freedwoman Barbia Stadium was allowed to set up her gifts there. From the name of this woman, and perhaps also that of T. Arruntius, it seems possible that the cult was introduced from Aquileia. If indeed the building stood aside the Augustan city wall—but this has only once been suggested[198]—it would be an analogue of the temple outside the Porta Marina at Ostia, and would pose the same questions as were raised in that case (see above, § 2).

B) *The sanctuaries which do not belong to the State cult*

1. *The sanctuary of Bona Dea within the walls of Ostia*

In addition to the data regarding the cult outside the Porta Marina of Ostia, studied above in A § 2, we possess from Ostia information about the existence of another sanctuary consecrated to Bona Dea. From the Augustan age dates a dedication relating to this sanctuary, situated at the end of the Cardine degli Augustali, *Regio* V—*Insula* X-2 (ch. I, No. 60):

> Valeria Hetaera is the giver of this present. Dedicated to Bona Dea Opifera.

Moreover, an inscription dating from—at the latest—50 B.C. was found in the pavement of this sanctuary. It refers to building activities in a complex erected in honour of Bona Dea (ch. I, No. 63):

> Octavia, daughter of Marcus and wife of Gamala, had the portico plastered, benches made, and the kitchen roofed, in honour of Bona Dea.[199]

It is apparent from the text of this dedication that it does not refer to a new building. Consequently, we may assume that before 50 B.C. already stood there a sanctuary of the goddess, and that about 50 B.C. repairs were made to the building at the expense of Octavia. In view of the fact that the dedication by this woman was re-used afterwards in the pavement of the sanctuary, it can be inferred that a completely new sanctuary was built under Augustus, and that at the expense of Valeria Hetaera. This is borne out by the archaeological remains in that place (see below).

---

[196] *CIL* V 962; cf. Calderini, p. 458.

[197] In view of both the finds and the form of the sanctuary.

[198] Sticotti, *Bona Dea*, col. 34.

[199] See also the enumeration indicative of a cult building in an inscription from Civitella, ch. I, No. 74, and see below, B 3.

There is no indication at all that this Bona Dea sanctuary was meant for the State cult of the goddess, so that it must be presumed that it had a different function. Unfortunately, as regards Ostia there is no information about the existence of *collegia* under the patronage of Bona Dea. Yet, it is very unlikely that, in the case of a rather big sanctuary, such as the one discovered in *Regio* V—*Insula* X-2, there could be any question of a mere private institution, especially as the continuity of the cult for quite a long period may be proved. Yet, as has been said, the complete lack of indications of an official dedication does imply that the sanctuary did not belong to the State cult.

The name of the dedicant of the inscription which enabled the identification of the building, Valeria Hetaera, is proof that she belonged to the class of freedmen. The epithet to the name of the goddess in Valeria's dedication is an indication that Bona Dea was not worshipped here as the generally received State goddess but in a specific capacity.[200] The woman who erected the other dedication, Octavia, was not a native of Ostia but probably came from Forum Clodi. She must have been someone belonging to the first class and related to high magistrates.[201] She was married to a member of an important family at Ostia, the Lucilii Gamalae. It is possible that this marriage had not yet been contracted when the dedication was set up, as the word *Gamalae* (or *Gamalai*) seems to have been added at a later date (in a smaller lettering than the rest of the text).[202]

Apart from the significance of the date of Octavia's dedication, which points to an early interest in the cult of the goddess at Ostia and, in combination with the other data, to a continuity of worship, the benches and kitchen are indicative of the nature of the building: apparently there was a meeting hall, and food could be prepared. These two data indicate that the building was a sanctuary which at the same time served as a clubhouse of a *collegium* under the patronage of Bona Dea, though this must remain a highly plausible hypothesis.

The remains of the sanctuary, as it was rebuilt in the Augustan age, show that the groundplan was similar to that of the sanctuary outside the Porta Marina. In the courtyard stands a small tetrastyle temple; to either side of this is a portico with side rooms. Just as is the case with the other sanctuaries of the goddess, there is only one, narrow, entrance to the compound, which was, in the first, Augustan, phase, situated behind the temple. In the courtyard were found two rectangular basins, a well,[203] an altar,[204] and the cippus dedicated by Valeria Hetaera (see above).

---

[200] Cf. Macrobius' identification of Bona Dea and Ops; Ch. II, No. *67* (22).

[201] Cf. Cébeillac, pp. 521-530, and the annotations *ad* ch. I, No. 63, line 1.

[202] Cf. Zevi's observations about this; quoted *ad* ch. I, No. 63, line 1.

At the end of the 2nd century A.D. the whole complex was rebuilt, according to an almost unchanged plan but at a level of 1.20 m above the former one. In the filling material the lower part of the paintings of the former portico was preserved. Often renewed layers of stucco and pavement, in addition to some slight changes, are evidence that the sanctuary was used for a long time.[205]

2. *The sanctuary near S. Stefano at Aquileia*

In addition to the sanctuary of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria, there must have been at least one other Bona Dea sanctuary at Aquileia, and this to the North of the town. The existence of *collegia* at Aquileia is sufficiently proved,[206] and the contents of some inscriptions demonstrate that at least one *collegium* in this town had its own clubhouse, which was the temple of the patroness of the association as well, and that there was probably yet another such building.[207]

The evidence relating to the clubhouse near S. Stefano is epigraphic and is not confirmed by archaeological remains. Firstly there is a dedication by three *magistrae*, which term proves the existence of a *collegium*, reading (in translation; ch. I, No. 109):

> Aninia Magna, daughter of Marcus, and Seia Ionis and Cornelia Ephyre, *magistrae* of Bona Dea, have rebuilt the portico, and the shrine of Fonio.

From the same place (S. Stefano) comes the following dedication (ch. I, No. 115):

> Decidia Egloge has presented the Parcae with an altar, and Bona Dea with a silver dish weighing one pound and seven ounces.

Various aspects of these inscriptions have been discussed in a different context.[208] What is important here is the information regarding the form of the sanctuary. It is obvious, from the references to a shrine of Fonio and to an altar of the Parcae, that a complex is involved, with more rooms than a single sanctuary. The portico could indicate that the groundplan of this complex conforms to the recognized pattern of a cult compound belonging to Bona Dea (see above). If this is in fact the case, the clubhouses of the cult associations were built in conformity to the groundplan of the sanctuaries of the State cult. This is confirmed by the plan of the sanctuary on the Cardine degli Augustali at Ostia (above, § 1), though not by that of the clubhouse at Glanum, which shows less conformity to the known pattern (below, § 3).

---

[203] Ch. I, No. 61.

[204] Ch. I, No. 62.

[205] Cf. Von Sydow, pp. 394-395; for the wall painting, see fig. 4.

[206] Because of the titles proper to the committee members of a *collegium*; see ch. I, Nos. 109, 110, 113, 114 (?), (117).

[207] An inscription, like the Cereria inscription, found *presso la Basilica* refers to *magistrae* and *ministrae* of the goddess and also to the building of an *aedes* by these women. So it is possible that an association under the patronage of Bona Dea possessed a building (of a religious nature) in the centre of the town (ch. I, No. 113, with the annotations).

[208] See above, A 3.

Both inscriptions can be dated to the Empire, yet, since lack of data prevents more precise dating, conclusions regarding the duration of the cult in that place cannot be drawn.

3. *The so-called temple of Bona Dea at Glanum*

The so-called temple of Bona Dea at Glanum, St.-Rémy-de-Provence, is a hall of 10.50×6.70 m, built in Roman times above a demolished Greek portico. The entrance is in a courtyard and this corresponds to what we know about the other cult centres of the goddess, yet at Glanum there is a second entrance opening on the street. In the hall there are along three sides benches in brickwork, which may have been covered with slabs in marble or limestone. Against the, free, North wall stands an altar in brickwork, which was plastered and painted. It is most likely that the room had no roof but that there were awnings (which have been discovered) over the benches.[209]

Three inscriptions found in that place are evidence that the hall belonged to an association under the patronage of Bona Dea (ch. I, Nos. 133, 134, 135). The presence of the altar indicates that the hall was used not only for social gatherings but also for cultual purposes.[210] The mention of *sedeilia* in the Octavia inscription (ch. I, No. 63) suggests that such a meeting hall existed already at an early stage at Ostia, in the sanctuary on the Cardine degli Augustali. And this may be also the case at Civitella, since an inscription from that place (ch. I, No. 74) refers to *sedes* in a Bona Dea context.[211]

---

[209] Cf. Rolland, *Fouilles* I, pp. 96-98; Turcan, pp. 58-59.

[210] It is impossible to decide what exactly is to be inferred from the mention of a *templum cum ornamentis* in an African inscription (ch. I, No. 141; A.D. 235). As appears from the name of the goddess, *Dea Bona Valetudo Sancta*, the sanctuary was not built for the generally accepted State goddess but for Bona Dea in a certain capacity, i.e. that of a goddess of healing. The temple, with its furnishings, was built by husband and wife, and then given to the State, so that some questions remain open.

[211] Despite the information, it is impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the form of the Civitella sanctuary, on the basis of the inscription.

Summary

The following facets of the Bona Dea sanctuaries may be deduced from what has been said above:

The form of the sanctuary: in four instances (twice at Ostia, and at Trieste and St--Rémy-de-Provence) the plan of the Bona Dea sanctuary may be reconstructed on the basis of the archaeological remains. At Prezza, the form may be inferred from the text of the dedicatory inscription. As to Rome, the literary sources convey information. At Aquileia, neither any archaeological remains nor the text of the dedication explain the plan of the temple of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria, though we have information concerning the groundplan of the sanctuary near S. Stefano.

The principal feature is the privacy of the complex: it is not a simple temple but has annexes and the entire compound is enclosed. Thus it may be assumed that the information in the literary sources regarding the secrecy of the temple ritual, along with the secret character of the cult of the goddess as it was celebrated at the house of the first magistrate in Rome, corresponds to the actual practice of the ceremonies and that the cult in the temple of the goddess was practised hidden from those who were not initiated.

The date of the building activities: the sanctuary in Rome was alleged to date back to the 2nd half of the 3rd century B.C., yet a more reliable clue to dating is the restoration by Livia in Augustan times. The date of the original sanctuary at Ostia on the Cardine degli Augustali is pre-Caesarian, with a restoration before 50 B.C. and a new building in the Augustan age. The temple at Prezza was built in the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C. The temple at Ostia, outside the Porta Marina, dates from the early Julian-Claudian period. The temple of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria at Aquileia is probably Augustan, and this applies to the Trieste temple as well. As regards the so-called temple at Glanum, the 1st century A.D. may be accepted.[212] The similarity of the building dates is not accidental: the interest shown by Caesar and, especially, Augustus in traditional Roman religion influenced the cult of Bona Dea—in the provinces too. Direct influence of Rome may be suspected at Ostia and at Prezza, and is not at all improbable at Aquileia, which in its turn may have influenced Trieste.

The worshippers: in five instances the builders of the sanctuaries are members of the government: the *patres* in Rome, the *magistri* of the *pagus Laverneus* at Prezza, a *duovir* at Ostia, a *quattuorvir* at Aquileia, two *duoviri* at Trieste. This proves in five cases, confirmed by other information, the official nature of the dedication. As to the other instances, either a collegiate cult is definitely concerned or one may be suspected on the basis of secondary information. That there also were personal initiatives, such as the financing of the building, is evident, and it looks as if the sanctuaries admitted women of all classes.

---

[212] See the annotations ad ch. I, Nos. 133, 134, 135.

The location: as regards Rome, we know the temple of the goddess stood on the S.E. slope of the Aventine, *sub Saxo*. In Aquileia, it is to be assumed that the temple of Augusta Bona Dea Cereria was in the centre of the town, and another (collegiate) sanctuary to the North of the town (S. Stefano). One temple at Ostia was outside the town, one within the walls, The location at Trieste might have been outside the town (?). The inscription from Prezza does not give information either way. From these data it is not possible to draw conclusions as to the existence of specific ideas or rules prescribing a well-defined site for a Bona Dea sanctuary.

GENERAL INDEX*

ab epistulis 378
Abra 368
abstract frame 360, things 246, *see also* divine concept, noun, sense; abstractly *see religious*
Acquajura 275, 279, 311, 380
actor 293
adaptability 299
address *see* title
Adiutricis see praefectus
adiutorio 249
administrative college 262
admirer 327
adoption 238
Adriatic Sea 386
adulescens see honestus
adultery 333, 339, 365, 366
advances *see* amorous
adviser 405
aedes 271, 272, 278, 292, 302, 303, 304, 307, 308, 312, 344, 382, 400, 401, 407, 411, 413, 417
aedicula 292 (?), 302, 303, 304 (?), 308, 310, 315, 344, 400, 407
aediles (plebei) Ceriales 418
Aegypti 391
Aelia Exusia 287
Aelia Nice 285, 286, 304, 371, 377
Aelia Serapia 285, 286, 377
Aelia Thalasse 285, 286, 377
Aelia Theodora 290
Aelius Spartianus 303, 401
Aeneid 231, 326, 388
Aesculapius 347
aetiological explanation 332, stories 243
Africa 276, 301, 314, 321, 392, 420
African influences 392
ager 303
Ager Albanus 293, 317
Ager Latiniensis 264
agriculture 393, 419, 420, *see also* god
aid 346
aid-bringing 249
Alba Fucens 288, 310, 407
Albano 293, 317, 340
albata see vestimenta
alcohol, effect 334, percentage 334
alcoholic drinks 334, 335
Alennia Sabina 288
"All-Goddess" 323, 351, 353, 355, 360, 389, 391, 392, 399
alma see sacerdos
altar 251, 263, 269, 270, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278, 279, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 292, 293, 296, 302, 303, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 335, 340, 344, 347, 362, 366, 368, 373, 380, 381, 383, 400, 401, 402, 409, 414, 427, 428; brickwork 422; bronze 284, 309, 379; burning 349; limestone 386; marble 260, 283, 285, 292, 314; Mars 293, 321; pillar-shaped 320; round 314; tuff 408
altaria 362
Alta Semita 302
Alt-Ofen 234
alumna 286, 304, 377
a manu 378
amicitia, bona 246
amorous advances 241, 326, 331, endeavours 340
Ampliata 377
ancestors 242
ancient *see* author, cult, deity, element, god, goddess, Latium, literature, mysteries, rites, Rome, scholar, source, speculation, tradition, writer
ancillae 295, *see also lenonum*
anecdotes, collections 242
animal *see* prophesying, sacred, sacrificial
Aninia Magna 278, 382, 427
Annia 277
Annia Flora 285
Annianensis 315, 345
Annia Veneria 284
Annii 345
Annius P. 277, 285
anniversary *see* temple
Annona 420
annona 420
annual *see* feast
anonymous *see* worshipper
Anspania 289, 383
Anteros 276, 292, 293, 293 (?), 344
antiqua see collegia

---

* The Nos. refer to the pp. of part two

antique sources 323, trade 301
Antiquitates (*De Diis Incertis*) 353
antiquities *see* Roman
Antiquity 231, 244, 247, 250, 254, 301, 323, 328, 330, 360, 363, 397, 413, 417; close of 242; late 254
Antistia Eur... 285
antistites 371, 372
Antistius Vetus 285
Antonia 234, 276
Antonia Hygia 285
Antonines 284, 318
Antoninian 293, 317, 320
Antonius, Q. 276
anus 371, 372
aphrodisiac effect 339
Aphrodite 336
Apisius, L. 272, 296, 422, 424
Apollo 261, 346
Aponia Clara 288, 407
appearance 243, 244, 250, 260, 298, 299, 300, 324, 347, 364, 413
appellation 243, 244, 245, 250, 323, 325, 355, 356; concrete 387; vague 398
appellative 356, 376, 392, 422
Appian 369
apprentice *see* priestess
April 242, 329
...a Primigenia 279
approval *see* divine
Apt 278, 321
Apta Julia 278, 321
Apuleius 391, 393
Apulia, 310, 318, 404
aqueduct 249
Aquileia 251, 271, 278, 282, 289, 296, 298, 299, 300, 316, 345, 381, 382, 390, 393, 412, 414, 415, 417, 419, 420, 424, 425; Capitol 312, 413; Cassis estate 421; Cathedral 413; S. Felice 383; S. Stefano 312, 382, 383, 427, 429, 430
Aquillia 277, 307, 379
Aquincum 274, 275, 290, 299, 300, 321
ara 302, 303, 309, 310, 400, 407
arable *see* field
Ara Maxima 237, 256
Arcensis Triumphalis 310, 345, 407
arch *see* triumphal
archaeological data 400; documents 301; evidence 240; nature 402; remains 400, 402, 426, 427, 429; sources 257, 298, 301, 414
archaeology 298
archaic ceremony 363; nature 363; usage 296, 309
architrave 384; marble 287, 305
Arelate 283, 313, 383
arguments *see* Clodius, political
aristocracy 242, 323, 398, *see also* Roman
aristocratic *see* Bona Dea, character, class, *cognomina*, cult, goddess, lady, sacrificial ceremony
Arles 283, 313, 383
armarium (*clusum* ?) 287
armchair 379
Army 274
Arnobius 233, 240, 247, 254, 325, 326, 331, 337, 353, 355, 356
Arruntius 424, 425; T. 272, 296, 422, 424, 425
Ars Amatoria 303
Ars Poetica 386
art *see* magic, plastic
artificial beverages 334, *see also* religious revival
Asclepius 346, 347
Asconius 306, 367
Asinianus, Felix 283, 291, 292, 305, 345
assassination *see* Clodius
assimilable 399
assimilate 405
assimilation 242, 244, 301, 393, 419
association 280, 294, 295, 304, 305, 309, 311, 339, 340, 348, 356, 373, 374, 375, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 385, 391, 412, 415, 419, 427, 428; local 294; *see also* cult, military, political, religious
associational *see* worship
Astrapton 292
Atellia 277, 288
Atia Pieris 292, 380
Atius Balbus, M. 271
Attia Celerina 278, 385
Attia Musa 284, 383
Atticus 364
attitude, usual 316, 317
attribute 235, 237, 243, 244, 316, 317, 337, 345, 346, 347, 357, 387, 388, 393, 394, 399, 405
aucupiorum see conductor
augur 386
augural character 390
Augusta 267, 280, 299, 321, 322, 386, 389, 390, 391, 412, 413, 416, 420, 421, 427, 429, 430; *Augustae see numen*
Augusta, Julia 271, 280, 282, 385
Augustalis see VIvir
Augustan 271, 272, 276, 282, 283, 291, 292, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 311, 312, 344, 378, 380; age 412, 423, 425, 426, bronzes 423; city wall 425; date 421; phase 427; reaction 399; times 429; *see also* religious revival
Augustus 237, 238, 243, 266, 270, 271, 279, 360, 386, 390, 412, 421, 426, 429; Divine 385

Augustus 390, *see also* Lares, Vesta; *Augusti see legatus, s(ervus* ?)
Aumale 235, 273, 314
Aura 292, 307
Aurelia 271, 365, 368
Aurelia Antonia 286, 384
Aurelius Antonius 280, 281, 286, 305, 384, 385
Aurelius Cotta, L. 271
Aurelius Onesimus 286, 384
Aurelius Pisinnus, L. 282
auribus 249, 313, 396
Aurisina 290
Aurunceia Acte 277
auspices 401
auspicia 248
austerity 333
autochthon 300
author 232, 240, 241, 324, 326, 327, 331, 343, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 370, 401; ancient 323, 333, 357, 359, 369; *see also* Christian
authorities 298, 331, 360, 374, 375, 376, 387, 397, 400, 402, 422; *see also* local
authorized *see* celebration
Auzia 273, 314
Aventine 252, 270, 271, 273, 274, 280, 303, 309, 358, 370, 372, 373, 377, 380, 400, 401, 402, 410, 430
Aventinus 302
averting of evil 339
Avillius December, C. 282, 285
awning 428

baby, newborn 241
Bacchanalibus see Senatusconsultum
banquet 284, 378
barbarism 325
Barbia 424; Stadium 284, 423, 424, 425
Barbius 424; L. 284
Barbonius, Faustus 271, 283, 413, 416, 417
bark 362, 363
base 288, 311, 315, 317, 319, 346, 408, 414, 423; marble 292, 304, 309; rectangular 380; sandstone 276; single 408
basin 282, 284, 290, 313, 320, 409, 414, 422, 423, 424; rectangular 427; sandstone 422
Baths of Caracalla 251, 303
B.D. 262, 316, 319, 320, 382, 388, 416, 423, 424; *Domina Heia Augusta Triumphalis terrae marisque Dominatrix Conservatrix mentiumque bonarum atque remediorum Potens Dea Bene Iudicans* 320-321, 386
Belenus 419
bench 283, 308, 309, 379, 380, 425, 426; brickwork 428
beverage 334; *see also* alcoholic, artificial
bill 364
biography 361
birth 269, 343, 354, 355; goddess 346; high 295; noble 294, 368, 397
birthday 296, 311, 385
Blastus Eutactianus (?) 284
blaze 362
blazing-up 362, 363
blind 261
blindness 261, 366, 400
blood 337
board, association 380, 382, 384, 414; *see also* official
Bobbio scholiast 365
Bœotians 241
Bolani see insula
bona 233, 245, 248; *see also amicitia, pax, venia*; *bonarum see mentium*
Bona 233, 241, 248, 249, 250, 354, 355, 396
Bona Dea 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 331, 332, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 361, 363, 365, 366, 370, 371, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 418, 419, 421, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428; affair 366; *Agrestis* 249, 251, 393, 419; *Annianensis Sanctissima* 315, 345; aristocratic 243, 421; *Augusta* 319, 321, 322; bronze statuette 313, 414; *Caelestis* 295, 296, 309, 373, 374, 376, 392; *Castrensis* 251, 299, 316, 345; *Castri Fontanorum* 316, 345; ceremonies 268, 270, 271, 371; *Cereria* 215, 393, 413, 420, 421, (sanctuary) 427, (temple) 412, 429, 430; character 252, 265; college 286; complex 422, 425; *Conpos* 315, 395; cult 252, 254, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 268, 269, 274, 280, 291, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 311, 323, 327, 330, 331, 335, 336, 339, 340, 356, 358, 359, 360, 361, 364, 366, 367, 368, 369, 372, 380, 385, 386, 387, 397, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 414, 417, 418, 425, 429; cult centre 312, 402, 407; devotee 270, 275; *fanum* 277, 384; feast 268, 269, 272, 295, 341, 358, 363, 371, 372; *Felicula* 345; festival 263, 268, 269, 272, 295;

festivities 330; figure 317; *Galbilla* 251, 303, 345, 358; *Hygia* 235, 248, 315, 346, 347; *Iuno* 235, 290, 321; *Lucifera* 315, 346; *lucus* 380; marble statuette 278, 314, 318; mysteries 331, 352, 359, 364, 418; myth 333, 337, 340, 350; mythology 346; name 326, 390, 401, 419; nature 326, 360, 387, 398, 424; *Nutrix* 315; *Oclata* 260, 299, 304, 346; *Opifera* 307, 358, 425; *Pagana* 345, 382; *Potens* 395; priest 280, 385; priestess 280, 282, 285, 286, 287, 377; quarter 385; *Quietana* 317; *Regina Caelestis* 321, 392; *Regina Triumphalis* 299, 319, 391, 392; religion 290, 358, 414, 418; *Restituta*; rites 365, 369; ritual 330, 339, 349, 366, 368; sacrifice 362, 363, 367; *Sancta* 299; *Sanctissima Caelestis* 308; sanctuary 257, 262, 263, 273, 274, 275, 277, 295, 306, 310, 344, 367, 385, 402, 404, 423, 425, 426, 429, 430; *Sepernas* 296, 312, 381; *Sevina* 379, 393; shrine 292, 303, 385; statue 314; statuette 309, 385; temple 270, 271, 272, 273, 280, 283, 295, 302, 310, 313, 327, 341, 346, 354, 366, 370, 373, 380, 382, 383, 400, 402, 403, 407, 408, 409, 410, 422, 428; *Venus Cnidia* 234, 287, 315, 376; worship 258, 280, 294, 298, 323, 358, 372, 373, 376, 378, 381, 383, 385, 398, 412, 414, 415, 416, 418; worshipper 268, 273, 276, 358, 361, 385
Bonadia 303, 305
Bona Dia 309, 319
Bonadienses 277, 294, 296, 308, 374, 385
Bona Fortuna 245
Bona Mens 245, 246
Bona Spes 246
Bonae Tempestates 246
bonus 245, 246, 249, 250; *vir* 246; *boni* (*homines*) 246, 247; *bonos viros* 233; *bonum caelum* 246, *solum* 249
Bonus Eventus 245
Bonus Mercurius 246
Bordj el Ksar 321
Bovillae 252, 257, 274, 275, 298, 306, 367, 372
bower *see* vine
Bovillana see pugna
boy 280, 281, 305, 384, 385
Bracciano 296, 311
bribe 367
bribery 365
brick 409, 410; *see also* portico
brickwork 409; *see also* altar, bench
Britannia (Inferior) 321
bronze fragments 423; *see also* altar, Augustan, Bona Dea, *lamina*, lamp, plaque, plaquette
brothel girls 269
Budapest 235, 236, 275, 290, 321; National Museum 234
burial 373, 374; fund 373; insurance 373; place 373
business interests 411; purposes 410
Butas 240, 325, 353
Byzacena, Provincia 322, 390

Caecilius Vincentius 278
Caelestis 278, 314, 376, 385
Caeli see Regina
Caelimontium 302
Caelius 302
Caelum 391, 395
caerimonia incredibili 256; *caerimonias, publicas* 254
Caesar 238, 262, 264, 268, 269, 271, 290, 292, 295, 307, 308, 360, 363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 374, 405, 429; *Life of Caesar* 367, 368
Caesarian epoch 270
Caesaris 292; *Caesarum see redemptor*
Caesia Sabina 285
Caesilia Scylace 278, 289, 382
Caesilius, Q. 289
Caiena Attice 283, 383; Prisca 283
cakes 329, 385
calendar 351, 358; official 254, 372
Callistus 293
Calpurnia 248, 272, 300, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 392, 393, 394, 395, 398
Calpurnii Pisones 386
Calpurnius Piso Augur, L. 272, 386
Calpurnius Piso, C. 379, 386
Calpurnius Piso (Frugi ?), Cn. 386
Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, L. 386
Campania 309, 318, 404
Campo di Mezzo 290, 320
Cannia Fortunata 283, 291, 305, 383
Cannius 283
"canonization" 246
capital 402, 411, 422, 423; Capital 275
Caracalla *see* Baths
Carthaginian 376; Carthaginian-Semitic 392
Časka 272, 320, 386
Cassius Restutus, L. 273
castitas 418
Castrensis 416; *see also* Bona Dea
Castrum 345
cathedra 287, 307
Catilinarian 362; conspiracy 361
Catiline 263, 264, 362
Cato Minor 325
cattle 398, 404; *see also* Geryon
Causes of Things, The 325
celebrate 232, 236, 254, 255, 263, 265, 268, 272, 295, 323, 325, 327, 329, 337, 351, 352,

358, 359, 361, 362, 364, 365, 367, 368, 372, 373, 374, 380, 385, 397, 406, 418, 419, 429
celebration 254, 290, 304, 360, 363, 364, 366, 371, 385, 397; all-night 368; annual 268; authorized 298; December 349, 359, 369, 370, 371; May 370, 371; nocturnal 349; official 270; official State 281; perverse 331; public 372
Celer 292
cella 402, 409, 423
ceremonial 368; extraordinary 265
ceremony 254, 255, 359, 362, 363, 365; nocturnal 361, 418, 349; practice 429; sacred 256; secret 359; see also Bona Dea, sacrificial
Cereres 420
Cereria 250, 414, 416, 417, 419, 421; *see also* Bona Dea, Mater Magna
Ceres 239, 241, 251, 328, 351, 352, 373, 401, 413, 415, 419, 421, 422; cult 417, 418; cult associates 420; native 417; plebeian 421; temple 418; worship 420; *see also lectisternium*
chair, marble 278, 306
chapel 294, 297
character, aristocratic 252, 256, 257, 258, 398; myterious 359; nocturnal 350, 359; old-fashioned 334; satirical 359; *see also* Bona Dea, official
Charlemagne 238
chaste 239; chastest 326
chastity 325, 327, 337, 339, 348, 370
chest, closed 307, 379
Chesters 321
child 355, 375
chiton 340
Christ 233, 325
Christian authors 267, 360; feast 242; writer 357
Christianity 260
Christmas 242
chronique scandaleuse 269, 364
chthonian context 339; deities 420; divinities 332; *see also* Hecate
Cicero 232, 233, 240, 247, 248, 252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 273, 274, 295, 303, 306, 326, 335, 355, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 372, 373, 396, 397, 398, 400, 406, 418, 419, 421; *Life of Cicero* 361, 367
Cilurnum 321
cinders 362
cinis 362
Cinna 404
cippus 289, 292, 303, 304, 317, 319, 427; marble 287, 288, 407; sepulchral 276
Cirignola 284, 318
Cispadana 320
Cissa 272, 320, 386
citizenship 404
civil code 290; *see also* government
Civitella 284, 309, 379, 428
Cladus 291, 292
clan 405
class 257, 261, 267, 275, 302, 323, 328, 386, 398; aristocratic 417; better 246, 247; first 268, 269, 270, 273, 275, 426; freeborn 281, 376, 382; freedmen 279, 280, 372, 377, 380, 381, 383, 406, 417, 426; highest 372; highest social 270; lower 290, 373, 374, 376, 398; lowest 294; particular 382; servile 291; slaves 280; social 266, 267; third 276; upper 291, 323, 425; various 382, 384; *see also* Senatorial
classical literature 234, 236; times 290
Claudia (Quinta) 266, 270, 295, 303, 402
Claudia Fortunata 285, 286, 377
Claudia gens 266
Claudia Nice 285, 286, 304, 377
Claudian 282, 291, 292, 294, 302, 305, 312, 316, 318, 378, 386, 407, 409, 412, 421, 429; Court 294; family 238
Claudius 280, 282, 293
Claudius Caecus, Ap. 270
Claudius Caesar, Tiberius 294
Claudius Philadespotus 280, 282, 283
Claudius Priscus, Tiberius 292
Claudius Pulcher, P. 270
Claudius Stephanus, Tiberius 282, 283
cleanse 337, 380; cleansing 380, 381; cleansing effect 337, 339
cliens 279
Clodia Luciosa 273
Clodiana see fabula
Clodium et Curionem, In 365
Clodius (Pulcher, P.) 232, 240, 248, 252, 257, 263, 264, 265, 266, 270, 274, 275, 290, 306, 366, 368, 369, 374; affair 362, 363, 367; alibi 365; assassination 264; character 397; charge 365; entry 364, 368; intrusion 268, 269, 360; motivation 369; sacrilege 364, 365, 367, 401; scandal 269, 397; travesty 367; trial 367
Clovanus Clarus, L. 279
club, professional 373; social 373, 375
clubhouse 306, 313, 373, 426, 427, 428
Cluvius 276
cognomen 279, 376, 383, 386, 411, 424; Greek 377
coin 420, 423
colleague 287, 293, 384, 424

collega 305, 384; *conlega* 309
college 305, 376, 377; *see also* Bona Dea, governing, priest, priestly
collegiate *see* cult, function, sanctuary, title, worship
collegiatus 374
collegium 280, 281, 291, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 305, 309, 313, 315, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 387, 412, 414, 426, 427; *collegia antiqua et legitima* 374; *collegia tenuiorum* 374
colonization 406; Roman 419
column 408; travertin 409; tuff 409
commagistra 275, 279, 311
committee 305, 375, 377, 381; *see also* governing
Commodus 282
complex, enclosed 240
community 246, 314, 334, 374, 396, 397, 398, 411, 417 422
concordia ordinum 421
conditions, local 251; Roman 260
conductor aucupiorum 277
confarreationem, per 417
confiscation 366
coniunx casta 296
conliberta 285
consecrate 232, 298, 354, 400, 401, 402
consecration 232, 275, 400, 422
Conservatrix 236, 248, 394, 395, 399; *see also* Fortuna
conspiracy *see* Catilinarian
conspirators 263
constitutor collegii 375
Consul 254, 263, 335, 361, 362, 364, 368; *cos.* 270, 271, 272, 386; *cos.* II 284, 378; *cos. suff.* 272, 386
Consulatu Meo, De 263, 362
consulship 263, 268, 361, 379
contractor 308
contubernalis 283
conventio collegii 375
copulate 338
corn 420; goddess 420; production 420; supply 420; trade 420
Cornelia Ephyre 278, 289, 382, 427
Cornelia Gratilla 278
Cornelius Labeo 240, 241, 243, 257, 353, 354, 356, 370
cornice, marble 409
cornucopia 340, 346, 347
couch of the gods 270, 366, 373, 379
council *see* municipal
counsel for the defence 365
court 365; of inquiry 364; Court *see* Claudian, Livia
cradle 328
crater 331, 332, 350
creed *see* foreign
crest 344
crested 344
crime 232, 248, 265, 367
Cronus 352
crops 241, 351, 352
crusta, marble 287, 307
crustlum 296
culina 270, 380
cult 236, 239, 242, 244, 253, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 266, 267, 294, 315, 332, 333, 348, 362, 365, 374, 384, 398, 400, 407, 419; ancient 360; association 295, 373, 385, 428; Aventine 373, 402; centre 240, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 428; collegiate 373, 383, 429; complex 310; compound 428; concentration 297, 301; continuity 423, 426; distribution 301, 402; Eastern 396, 399; elements 329; evidence 402; exclusiveness 358; goddess's 300, 323, 324, 337, 340, 366, 381, 426; Imperial 378; independent 408; local 387; mysteriousness 358; objects 358; observance 331, 357; official 257, 262, 275, 298; organization 258, 275, 298, 302, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313; organized 276, 281, 297; pagan 260; participation 293; particulars 263; pattern 323; personal 275; practice 299, 302, 323, 234, 327, 328, 330, 337, 339, 346, 351, 355, 357; propagation 297; purity 397; rites 354; Roman 257; Roman State 298; rules 240, 254, 270; secrecy 300, 355; secret character 424; semi-official 280, 298; State 235, 258, 358, 359, 372, 373, 381, 402, 406, 408, 411, 412, 416, 425, 426, 428; statue 308, 310, 314, 369, 379, 401, 402; temple 370, 372, 429; uniform 301; *see also* Bona Dea, Ceres, Mater Magna, Silvanus
cultor 295, 296, 309, 373, 374, 376
Cunina 328
curam agens 375, 381
curator 375, 381
cure 244, 261
Curio 315
Cybele 389

Dalmatia 272, 300, 320, 383, 385, 386, 414, 416
Dalmatian coast 386
Damia 237, 238, 371, 417; foreign 372
damiatrix 237, 238, 371, 372
damium 237, 238, 256, 371
Danuvio 234

Daphnis 328
daughter 232, 234, 241, 247, 270, 271, 272, 275, 276, 277, 278, 285, 325, 326, 327, 337, 341, 344, 356, 382, 386, 400, 419, 425, 427
Dea Bene Iudicans 396; Dea Bona 234, Pia 234, 246, 276, Valetudo Sancta 235, 248, 314, 349; Dia 380, 381; Obsequens 312, 383
dead, the 344
death penalty 333
debauched *see* feast
debauchery *see* sexual
deceased 249; members 373, 374; *see also* woman
December 263, 349, 352, 359, 361, 362, 364, 371; *see also* celebration, feast, mysteries, rites
decency *see* Queen
Decidia Egloge 289, 421, 427
Decidia Paulina 278, 382
decree 295, 296, 403, 422; *pagi decreto* 403
decurio 295, 296, 375, 378, 424; *see also pedisequorum*; *ex decurione veteranus* 273
decus see morem
dedicant 252, 258, 261, 262, 273, 302, 308, 314, 345, 346, 378, 386, 423, 424, 426; female 344
dedicate 232, 235, 241, 248, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 277, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 295, 296, 303, 315, 347, 354, 373, 380, 385, 386, 413, 422, 423, 425; *dedicavit* 416
dedicatee 294
dedication 232, 234, 235, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 260, 261, 262, 265, 274, 303, 318, 274, 276, 277, 282, 283, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 296, 300, 301, 303, 307, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 340, 344, 346, 347, 357, 366, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 390, 392, 394, 398, 400, 402, 407, 411, 413, 414, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429; Greek 323; individual 294, 315, 406, 407; local 274, 299; official 258, 267, 408, 412, 417; personal 373; public 262, 276; *dedicatio* 412, 413, 417
dedicatory *see* inscription, plaquette
degenerate 331
degeneration *see* morals
deification 356
deify 326; deified *see* idea
deity 234, 235, 237, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 253, 261, 262, 324, 329, 331, 340, 346, 351, 352, 368, 374, 384, 385, 390, 394, 395, 397, 398, 408, 415, 417, 420, 422; ancient Roman 373; Eastern 375; foreign 374; Greek 405; independent 235, 413; Italic 323; local 251, 390; locally determined 345; native 329; oracular 335; patron 373; Roman 265, 405; rural 252; specifically Latin 406; supreme 376; traditional Latin 323; *principes dei* 391
delirious 331
Delphic oracle 346
Demeter 252, 418; Greek 417
Departed Souls 380
desecrate 264, 265
devote 258
devotee 268, 269, 273, 275, 280; *see also* Bona Dea
devotion 265, 294, 300, 358, 367
Diana 251, 274, 275, 303, 309, 321; Silvarum Potens 395
Dictator 271
Di Manes 305, 378
Dio Cassius 349, 362, 369
Diomedes 288, 289
Dionysus 286, 305, 331, 342, 343, 384, 419; mother of 325, 340, 341, 343, 368
dish, silver 312, 415, 420, 421, 427; *see also* sacrificial
Dispater 420
dispensary 372, 380, 383, 396, 401, 402, 410
dispensator 293, 294
dissipation *see* sexual
divine approval 263, 362; community 332; concept 405; conception 245; favour 293; fiat 263; honour 239, 326; power 261; principle 242; sign 362; *see also* Augustus, epithet, hierarchy, name, prophecy; *divina* 335; *rem divinam* 419
divinity *see* chthonian
divorce 269, 364, 367
domestic pets 344
Dom(i)na 313, 383, 388, 389, 392; *aequoris* 393
dominae 269, 295
Dominatrix 292, 293
dominium ex iure Quiritium 279
dominus 291
Dominus 388
Domnae 420
Domo Sua, De 368, 400
doxography 242
drinking, excessive 330, 331, 339
"droit divin" 238
drunk 241, 326, 327, 334, 337
drunkard 356
drunkenness 239, 327, 330, 331, 332, 333
Dryad 325, 356, 368
Ducenta 318
duovir 272, 295, 386, 408, 411, 422, 424, 425, 429
dynasty *see* Julian

ears, dedication to 289, 312, 313, 382, 383
earth 241, 243, 348, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 389
Earth 232, 240, 241, 351, 354, 391, 399
earthquake 264, 404
Eastern influences 281, 397; *see also* cult, deity
ecstasy 330
Egnatius Mecennius (Maetennius) 333
Eia Augusta 389
"Eleusinian Fields" 296
embers 263, 362
Emperor 273, 279, 390, 421
Empire 242, 267, 272, 276, 277, 278, 279, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293, 296, 299, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 358, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 390, 407, 413, 425, 428; Roman 260, 297, 323
Empress 271, 378, 385
enclosed centre 259, complex 425, compound 408, 423, 429
enclosing wall 292
enclosure 408, 410
epic 263
Epidaurus 346
epigraphic data 231, 236, 240, 250, 260, 276, 301, 371, 373, 398, 400, 402, 417, 419, 420; documents 251, 301; evidence 412, 427; information 244, 323; language 388; material 392, 395, 398; sources 234, 244, 245, 247, 248, 250, 266, 270, 291, 298, 301, 330, 346, 350, 357, 359, 366, 377, 388, 394, 396, 414, 418, 424
epigraphic-archaeological documents 297; monuments 340; sources 299, 346, 391
epigraphy 236, 237, 298, 394
epitaph 234, 258, 424
epithet 231, 234, 235, 236, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 259, 260, 274, 280, 299, 303, 304, 315, 323, 345, 346, 376, 382, 397, 389, 390, 391, 405, 407, 412, 413, 414, 416, 417, 419, 420, 421, 424, 426; common 395; divine 394; illustrating 394; illustrative 250; independent 394; primary 250; secondary 250; specifying 250
Equestrian class/order 267, 268, 270; *ordo equester* 273
established order 264, 265
Etruria 300, 311, 319, 405
etymologist, ancient 351
etymology 354
exclusion of men 239, 240, 256, 258, 259, 265, 337, 348, 359, 381, 400, 401
exclusiveness 254, 259, 358
expiatory *see* sacrifice
exultation 263
eye 261, 264, 265; disease 260, 261, 283, 291, 346, 388

fabula 367; *Clodiana* 360, 364
Faenia Onesime 383
Faenius 383
Falerio 277, 319
Falernian 331
Falerone/Fallerone 277, 319
familia 281
Fannia 262, 276
Fannius Nasuleius, L. 276
fanum 306, 384; *see also* Bona Dea
fari 241, 326, 354, 355, 356; *fando* 335
farmer 352
Fasti 303
father 241, 279, 292, 325, 326, 331, 333, 340, 386
Fathers 303
fate 326; *fatum* 239
Fatua 239, 241, 243, 326, 327, 335, 354, 355, 356
Fatuus 327, 335; Fatui 326, 327
Fauna 241, 243, 323, 324, 329, 330, 354, 355, 356, 357
Faunus 232, 234, 239, 241, 247, 325, 326, 327, 329, 332, 333, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340, 344, 353, 368; King 356; Fauni 326, 348; *fauni* 335
Faustus 413
favet 241, 354, 355
favourable 246, 248, 261; disposition 249
feast 241, 254, 268, 329, 330, 335, 336, 339, 349, 350, 351, 352, 359, 366, 369, 371, 372, 380, 400; annual 352; debauched 269; December 370; historical 361, 369; joint 355; May 370, 372; nocturnal 341; official 268; public 358; religious 268; temple 372; *see also* Bona Dea
Felicula 249, 252
Felix 249, 252
felix 249
female figure 380; ritual 266; *see also* dedicant, harper/harpist, judge, servant
feminae, nobilissimae 256, 268, 295
Feminarum Dea 255
Feminea Dea 233
Fenta Fatua 233, 240, 325, 356
Fenta Fauna 239, 240, 326, 356
Feriae Latinae 328
fermentation process, natural 334
Feronia 282, 283
fertility 249, 338, 339, 348, 398; of the filelds 249; *see also* goddess
festival 247, 255, 256, 257, 268, 325, 326, 331,

332, 335, 361, 368; 1 May 372; *see also* Bona Dea
festivity 269, 331; *see also* Bona Dea
festive hall 369
Festus 237, 238, 254, 256, 257, 303, 352, 363, 371, 372, 401
Ficulea 277, 306, 384
Fidelis see praefectus
Fidenae 277, 284, 287, 293, 295, 297, 378, 379; Olevano Estate 306; *see also* Senate
Fidenatium see Senatus
field 398; arable 393
filia 353
fire 349, 362, 378; holy 366
first name, Roman 279
flame 263, 335, 362, 363; *tremulis flammis* 362
flamen perpetuus 273
flamina maris salubria 393
flare up 263
flats, block of 304, 345
flautist 369
Flavia Athenais 287, 378
Flavian 285, 291, 315
Flavius (?) Fortunatus, Titus 288
Flavius Paectus 287
Flora 277, 285
flower 369
flute 331
focus 315
folklore 244
Fonio 278, 312, 382, 415, 427, 428
forefathers 333
foreign creeds 265; extraction 376; influences 373, 399; names 259; origin 259, 275, 373; *see also* deity, religious
foreigner 376, 412
fores 256
foretell 239, 326
fornication 369
Fortuna 236, 313, 393, 394, 395; Conservatrix 235, 290, 321, 345
fortune 239
Forum Clodi 261, 270, 296, 311, 385, 412, 426
Forum Cornelii 277, 320
foundation 349, 425; day 372; *see also* temple
founder 411
foundress 270
fowl, breed 349
Frascati 287, 371, 378; Prataporci 309
Fratochie 275, 306
freeborn 262, 281, 376, 378, 379, 384; people 279, 424
freedman 258, 261, 267, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 305, 325, 376, 377, 378, 382, 384, 424; Imperial 267, 280, 281, 282, 284, 292, 310; public 267, 281, 282
freedwoman 261, 262, 271, 272, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 305, 307, 371, 376, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 412, 413, 416, 421, 425
fuel 363
Furfane 284, 318
furniture 306
Furrianus 411
future 326

Galbiana see Horrea, Praedia
Galgestis Hermeros 289, 382
Gallia 313, 321; Narbonensis 300, 313, 321, 383
Gallic *see* inscription
Gamala 425, 426
garden *see* god
gate 310, 403, 404, 423
Gaul 276; southern 389
Gavius Bassus 239, 326, 353
Gemellus 292
genealogy 356
general 337
genius 344, 348; *tutelae* 344; Genius Conservator 345; of the master of the house 318
gens 279, 405, 424; *see also Claudia, Sulpicia*
gentile, nomen 279
German 281
girl *see* brothel
Glanum 284, 290, 313, 383, 384, 388, 428, 429
god 233, 241, 242, 245, 246, 257, 264, 266, 290, 332, 334, 335, 344, 384, 388, 390, 397, 405, 418, 424; ancient indigenous 326; ancient Latin 329; ancient patron of the gardens 329; indigenous 411; individual 405; local 251; municipal patron 390; of agriculture 351; of speech 354; original 396; propitious 326; All gods 286, 305, 325, 326, 384; *The Gods* 325; *see also* couch, Mother
goddess 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 316, 317, 320, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335, 336, 340, 341, 346, 347, 348, 349, 351, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 360, 362, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399, 400, 401, 402,

405, 407, 410, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 419, 420, 425, 426, 429; ancient Latin 398; ancient Roman State 399; aristocratic 323; character of 264; "for everyone" 398; general image 300; general nature 300; generally received 408; "genuinely Latin" 406; Gracious 383; Greek 392; healing 346, 347, 388, 396, 398; Histrian 389; independent 344, 413; indigenous 411; Latin patron 323; local 251; manifestations 299, 356; nature of 250, 254, 301; of agriculture 419; of fertility 398; of right judgment 386, 396; of salvation 395; of the sea 393; official 274, 298; original 354; particular 245, 251; personal 266, 275; protecting 345; representations 298; "Respectable" 247; Roman 387, 392, 406; State 267, 274, 306, 358, 397, 406, 417, 421; traditional 323; *see also* cult, Good Goddess, Women's Goddess
golden *see lamina*
good/Good 241, 243, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253, 354, 355; Goddess 232, 234, 243, 250, 253, 265, 324, 325, 326, 361, 367, 368; One 265
Gorfa Uled Selama 235, 273, 314
governing body 375, 377; college 403; committee 258
government 374, 386, 390, 404, 405, 429; civil 406; local 267, 268; religious 406
governor 386
Gracchi 279
Gracious *see* Goddess
Grado 296
gradus 315
grammarian 254
granary 345, 358
gratitude 248, 266, 277, 291, 293, 314
grave 297
Great Mother 241
Greece 241, 327, 328, 332, 408
Greek 246, 247, 254, 325, 326, 328, 337, 361, 368, 421; counterpart 417; element 377; example 418; extraction 381, 384, 417, 421; ideas 344, 345; influence 344, 348, 357, 376, 384, 397, 405; loanword 376; name 336, 377, 384, 422; origin 376, 382, 384; philosophy 290; provenance 339; religion 347; sources 233; symbol 348; word 351; *see also* deity, Demeter, goddess, portico, ritual, serpent, Women's Goddess, Zeus; *Graeco see sacro*
grove 256; sacred 380
Guard, Imperial 281
Gubernatrix 393
guild, professional 375

Habra 290, 292
Hadrian 270, 273, 275, 285, 291, 315, 317, 321, 401; *De Vita Hadriani* 303
Haedimiana 376, 377; *see also* Invincible, *spira*
harper/harpist, female 367, 368, 369
haruspices 264, 265; *De Haruspicum Responsis* 264, 265, 366
healer 261, 346
healing *see* goddess
health 398; corporal 395; physical 248
hearth 285
Heaven 264
Hecate 420; *Caeloque Ereboque Potentem* 395; Chthonian 243; of the Netherworld 241
Hegemon 286, 305, 384
Heia 389, 391
heifer, white 283, 291, 292, 350
helm 393
help 244, 249; giver 249
hen 349
herbs 346
Hercules 236, 237, 241, 244, 256, 295, 303, 352, 373, 380
herd 329
Hermes 261, 286, 292, 315
hero 256, 390
hierarchy 258; divine 399; local divine 420; Paelignian divine 405
High Pontiff 365
Hirpini 318
Histria 312, 320, 414, 416
Histrian *see* goddess
holiness 303
holy *see* fire, Vestal Virgin
honestus et ornatus adulescens 274, 275; *honestissimae see matronae*
honey 327, 328, 329, 330; jar 241, 237; pot 239
honorary member 375
honourable birth 246
Horace 352, 386
horrea 358, 413, 420; *Horrea Galbiana* 291, 303, 345
Horta 296, 320
Hortanum (?) 296, 320
Hostilius Auctus, Marcus 289
household activities 281
Hr Makter 278, 322
husband 232, 239, 241, 269, 273, 280, 285, 292, 293, 325, 326, 333, 336, 337, 356, 362, 367, 368
Hygia 236; Hygieia 346, 347, 348

ianua clausa 256
idea, deified 246
identification 236, 238, 243, 244, 265, 347,

348, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 372, 376, 389, 417, 419, 421, 422, 423
Ilci 288, 292, 311, 380
illegal 373
illness 244, 397
immigrant 300
immoral conduct 333
Imola 277, 320
Imperial Age 294, 382, 384, (end) 242; era 414; House 279, 280, 390, 420; policy 421; times 344; *see also* cult, freedman, Guard, politics, religion, religious, slave, Works
imperium 268; *see also* magistrate
inargentatum see signum
incense 349
incest 337; *incestum* 365
inconsiderate loguentes 335
independent data 250; *see also* deity, source
indicia 244
indigenous *see* god, goddess; *indigenae* 326
indignation *see* religious
individual 274, 387, 397, 399; aspect 276; character 236; concern 398; initiative 332; interpretation 300; introduction 301; *see also* dedication, god, worship, worshipper
inepta loquens 335
infant 354, 355; at birth 241
infatuation 333
inherit 265, 367
initiate 256; initiated 256; *initianto* 418
insane 327, 335; *insanus* 335
insanity 325, 334, 335; *insania paterna* 335, 354
inscription 234, 235, 236, 244, 248, 249, 250, 252, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 270, 274, 275, 276, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 340, 343, 344, 345, 346, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 391, 392, 393, 398, 402, 403, 405, 406, 408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 419, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 427, 428; dedicatory 258, 283, 296, 307, 311, 312, 322, 408, 429; Gallic 389; official 310; opisthographic 312; Roman 260, 388, 395; sepulchral 282, 287, 296, 297, 304, 305, 306, 309, 310, 316, 371, 374, 376, 377, 378, 380, 384, 385, 387, 388, 389, 390; testamentary 314
institutions *see* religious
insula Bolani 292, 303, 304, 345
insurance, social 372
intercalate 351, 359
intercourse 241, 327, 341
interdict 370, 374, 375
intoxication 339
intruder 290, 365
intusion 364
Invincible and Haedimiana Associations 315; *Invicta* 376, *see also spira*
invocation 387, 393, 394
invoke 241, 244, 248, 249, 251, 252, 354, 358, 387, 395
iron 379
Isia 252, 277, 285, 391
Isidore 327, 356
Isis 252, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395
Italia 284, 295, 302, 307, 314, 378
Italian peoples 404
Italic *see* protecting spirit, serpent
Italy 241, 260, 297, 300, 320, 328, 338, 344, 387, 405, 420; Central and Southern 420; North 416; Northern 424; Southern
iuno 344
Iunones 420; *Iunoni* 235

Janiculum 325
Janus 325
Jason 241
judge, female 296
jug *see* sacrificial, wine
Julia 271, 369; *see also* Agusta
Julia Athenais 283, 379, 380
Julia Casta Felicitas 278
Julian dynasty 407, family 238
Julio-Claudian 272, 307, 407, 409, 412; epoch 386; House 421
Julius 283, 293, 321
Julius Caesar, C. 274, 275
Julius Exuperius 288
Julius Quadratus 284, 378
Julius Valens, C. 274, 275
Junius Annianus Hymenaeus, Decimus 286, 315, 376
Juno 235, 236, 237, 299, 391, 401; power 235, 241, 243; Regina 391
Jupiter 373; Caelestis 376; Latiaris 328; Optimus Maximus 246; Roman 265; *Tempestatium divinarum Potens* 395
jury 365, 367
justice 264
Juvenal 254, 256, 268, 269, 270, 290, 331, 332, 335, 336, 339, 349, 350, 352, 355, 359, 368, 369

killer 261
Kings 257, 265, 367; reign 374
kitchen 307, 402, 425, 426; roof 308
Kore 419

lac 330, 331, 352; *lacte* 329, *madens* 329
lackey 378

Lactans 329
Lactantius 232, 239, 240, 247, 248, 254, 257, 262, 298, 303, 326, 331, 337, 353, 356, 401, 418, 419
lady 269, aristocratic 261; lady's maid 290
Lambaesis 273, 322, 347, 390
Lambèse 273, 322
lamina, bronze 288, 311; golden 286, 315
lamp 423, bronze 379
lararia, Pompeian 344
Lares Augusti 390
latescere 329
Latin 233, name 377; *see also* god, literature, myth, mythology, poetry, tradition
Latium 297, 300, 302, 309, 314, 318, 326, 404, 414; "ancient history" 324; "history" 398; mythology 324; oldest "history" 323; "primitive history" 356, 360; Princes 323; pseudo-history 324
laudable 247; *Laudanda* 247, *Dea* 233
laurel 337
Laverna 271, 310, 402, 403
Laverneus, Pagus 295, 296, 310, 402, 429
law 239, 240, 405; distinct 332; reigious 361; lawsuit 364
lecherous behaviour 295
lectisternium 366, 369, 379; *Cereris* 352
legal language 296; proceedings 365; status 279, 290
legality 238, 295
legatus Augusti pro praetore 273
legionis see praefectus
legitima see collegia
lenonum ancillae 290, 295
Lentulus 233
Leuce 289, 383
lex 296, 309; *collegii* 375; *De Legibus* 361, 418
...lia Procula 284
Libanius 283
libation 325, 327, 328, 332, 349, 362, 363, 369
libel 365
Liber 419, 420; Deus L. Pater 308; Pater 277, 373
Libera 419, 420
liberta 279, 377, 423
Libertas 232, 233, 264, 366
libertinus, ordo 279
libertus 279
Liburnia 320, 386
Liburnian 388, 389
Licinia 264, 270, 274, 303, 366, 373, 400
Licinius Crassus, C. 270
limestone *see* altar, slab
limina, devia 256
liqueur 334
literature 237, 244, 250, 257, 258, 259, 260, 300, 301; ancient 236, 298, 324, 327, 330, 353, 358, 359, 361, 363, 388, 402, 417, 418; Latin 265, 266
literary data 240, 252, 260, 340, 394, 402; document 297; dcomentation 216; fields 254; information 323; sources 231, 234, 240, 244, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 257, 260, 261, 268, 270, 273, 275, 290, 298, 299, 302, 340, 346, 358, 372, 391, 398, 400, 424; texts 257; theories 258; value 246
Livia 238, 266, 270, 271, 280, 291, 294, 296, 303, 305, 311, 371, 378, 402, 421, 429; Court 378
Livius Drusus Claudianus, M. 271
Livy 367, 401
local authorities 257, 374; circumstances 299, 300; ideas 389; influences 323, 389; significance 390; *see also* association, conditions, deity, god, goddess, government, hierarchy, religious, tradition, worship
locus publicus 400; *loca clausa* 303
love 241, 264, 337, 368
Luccia Felicitas 285, 286, 377
Lucera 282, 310, 380
Luceria 280, 282, 310, 380
Lucerinus Hermes 280, 282, 288, 380
lucernam aeriam 277, 308
Lucilii Gamalae 426; P. Lucilius Gamala 270
Lucina, *Potentem* 395
lucus 256, 275, 311, 349, 380, 381, 400, 401
Lucus Feroniae 284, 311, 381
luminibus restitutis, ob 346
Luscius Bergilianus, P. 277
Lydus 351
Lygdamus 233, 247, 254

Macerata 310
Macrobius 232, 235, 237, 240, 242, 243, 244, 248, 253, 254, 257, 260, 299, 303, 326, 327, 330, 331, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 369, 370, 371, 372, 380, 391, 396, 398, 401, 402, 410, 419
Mactaris 278, 322, 390
Maecilius Furr..., Marcus 272, 408, 411, 412
maenad 331
Maenalus 282, 291, 378
magic art 244
magister 375; *magistri* 271, 295, 296, 403, 404, 429
magistra 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 371, 376, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 427; acting 380
magistracy 412; *magisterium* 307, 378

magistrate 254, 369, 373; *cum imperio* 268, 359, 371, 397; first 363, 429; highest 265, 363, 364, 367; municipal 411, 414

magnitudo 241, 354

Maia 232, 240, 241, 242, 243, 349, 353, 354, 355, 404

male 255, 262, 323, 336, 368; counterpart 329; participants 372; *per masculos* 381; *see also* sex, worshipper

man 232, 239, 240, 241, 245, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 265, 275, 276, 280, 290, 294, 306, 325, 326, 327, 331, 332, 334, 335, 360, 363, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 381, 401, 414, 417, 418, 424; absence of 370, 372; *see also* exclusion

Manes *see* Di

manumission 261, 279, 280, 314

marble *see* altar, architrave, base, chair, cornice, *crusta*, monument, pediment, seat, slab, statuette, tablet

Marcellina 296, 309

Marcia Nomas 277, 287, 384

Marcia Pri... 277, 287

Marcii 384

Marcius, Marcus 277, 287

Maria M... 287, 379

maris 392, 393; *see also flamina*

Marius 404

Marius Alecshander 287

Marius Arariusis 287

Marius Felix 287

marmorarius see redemptor

Marrucini 404

Marruvium 288, 319, 407

Mars 242, 373; *militiae Potens* 395

Marsi 319

Martial 268, 269, 270, 367

Martialis 287, 293

Massa d'Albe 288, 310

master 279, 280, 291, 294; of the house 333, 344

Mater Magna 238, 241, 251, 353, 388, 412, 415, 417; *matrem deum* 388; Mater Deum Magna 413; *Cereria* 251, 420, 421; cult 389, 424

Matres 389

matronae honestissimae 295

Mauretania 347; Caesarensis 314

May 232, 240; Calends 232, 241, 242, 349, 354, 359, 371, 401; *see also* celebration, feast, festival

Medea 241, 243, 244, 346

medicinal efficacy 338; qualities 338

medicine 236, 241, 244, 248, 328, 338, 346, 380, 383, 391; *medicinis* 338; *see also* Mistress

Mediterranean Sea 338

Medullina 269, 272

meeting hall 426, 428; house 313

mellarium 330, 331

Memmius, Titus 288, 289

mens 395, 396; *mentiumque bonarum* 394, 395; *see also Potens*

Mentana 292, 316

merchant 424

Mercury 241, 318, 350

merum 332, 336

Metropolitan influences 300

Midas, King 347, 368; Phrygian mother of 325

migration 419

milieu differences 280

military association 374

milk 239, 241, 325, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 370; offering 328, 330

Milo 274, 306, 367; *Pro Milone* 367

minister 259, 375

ministerium 305, 383

ministra 276, 277, 281, 283, 284, 289, 291, 292, 295, 298, 305, 311, 312, 313, 371, 376, 380, 382, 383

Minturnae 262, 276, 318

Minturno 260, 262, 276, 318

miracle 263, 264, 268, 361, 362, 363, 398

mirror, silver 284, 289, 312

mistress 263; of the house 344, 369

Mistress 383; of land and sea 386, 392; of the sea 393; of wisdom and medicine 386

modesty 255, 326, 356

Montenovo 288, 311

Monte S. Angelo 277, 308

"monotheistic" speculation 392

monument 251, 252; marble 286; sepulchral 281, 317, 411

moral aspect 247, 249; quality 247; morally good 246

moralist 254, 268

morals, corruption 254; degeneration 269

morem decusque regium, contra 332

mortal 234, 241, 245, 306, 352; *mortalibus* 419

mosaic 409; black and white 409; pavement 408

mother 254, 271, 359, 361, 365, 368, 378; *see also* Dionysus, Midas

Mother of the Gods 286, 305, 384; "Original" Mother 399

Mucia 271, 364

Mucius, Q. 282

Mucius Trupho, Quintus 282

mulieres 295, 418; *vicanae ad Bonam Deam* 296, 311, 374, 385

mulsum 296, 330, 352

municipal council 425; *see also* god, magistrate, Senate
municipia 405
Murcia 336
music 269, 330, 331, 336, 351, 369
Myrrha 337
Myrtia 336
myrtle 324, 333, 336, 337, 338, 339; taboo 327; twigs 239, 241, 325, 326, 327, 336, 337; *myrtus* 336; *Myrtus communis L.* 338
mysteries 232, 258, 340, 349, 359, 360, 361, 372, 384; ancient 257; December 371; nocturnal 256, 359; Orphic 368, 369; *mysteria* 256; *see also* Bona Dea
mysterious aspects 256; atmosphere 360; aura 329; character 256; nature 256, 258, 369; *see also* rites, ritual
mysteriousness 355, 358
myth 237, 244, 255, 322, 324, 325, 326, 330, 331, 332, 336, 337, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 357, 368, 370; Latin 348, 350; *see also* Bona Dea
mythical datum 232; figure 270; times 295
mythographer 254
mythological account 327, 341; context 324, 336; data 331, 351; details 350; explanation 336; figure 324; source 340
mythologist 325, 337
mythology 360; Latin 324

name, abbreviated 387; "common" 387; divine 391; Roman 390; *nomen* 377, 411
Naples 288, 296, 305; *In ecclesia S. Ferrantis in hortis* 318
Nasuleius, L. 262
native 386, 426; infuences 373; parallel 406
Nazzano 284, 289, 296; Church of S. Antimo 311
Neapolis 318
necklace 331
nectar 332
nefas 364
Nemausus 313, 314
nemora 326
Nemus Dianae 329
Neo-Platonism 242
Nero 280, 282
Neronian 272, 282, 303
Nesactium 320, 389, 414
Netherworld *see* Hecate
Nigelus 283
Nîmes 314
nobility 238, 242, 258, 261; patrician 270, 271, 272; plebeian 270, 271, 272
noble 262; descent 238; extraction 246; *see also* birth, Vestal Virgin, woman; *nobilissimae see feminae*
nocturnal *see* celebration, ceremony, character, feast, mysteries, rites, ritual; *nocturna see sacrificia*
nomenclature 252, 279
Nomentum 292, 316
Noricum 424
numen 288; *domus Augustae/Augusti* 284, 387
Numidia 273, 321, 390
numismatics 394
Nutrix 249
Nymphae 326

oath 290
Obsequens 249, 396, 416
obsequium 279
observance 293; practical 258, 262
occultum see sacrificium
Occusia Venusta 289, 383
Octavia 261, 262, 270, 380, 411, 412, 425, 426, 428
Octavia Lupilla 288
Octavian 374, 390
Octavii Ligures 270
Odicus Latiaris 284
offering 257, 291, 328, 329, 331, 334, 344, 349, 350, 363, 364, 371, 375, 414, 421; burnt 349, 363, 366; meal 375; *see also* milk, wine
office 246, 280, 283, 291, 293, 378, 411; *see also* public
official approval 307, 403; aspect 257, 267; board 372, 373; capacity 257, 258; centre 274; character 267, 411, 412, 413, 422; document 403, 416; highest 361, 363; highest State 359; institution 295; nature 408, 429; pattern 275; recognition 390; Roman version 386; secular 405; sphere 258, 410; terms 298; *see also* calendar, celebration, cult, dedation, deity, feast, goddess, protectress, status, title
officiality 295
officina 380
oil 328
omen 263, 264
Onesimus Faustinus 285, 291
opertanae sacra 256, 349
operto, in 256, 257, 349
operum see redemptor
ophthalmology 304
Opifera 249; *see also* Bona Dea, Ops
ops 241, 354, 357
Ops 241, 243, 354, 357; *Opifera* 358
Optimus 246
opus reticulatum 408
oracle 326; *see also* Delphic

oracular *see* deity
order, lower 373; lowest 293; *see also* established, Senatorial; *ordo see equester, libertinus*
orgiastic element 335
Orphic *see* mysteries
Orte 296, 320
Ostia 249, 260, 261, 270, 272, 276, 283, 292, 297, 298, 307, 380, 393, 404, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 426, 429, 430; *Campus Matris Magnae* 410; Cardine degli Augustali 425, 428, 429; Decumano Massimo/*decumanus maximus* 307, 408, 410; Porta Marina 407, 408, 425, 426, 429; prosopography 411; Via di Cartilio Poplicola 408; Via del Foce 307
Ostian 298; ideas 412
Ostra 288, 311, 381
Ostra Vetere 288, 311, 381
Oufentina tribus 278
ovatio 337
Ovid 233, 248, 254, 273, 295, 303, 352, 354, 370, 400, 401, 402
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 234

pactio 375
Paeligni 260, 310, 403, 404, 405, 406
Paelignian 406; *see also* hierarchy, society
Paetinius, C. 276
Pag, island of 272, 386, 414
pagan scholar 357; *see also* cult
Pagana 416, 419
paganism 254, 260, 360
pagus 296, 403, 404; Pagus *see* Laverneus
painting 344, 427
Palatine 232, 264, 329
Pales 329
Palilia, Parilia 329
palliatum see signum
palliolum 277, 308
pallium 307, 379
palm of victory 269
Pan 329
panibus 352
Pannonia 274, 321, 424; Inferior 300, 321
Panthaeus 274, 295, 321
Pantheon, Roman 390
Paquedius Festus 277
Paradoxa Stoicorum 367
Parcae 289, 312, 382, 416, 427, 428
parents 281, 286, 384
paterfamilias 296
Patres 295, 429
patrician 238; rights 264; sphere 417; *see also* nobility, *Sulpicia*
patron 280, 281; *see also* deity, god; *patronus* 279, 281, 374, 376, 414
patronage 252, 279, 280, 294, 297, 304, 305, 308, 309, 311, 339, 373, 374, 378, 379, 380, 381, 384, 385, 412, 426, 428
patroness 303, 303, 328, 329, 345, 358, 385, 407, 412, 427; of the fields 251; special 261; *patrona* 277, 279, 281, 286, 288, 376, 377, 414
patronymic 377, 379
Paulus Diaconus 238, 372
pavement 283, 301, 307, 308, 309, 379, 409, 425, 426, 427; *see also* mosaic
pax bona 246
pedestal 284, 290, 313, 321, 384
pediment 315, 376; marble 287
pedisequorum decurio 291
Pegasus 385
penal code 290
Penelope 325
penetrale 303; *penetralia* 401
penus see Vesta
people, champion of the 367; *see also* Roman
peregrina see sacra
Periochae 367, 401
Persephone 338, 341, 342, 347, 348, 351
personal aspect 276; attitude 263; conjectures 361; connection 382; element 266; feelings 232, 265, 280; initiative 292, 407, 411, 412, 430; interest 397; interpretation 240, 251, 323, 324, 357, 389, 398; nature 258, 262, 266, 406; origin 291; patroness 249, 252, 263, 265, 266, 394, 397; preference 406; relations 398; relationship 345, 396; religious feelings 232; sphere 397, 410; way 243, 300, 397; *see also* cult, goddess, worship
perverse *see* celebration
Pesaro 260, 262, 319
Pescina 288, 319
Peticia Arriana (?) 282
Peticius, L. 282
Petronia 286, 377
Petronia Tertulla 288
Petronius Justus 273
Petrusia Proba 289, 382
Pettius Gemellus, C. 271, 403
Pettius Pansa, L. 271, 403
Phaedimiana 377
phiala, silver 421
Philadespotus 385; *Philadespoto sacerdote* 310
Philematio 280, 282, 291, 305, 378
philosophical influences 396; tendencies 387
Philoxenus 293, 294
Phoebus 328
Phrygian 347, 368; *see also* Midas
physician 346
Pia 249; *Piae see praefectus*

piabant 329, 352
Pianura 318
Picentina 277, 288
Picenum 310, 319, 346
Picus 326
pig, young 352
pilaster 410
pillar 307, 316, 318; travertine 287
Pinarius 241
Pisa 283, 319
Pisae 283, 319
Pisaurum 262, 319
Pisonem, *In* 367
Placidus 238
plague epidemic 345
plant 337, 369; domestic 338; exotic 338; growing and blooming 324; native 336, 338; sacred 336
plaque, bronze 288
plaquette, bronze 279; bronze dedicatory 310; grey stone 285
plaster 425; plastering 308
plastic arts 298, 343, 347, 393
Plautus 336
plebeian *see* nobility
plebs 417; *collegii* 375; *ingenua* 258, 262, 267, 275, 279; *urbana* 374
pleasures of the bed 331
Pliny 256, 328, 334, 335, 336, 337, 349
Plutarch 247, 254, 256, 324, 325, 331, 335, 336, 337, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 347, 349, 350, 356, 357, 359, 361, 362, 367, 368, 369
Poblicia Cale 234, 287, 293
poetry, Latin 391, 394, 395
Pola 386, 389
policy 398; Imperial 374; Roman 406; State 267
political activities 386; aim 397; argument 254, 366; aspect 267; association 374; emphasis 406; feelings 265; image 264; implications 364; influences 361; intentions 363; power 365; tendencies 280; weapon 267, 366
politics, colonization 406; Imperial 267
polity, Roman 281
pomerium 411
Pompeia 263, 269, 271, 279, 290, 292, 365, 367, 368, 369, 380, 381
Pompeian *see lararia*
Pompeii 318
Pompeius Rufus, Q. 271
Pompey 364
Pompilius 326
Pontifex Maximus 268, 364, 400, 418
pontificate 268
Pontiffs, books 241, 354; College 364, 400
Popillia Psacas 287, 293, 384
populare sacrum 254; *populares* 238
population, native 410; rural 419
populus collegii 375; *populi Romani* 397, *see also salute*; *pro populo* 247, 248, 254, 372, 418
porca 419, *praecidanea* 351; *porco* 329, 352, 419
port 393
porta 271, 404
portico 261, 278, 308, 310, 312, 382, 402, 404, 408, 409, 410, 423, 425, 428; brick 408; Greek 428; tetrastyle 423; *porticus* 404; *porticum* 270, 271
Porto 277, 393; Monte Giulio 308
Portus 277, 308, 385
Potens 388, 394, 395; *mentium bonarum* 394, 395, 396; *mentiumque bonarum et remediorum* 248
potestas 290
Potitius 241
Pozzuoli 282, 309, 385, 393
Praedia Galbiana 303
praefatio sacrorum 332
praefectus legionis II Adiutricis Piae Fidelis 275
praenomen 279, 413
Praetextatus 242
Praetor 254, 268, 269, 271, 272, 365, 367, 368; Urbanus 364; *pro praetore see legatus*
praetorship 268, 269
prayer 396; individual 397; Lucius' 391, 393
pre-Augustan 276, 304
pregnant *see* sow
prehistoric times 323
Prezza 260, 262, 271, 310, 403, 405, 406, 407, 408, 429, 430
Priapus 329, 331
priest 258, 277, 280, 286, 291, 292, 305, 310, 351, 373, 375, 384, 385; College 291; *see also* Bona Dea
priestess 237, 23, 241, 258, 297, 304, 305, 346, 371, 372, 377, 384, 401, 402, 421; apprentice 304; *see also* Bona Dea
priesthood 281, 282, 283, 378
priestly college 405
primipilar, ex- 380; *primipilaris* 273, 275
primitive times 333
Prisca 383
private character 303; concern 300; estate 372; initiative 375; institution 426; land 274, 315; nature 274; people 267, 279, 280, 282, 292, 381, 385, 417; sphere 258, 332; *see also* shrine, slave; *privata see sacra*
probare 403, 408
Proculeia 269, 272, 367

profanation 365
profaner 367
professional *see* club. guild
proiectiones vehementes 363
promagistra 291, 311, 380
promus/proma 380
pronaos 408, 409
pronuntient 335
Propertius 233, 236, 237, 254, 256, 275, 393, 349, 371, 372, 381, 400, 402
prophecy 327, 335, 348; divine 326
prophesy 326, 327, 356; prophesying animal 348
prophetess 356
prophetic gifts 327, 335; occurrence 335
propitiary *see* sacrifice
propitiate 266
propitious *see* god
prosecution 263; witness 365
Proserpine 241, 243, 352, 353, 380, 419, 420
prosopography *see* Ostia
protecting spirit, Italic 344
protective qualities 348
protector 344
protectress 247, 261, 264, 274, 345, 358, 386, 393, 398, 413, 420; abstract sense 395; concrete sense 395; official 265; of women 394
province 274, 301, 386, 420, 429
pruning 380
public 257; body 267, 279, 282, 292; enemy 274; expense 422; ground 400; office 258; place 407; *see also* celebration, dedication, feast, freedman, sacrifice, slave; Public *see* Works; *publicus* 291, 292, 305, 309; *see also locus*, *sacra*, *servus*; *puplicorum see redemptor*
pudicitia 247, 257
puellae 295, 371, 372; *inclusas puellas* 256
pugna Bovillana 263
Pula 385
pulvinar 287, 303, 307, 366, 369, 379, 400
Pupia Peregrina 278, 289, 382
Pupius, L. 289
Pupus 424
purification 339
purificatory *see* sacrifice
purifying effect 338
purity *see* cult
Puteoli 282, 309, 385

quaestor 288, 289, 375, 381
quatuorvir 271, 413, 417
Queen's code of decency 326
Quieta 292, 380
Quiritium see dominium

rafters 423
rank 273, 274, 280, 294, 374, 376, 399; administrative 382
rape 326, 344, 348
rasas caleinas 277, 308
reactionary attitude 360
recovery 283, 291, 345, 388
redemptor marmorarius 283; *operum Caesarum et puplicorum* 377
Regina 391, 392; *Caeli* 392
Regio X 424
regulations 375
relief 235, 340; *see also* Vesta
religion 239, 259, 260, 262, 280, 294, 328, 337, 338, 374, 399, 419; ancient 397; Eastern 399; Greek concepts 398; Head of State 413; Imperial 280; official 291; personal 291; practice 232, 266, 267; Roman 264, 281, 328, 351, 396; roman State 387; Roman traditional 265, 429; semi-official 291; State 257, 360, 366, 373, 400, 402, 407, 408, 411, 412, 413, 414; traditional 360; *see also* Bona Dea; *publicis religionibus* 254
religious, abstractly 263; act 336; affairs 375, 400; ancient speculations 353; aspects 298, 405; association 290, 374, 375; Augustan revival 238; bearings 373; beliefs 397; ceremonies 334; context 330; expression 270, 358; feelings 257, 264, 267, 281, 291, 293; foreign ideas 398; grounds 336; ideas 424; Imperial policy 413, 416; indignation 265; influence 405; institutions 258; language 296, 390; law 290, 361; life 424; local conceptions 389; matters 424; organization 309, 375, 390; performance 375; personal initiatives 400; policy 421; practice 268, 291; purpose 334; question 405; rites 333; Roman ideas 396; Roman propaganda 406; Roman thinking 399; service 336; speculation 392, 398; sphere 238, 360; subject 344; system, absurd 326; theories 399; tradition 412; trends 260; usage 361, 418; views 387; worship practice 290; religiously 252; religious-political aspect 267; *see also* government, sodality; *religiosus* 401
remediorum 388, 394, 395
Remus 248, 401
remundare 380
Renatia (?) Maxima 275, 279, 380, 381
Republic 260, 276, 282, 286, 306, 314, 315, 318, 374
Republican 260, 262; families 386; period 276, 413
repudiate 365, 368
repudiation 367

reverentia 279
revival, artificial 238; *see also* religious
revolution *see* social
revolutionary elements 363
Rex 391
ribbon 331
rites 236, 239, 241, 254, 255, 256, 259, 325, 329, 354, 355, 360, 369; abominable 326; ancient 269; ancient and secret 265, 367; customary 336; December 372, 401; secret 365, 368; secret cult 241, 354; *rite* 418
ritual 237, 239, 243, 254, 256, 259, 261, 268, 290, 324, 327, 329, 331, 332, 336, 348, 350, 355, 359, 360, 366, 369, 418; Greek 418; mysterious 401; nocturnal 349, 361; *see also* Bona Dea, female, temple; *ritu occultiore sacrorum* 357
Roman 257, 325, 326, 328, 337, 338, 346, 361, 368, 376, 397, 404, 411, 419; ancient tradition 366; aristocracy 325; antiquities 254; character 259; citizen 398; conditions 260; ending 238; family 411; history 417; ideas 290; influences 248, 387, 405, 406; life 386; nature 259; origin 259; people 252, 254, 324, 387; principles 411; rules 411; sphere of influence 404; world 334; *see also* colonization, cult, deity, Empire, inscription, Jupiter, (first) name, Pantheon, polity, religion, Senate, society, State, title, tradition, traditional values, woman; *Romani see salute*; *Roman Questions* 324
Rome 234, 235, 238, 242, 251, 256, 260, 261, 262, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 305, 308, 332, 336, 347, 351, 359, 360, 361, 364, 371, 372, 376, 377, 381, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 390, 395, 397, 400, 402, 404, 405, 406, 411, 414, 419, 420, 421, 429, 430; Capitol 314; Forum Romanum 314; Porta Capena 314; Porta S. Pancrazio 305; 2nd *Regio* 344; S. Cecilia in Trastevere 303; S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura 316; S. Maria dell'orto in Trastevere 304; S. Silvestro on the Quirinal 302; *sub Caelio hortis Matthaeis* 235; Tor Sapienza 317; Via Appia 305, 378; Via Aurelia 316, 384; Via Galvani 303; Via Nomentana 234, 305, 317; Via Ostiense 305, 383; Via Tusculana 316; Villa Albani 303; Villa Torlonia 234; Roma 302, 314; *Romae* 257
Romulus 242, 328, 333
roof 284, 285, 309; *see also* kitchen
royal *see* sceptre
rubore 335
Rufellia Tyche 288, 381
Rufellius, Lucius 288
Rufina 293
Rufria Festa 278, 382
ruler 238
rules 238, 240, 244, 256, 279, 295, 333, 370, 374, 396, 430; strict 275, 334, 361; *see also* cult
ruma = *mamma* 328
Rumina 329
Rupilius, Decimus 278
rural district 345; *see also* deity, population
Rutilius, C. 285

Sabazius 278, 314, 342, 385
sacerdos 291, 295, 297, 304, 305, 309, 310, 371, 372, 375, 377, 378, 385; *alma* 371, 372; apprentice 377; *see also* Bona Dea, Philadespotus
sacerdotal *see* title
sacral aspects 334; implications 334
sacra, res 417
sacrarium 306, 401
sacred 397; animal 340; area 366; implications 335; purposes 334, 336, 339; site 264, 366; *see also* grove, plant serpent, vessel
sacrifice 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 256, 257, 265, 326, 349, 350, 351, 352, 361, 362, 364, 367, 369, 370, 372; expiatory 381; for the people 331; propitiatory 351; public 332; purificatory 351; secret 368; solemn 332; *see also* Bona Dea; *sacrificium occultum* 256; *sacrificia nocturna* 418
sacrificial animal 244, 348, 350, 351, 354; aristocratic ceremony 367; ceremony 349, 351; jug and dish 383; table 284, 313, 383
sacrilege 241, 364, 367, 368, 397; *see also* Clodius
sacrilegious 306; act 368
sacrum 234, 238, 416, *Graeco sacro* 418, *see also populare*; *sacra* 233, 302, 400, *sacrorum causa* 334, *peregrina* 371, *privata* 373, *publica* 254; *see also opertanea, ritu*
saeptum clusum 302
Salus 236
salute, pro 246, 319, 346, 397, *populi Romani* 247, 254; *reciperata* 248, 322, 347
salvation 397, 399; sign 326; *see also* goddess
salvational religions 323
Samnium 309, 310
sanatus 388
sanctity 268, 355
sanctuary 249, 264, 274, 278, 294, 297, 298, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 314, 346, 373, 378, 379, 382, 385, 400, 401, 402, 404, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 415, 422,

425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430; arrangements 259; collegiate 379, 384, 430; form 261; plan 259; private 384; *see also* Bona Dea
sanctus 249; *Sancta* 236, 249; *Sanctissima* 249
sandstone *see* base, basin
San Vito 288, 407
satirical context 268; *see also* character
Saturn 325, 326; Saturnus 352
Saturnalia 242; *Saturnalia* 242, 353
Saturnian State 325
Saufeia 269, 272, 290, 331
savings fund 373
Saviour (female) 399
Saxum 270, 366, 400, 401; *sub Saxo* 302, 303, 370, 400, 430
S. Benedetto 288, 319
scandal 263, 269, 364, 365; *see also* Clodius
sceptre 235, 298, 401; royal 241, 243, 391
scholar 238, 250; ancient 337, 356
scholiast *see* Bobbio
Scriptores Historiae Augustae 401
sea 393; foam 242; *see also* goddess, Mistress
seat, marble 306; official 306
seclusion 261
secrecy 355, 359, 429; *see also* cult
secret 232, 239, 255, 265, 325, 326; nature 369; *secreta* 256; *see also* cult, rites, sacrifice
secular *see* official
Secunda 285
Secundus 284
sedeilia 270, 380, 385, 428
sedes 428
seer 325, 356
segetem 419; *segetibus* 329
Segni 277, 308, 379
Seia Ionis 278, 289, 427
Semele 241
semi-official *see* cult, religion
Senate 295, 364, 365, 402, 404; Fidenae 378; municipal 422; Roman 295; *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* 374; *Senatus Fidenatium* 284, 295, 296
Senatorial class 268; Order 267, 268, 270
Seneca 367
Sepernas 381; *see also* Bona Dea
Septimia Galla 288
Septimius Severus 275, 321
sepulchral nature 297, 304; *see also* cippus, inscription, monument
Serapis 391
Sergia Fabia Marcellina 277
serpent 241, 298, 326, 337, 338, 340, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 369; gigantic 346; Greek 347; Italic 344, 345, 347; Old-Italic 348; sacred 340, 368; tame 327, 341, 344
Sertius Gallus, T. 273, 274, 275, 306
servant 290, 368; female 369; girl 364
Servator 394
Servatrix 394
Servilia 287
Servilius, L. 287
Servius 232, 247, 326, 329, 335, 349, 355, 356, 362, 363, 388, 389
servula 295, 364
servus 294; *Augusti* 292; *publicus* 252; *tabularius* 292
Severan 303
Sevina 249, 419
sex 258, 376; both 377, 384; either 291; male 255, 380, 418; separate 375
Sextilia Accepta 284
Sextilius 284
Sextus Clodius 239, 240, 325, 326, 353
sexual aspect 337, 338, 339; debauchery 269, 355, 368, 369; dissipations 331; pleasures 326, 339
sexuality 337
sexvir Augustalis 284, 289
shepherd 329
shrine 232, 257, 272, 278, 285, 288, 291, 297, 303, 304, 310, 312, 324, 344, 345, 366, 372, 373, 382, 427, 428; private 274, 306; remote 401
Sila 321, 390
Sicily 422
sign *see* divine, salvation
Signia 277, 308, 379, 392
signum 309; *signo* 272, 302, 344; *palliatum* 379; *palliatum inargentatum* 287
Silvanae 274, 275, 321
Silvanus 251, 303, 329, 352, 373, 416, 419; cult 424; Holy 303; Sanctus 277
silver *see* dish, mirror, *phiala*
silvered *see* statue
simulacrum 304, 345
sister 239, 271, 277, 326, 337, 338, 356
slab 344; limestone 428; marble 428
slaughter 352
slave 258, 260, 261, 267, 276, 279, 280, 282, 286, 287, 290, 291, 294, 344, 375, 378, 379, 380, 384; Imperial 267, 280, 283, 290, 291, 292, 293, 316; name 279; private 290, 291; public 267, 290, 292
snake 346; tame 346, 401
social aspects 397; gathering 428; revolution 398; status 281, 373; *see also* class, club, insurance
Social War 404
society 246, 247, 376, 397, 398; Paelignian 406; Roman 268, 293, 417; standards 334
sodality 376, 377, 378, 380; religious 385
soldier 332; soldier's pay 328

son 262, 271, 275, 282, 286, 287, 291, 326, 342, 346, 386, 403, 408, 422
... Sopilys 289
soul 246; Souls *see* Departed
source 232, 238, 239, 240, 244, 248, 251, 258, 259, 263, 266, 295, 325, 326, 331, 348, 353, 375, 381; ancient 330; independent 244; late 330; material 396; original 242; *see also* epigraphic, literary
sovereignty 392
sow 241, 372; pregnant 241, 348, 349, 351, 352, 354, 369, 370; sacrifice 352; young 331, 349, 350, 352, 369; *sue praegnante 352; sus praegnans*, sacrifice 353
sowing-seed 249
speculation 239, 253, 350, 357, 358, 360; *see also* "monotheistic", religious, theoretical
speculative nature 232; tendencies 359
spelt 351
spira 315, 376, 377; *invicta et Haedimiana* 287, 296; *Isiaca* 296, 319
Spoletium 275, 279, 311, 380
Spoleto 275, 279
stairs 285, 423
Staranzaro 260, 283, 320, 414
State 258, 279, 372, 374, 386, 390, 397, 399, 407; affair 254; ceremony 269; interests 397; Roman 254, 261, 262, 264, 268, 323, 372, 396, 397, 398
statesman 264
Statius Chilo, Lucius 271, 403
statue 292, 306, 311, 340, 347, 371; marble 310; silvered 307, 379; *statua* 292, 307; *see also* Bona Dea, cult
statuette 292, 307, 315, 316, 317, 340, 346, 347, 380; bronze 313; marble 293, 302, 306, (Luna) 320, (white) 318; terracotta 318
status, official 267
stepmother 236, 237
steward 293
stones, turquoise-coloured polished 379
St.-Rémy-de-Provence 284, 290, 313, 383, 388, 428, 429
stucco 409, 427
stupor 326,335; *per stuporem* 335
stylobate 423

tablet, marble 292, 293
taboo 264, 333, 336, 337, 339, 356, 369, 363, 370, 400, 401, 418; *see also* myrtle
Tattius Coxsa, Lucius 271, 403
Tazzût 273, 322
tectum 315
Tellus 348, 351, 352, 353, 391, 399; *Tellurem* 329, 352
temple 232, 233, 238, 239, 240, 241, 270, 283, 295, 296, 298, 301, 303, 312, 327, 341, 344, 346, 347, 349, 354, 369, 371, 372, 377, 385, 387, 388, 396, 400, 401, 408, 409, 410, 413, 414, 418, 424, 425, 427, 429, 430; *templa* 303, 401; *templum* 303, 310, 404, *cum ornamentis* 314; anniversary 349, 352; complex 259; domain 401; foundation anniversary 358; founding 370, 402; prostyle and tetrastyle 408; ritual 429; tetrastyle 426; *see also* Bona Dea, Ceres, feast, rites
tenuiorum see collegia
Terentia 270, 276, 361, 362
Terentia Am... 286, 304, 371, 377
Terentia Thallusa (?) 286, 397
Terentius, Aulus 276
Tergeste 272, 284, 295, 313, 422, 424, 425
terra 388, 393
Terra 242, 243, 257, 354, 355, 356, 358, 391, 399; *Terrae* 392, 393; all-embracing figure 357; Mater 351, 420
terracotta *see* statuette
Tertullian 247, 254, 325, 335, 353, 356
testamentary *see* inscription
Thaine 287, 293, 384
Theogenea 285
theologia civilis 360; *naturalis* 360
theologian, speculative 357
theological speculation 323, 324, 325, 389
Theophrastus 338
theoretical context 238, 251; documents 248; speculations 250
theory 242, 257, 260, 261, 262, 266
threshold, travertine 409
throne 340
Tiber 303; island 346; mouth 346; *Trans Tiberim* 303
Tiberian 292, 307
Tiberius 385
Tibullus 254, 302, 329, 400
Tibur 277, 296, 308, 309
tile 309, 379
tiller 398
title 231, 234, 238, 243, 244, 246, 248, 249, 251, 252, 267, 274, 281, 284, 291, 293, 297, 302, 304, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 323, 341, 356, 375, 377, 378, 379, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 403, 413, 414, 419; adress 232; collegiate 377; impersonal 308; locally-confined 249; official Roman sacerdotal 371; personal 295
Tivoli 277
Todi 319
tomb 282, 285, 286, 304, 305, 309, 377, 378
trade 373
tradition 238, 242, 243, 244, 260, 262, 263; ancient 329, 351; local 422; lost 330; primitive

Latin 329; Roman 242, 245, 264, 265, 266, 358, 363
traditional 264; attitude 398; rules 418; values 260, 263, 265, 360, Roman values 243, 245
Trajan 284, 308, 310, 318
transvestite 350
travertine *see* column, pillar, threshold
treaty 404
trial 263, 274, 365, 367
tribe 404
Tribune of the People 270, 368
tribus see Oufentina
Trieste 272, 284, 300, 313, 393, 404, 414, 429, 430; Corso 422; Via S. Caterina 422, 423
triumph 337
triumphal arch 310, 345, 407
Triumphalis 391, 392
Tuder 288, 292, 311, 319, 380
tuff *see* altar
Tullia Restituta 285
tullii 363
Tullius 363
Tullius, C. 285
Tullius Hesper, Caius 285
tunicas 277, 308
Tutela 344; *Tutela huius loci* 345; *in tut(elam)* 345; *tutelae see genius*
Tyche 271, 283, 293, 378, 395, 412, 413, 414, 416, 417, 421
Tyndaris 286, 376

Umbri 275
Umbria 300, 311, 319
Umbro 380
unclean 349
under-slave 267, 293
underworld 339
uninitiated 259
unlawful 263
unsanguinary nature 329
urban areas 281
urbibus, in plerisque 257, 262
Urbisaglia 310
Urba Salvia 310
Ursa 290

Valeria Amaryllis 278
Valeria Hetaera 283, 425, 426, 427
Valeria Matrona 278
Valeria Pia 285, 292
Valeria Spendusa 285, 292
Valeria Victorina 288
Valerius 276, 283, 292
Valerius Martialis, C. 262, 276
Valerius Menander 285, 286, 377
Valetudo 236
Valgia Silvilla 277
Varro 232, 237, 239, 241, 326, 327, 329, 333, 336, 351, 353, 354, 357, 388, 391
vase 314, 318
vaticinando 335
Vaugines 278
Velitrae 276, 279, 306
Velleius Paterculus 307
Velletri 234, 276, 279, 306
Vellia Cinnamis 282, 283, 284
Venafro 296, 309
Venafrum 296, 309, 373, 376
Venetia 312, 414, 416
venia, bona 246
Venus 235, 242, 336, 337, 338, 339; Cloacina, cult 337; Cnidia 235, 376; goddess of love 337
Venustus 293, 294
Verborum Significatu, De 237
Vergiliae Prisca 280, 282, 288, 380
veritas 335
Verrius Flaccus 237, 238
vessel (wine) 241, 333, 337; sacred 369
Vesta 239, 318, 401; Augusta 390; cult 418; *penus Vestae* 401, 418; relief 348
Vestal (Virgin) 256, 264, 265, 270, 295, 303, 339, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369, 400, 418; noble 400; holy virgins 362
vestimenta albata 287, 307
Vestini 404
Vettius Bolanus, M. 272, 292, 379
Veturia Semne 286, 305, 376
Vetus Urbs (?) 288, 319
vicanae see mulieres
vicarius 293, 294
victim 241
Victoria 308
victory 337; *see also* palm
vicus 385
Vienna 421
vilicus 291, 292
Villa Spada 277, 284, 287, 293, 306, 378
vine 241, 327, 331, 371, 401; bower 369; twigs 368
Vinicia Eutychia 290, 384
vino 335; *vinum grave* 334
vir see bonus
Virgil 232, 328, 329, 362; *Vergilio* 388
Viterbo 288, 319, 390
Vizače 320, 414
Voluptas Rutuleia 286
vote 365
votive offering 311
vow 260, 278, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 292, 293, 309, 314, 316, 319, 320, 321, 322

wall, city 408, 410, 411, 430; quarry-stone 403; retaining 423
walled premises 402, 404
water 236, 237, 241, 295, 332, 334, 338
watertower 345
wealth 376, 420
wedding ceremony 417
welfare 254, 277, 288, 323, 324, 397; spiritual 395
well 276; rim 308
whip 338
wife 232, 234, 239, 254, 263, 264, 266, 270, 271, 272, 275, 276, 278, 280, 282, 288, 290, 325, 326, 333, 337, 338, 356, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 368, 369, 380, 425; mortal 356
wine 234, 239, 241, 247, 269, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333, 335, 336, 337, 339, 348, 349, 350, 369, 370, 372, 418; drinking 331, 332, 334, 336, 337; excessive drinking 247, 334, 335; jar 239; jug 326; offering 328, 330, 332; ordinary 334; producing country 328; pure 325, 332; vessel 325, 326, 327, 331
witness 261, 263; *see also* prosecution
woman 232, 234, 237, 239, 241, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 276, 280, 281, 287, 290, 291, 294, 295, 323, 325, 326, 361, 362, 363, 364, 368, 370, 372, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 385, 386, 397, 398, 406, 416, 418, 421, 422, 425, 426, 430; deceased 246, 276, 376, 378; foreign 376; high-born 365; immoral 331, 332, 333, 334, 339; local 385; noble 268, 273, 369; noble married 354; Roman 232; seated 315, 340; "women's affair" 414; women's quarters 241, 327; *see also* protectress
Women's Goddess 241, 244, 252, 255, 256, 324, 327, 356, 357, 361, 368, 400; Greek 325, 347
Works, Imperial and Public 308
workshop 283, 309, 379, 402, 406
worship 232, 233, 250, 251, 254, 257, 258, 262, 266, 267, 274, 275, 276, 280, 281, 291, 297, 300, 302, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 323, 325, 326, 329, 344, 353, 358, 360, 373, 381, 387, 389, 390, 393, 398, 405, 407, 410, 416, 420, 421, 425, 426; associational 291; centre 297; collegiate 383, 414; general 310; individual 297, 298, 301, 314, 385, 414; locally-definded 262; official 358; personal 251, 258, 294; practical 259; uniform 316; *see also* Bona Dea
worshipper 236, 237, 240, 247, 249, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 266, 267, 268, 269, 273, 274, 275, 276, 291, 297, 300, 302, 323, 330, 332, 336, 339, 380, 397, 399, 410, 413, 429; anonymous 294; individual 323, 385, 387, 396, 398; male 252; "ordinary" 399; *see also* Bona Dea
wreath 269, 383
writer 238, 240, 247, 254, 339, 349, 350, 401; ancient 250, 329; *see* also Christian

year, division of 242
youth 368, 372

Zagreus 342
Zarai 278, 293, 321
Zeus, 338, 342; Greek 265
Zmaragdus 283, 291
Zraia 278, 293, 321

Ἀγαθή 247
ἀθέατον 356
αἰτίαι 243
ἄνασσαν *see* γαίης
ἀνδράσι 256
ἀπόρρητος 256
ἄρρητος 341
ἀφρός 242

Βοναδίη 384

γαίης πάσης καὶ πόντου δῖαν ἄνασσαν 393
Γυναικεία Θεός 255
γυναῖκες 295

δαμόσιον 257
δήμου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ 248, 254
δῖαν *see* γαίης
Διονύσου 341

Θεὸς Γυναικεία 255
θύειν 351
θῦς 351
θυσίαν 256

ἱερεύς 384, 305

καλὸς κἀγαθός 246
κούρα 341
Κυρία 392

μελίκρατον 328
μητέρων 341
Μυρτία 336
μύσται 384
μυστήρια 384

παρακαθίδρυται 341, 343
πόντου *see* γαίης

σπεῖρα 376

ὗς 351

EPIGRAPHICAL INDEX

The Nos. refer to the Nos. of the monuments in ch. I

.....]a 53
[..]a (105)
Sextilia Accept[t]a 84
Aurunceia Sp(urii f(ilia) / Acte 69
act(or) 73
acturi 101
adiutorio 70
Adi(utricis) *vide* leg(ionis)
adsueta[e] sunt 101
aedem 3, 55, (...]m 56), 70, 112, 113B,
  aed(em) 12, aede(m) 64
aediculam 5, 101, 109, aedicul(am) 18,
aedicul[am 9', [a]ediculam 88
Aeflano (monte) 70
aeneam *vide* aram
aeria *vide* lucerna
agen(tibus) (104)
agerentur, ago *vide* gratiae, gratias
alba(m) *vide* iunicem
alb]ata *vide* vestimenta
Marius Alecshan[der] 72
Imp(eratore) Dom(ino) n(ostro) Alexan/dro Aug(usto) (104)
alumn(a)e 25
Terentiae Am[....] 26
Valeria Amaryllis 86
animo *vide* dare, libens. solvere
Annia 16, 16
a[nnos] 72
Anspaniae (117)
Anteros 2, 13
[Ant?]erotis 37
Anto/niae / Q(uinti) f(iliae) (47)
[Anto]nino Aug(usto) 102
(Lucius) Apisius T(iti) f(ilius) (124)
aquae Claudiae August(ae) 70
Aquillia 52
ara 101, arae] 71, [arae] 71, aram 5, 9', 71,
  71, 84, 101, 115, 137, 139, [a]ram 88,
  ara(m) 95, 101, aram aeneam 74
M(arius) Arariusis 72
[A]relaten(si) *vide* [Fo]rtunae
argen(team,-eum) *vide* phialam, specul(um)
armarium clu[sum ? 54
Peticia ... Ar(riana?) 124'
T(itus) Arruntius L(uci) f(ilius) (124)
Felix ... / Asinianus 44
Astrapton 5
Atel[li]ae n(ostrae) 90

F]laviae .... / [A]thenai[di] 72
Iulia Athenais 74
Caiena ... Attice 130
M(arcus) Hostilius / Auctus 119'
aucupiorum *vide* conductor
Aventino monte] 71
aug(uris) 127
Augustae 101, 101, Aug(ustae) 36, *vide et* aquae, domus
Au(gusti) 29, Aug(usti) 79, 101, 119, 138', *vide et nomina Imperatorum*, Numinis
Caesaris Aug(usti) 9
Augusti et Ti(beri) Caesarum 101
Augustis (Idibus) 101
Augusto *vide nomina Imperatorum*, Numini
Aura 64
Auribus 110, 133, [au]ribus (131)

Faustus Barbonius 112
bene *vide* merenti
P(ublius) Luscius Bergili/anus 67
bineficio 44
biva (= viva) 25
Bol 12
Bolan(i) 12
[M(arco) Vettio Bola?]no 74
M(arcus) Vettius Bolanus 10
Bona Dea:
  ae. 58, 59
  Augustae B[onae Deae?] / Castrensi 111
  Augustae Bonae Deae / Cereri[a]e 112
  Bona[.....] 56
  Bona Dea (á) 36
  Bonadiae 8
  Bonadiae / Castre(n)si 29
  Bonae Deae 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 14, 15, 17, 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 73, 76, 80, 84, 89, 90, 92, 94, 96, 97, 113B, 115, 128, 130
  B(onae) D(eae) 4, 37, 38, 48, 98, 107, 109, 110, 114, 118, 119, 119', 123, 124', 125
  Bonae D(eae) 18
  Bon(a)e Deae 25
  Bon[ae Deae] 9', 26
  Bonae D[eae] 27, 78
  Bonae / Deae 28, 132
  B]onae Deae 30
  Bona[e D]eae 50
  B(onae) [D(eae)] 51
  Bonae Dea[e 52, 54
  [Bonae] Deae 53, 85'
  Bonae Dea[e] 55
  Bon[ae Deae?] 64
  Bona[e Deae 71
  Bonae De[ae] 72
  Bonae [Deae] 85, 102
  [B]onae Deae 88, 101', 116

Bon(a)e De(a)e 95
Bona[e Deae (?) 103
Bo[nae Deae (?) (120)
Bona[e] / Deae 122
[Bonae Deae?] (131)
Bon(a)e Dea(e) 135
Bon(a)e De[(a)e] 137
Bonae De/ae 138'
Bonae Deae Agresti Felicu(lae?) 44
Bonae Deae Annia/nensi Sanctissim(ae) 19
Bonae Deae / Arcensi Triumphal(i) 86
Bon(ae) De/ae Aug(ustae) 100
Bonae / Deae Aug(ustae) 108
Bon(a)e / Deae / Augus(tae) 138
Bon(a)e Daee / Aug(ustae) 139
Bon(a)e Deae / August(ae) 140
Bonae Deae / Caelestis 75
Bonae Deae / Castrensis 39
Bonae Deae / Conpoti 20
B(onae) Ḍ(eae) Doṃ(inae) Ḥeiaẹ Ạ[ug(ustae)] / Triumphali terrae / marisq(ue) Ḍominatric[i] / Conseṛṿatrici / mentiuṃque bo[n]arum / ac remediorum Potenti / Deae Bene Iudicanti 127
Bonae Deae / Galbillae 9
Bonae Deae / Hygiae 21
Bon(a)e D/eae Iuno/ni 129
Bon(ae) Deae / Luciferae 22
Bonae Deae / Nutrici 23
Bonae / Deae Oclatae 13
Bon(ae) Deae / Opiferae 60
Bonae Deae Paganae 113A
[B]onae Deae / Reginae Cae[l/esti 136'
Bonae Deae Regi[nae] / Triumphali 99
B(onae) D(eae) R(estitutae) 11
Bon(ae) Deae Restitut(ae) 12
Bonae Deae Sanctissimae / Caelesti 70
[Bonae Deae (?) Se]pernati (104)
Bonae Deae Sevinae 74
Bonae Deae Veneri Cnidiae 24
Bonae Diae 79
Bonae / Diae 87
Bon(a)e Di(a)e 93
Bonae Diae / Castr(i) Font(anorum) 34
Bonai Deae 16, 16
Bonam Deam 101
Bone Deae 69
D(eae) B(onae) 63
Deae Bona(e) 83
Deae / Bonae Piae (47)
Deae [Bonae V]aletudini Sanc(tae) 141
Deae Obsequenti (117)
Dom(i)nae 134
Dominaes 44
Quieianae / B(onae?) ... Deae (46')

  Seperna (106)
  [S]epernati (105)
  Βονα/δίης 31
Bonadiensium 67

caementicium *vide* murum
Caesare *vide nomina Imperatorum*
Caesaris 5, n(ostri) 23, *vide et* Aug(usti) *et nomina Imperatorum*, Caesar(is) *vide* operum
Caesarum 101
C(ai) 76, 89, 98, 107, 113A
Pobliciae / Cale 43
caleinas *vide* rasas
Callistus 73
[C]alpurnia L(uci) Pisonis aug(uris) f̣(ilia) / Cn(aei) Pisoniṣ neptis 127
castae 30
cathedram 54
Celer 34
Attia Celerina (6)
cenarent 101
L(ucius) Statius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Chilo 89
Vellia Cinnamide 79
Cladus 11, 12
Aponia / Clara 87
L(ucius) Clovanus / Clarus 83
Ti(beri) Claudi / Aug(usti) 34
Ti(beri) Claudi Caisaris 4
Claudiae *vide* aquae
clusum *vide* armarium, saeptum
Cn(aei) 89, 101, 127
coera(vere) (124)
coh(ortium) trium 9
[coll]ega 38
collegi 35
collegium 75
col(oniae) 141
com[magi]str(a) 95
conductor aucupiorum 67
coniugi 71
[coniugi]s 30
conlegaeque 71
conl[ib(erta)] 18
conlib(ertae) 18
conparavit 25
Con/servatrici *vide* Fortun(ae)
co(n)s(ule) 70, 79, 102, (104)
co(n)s(ulibus) 51, 74, 101
co(n)s(ulis) 51
consumma/vit 70
consumtum 51
cont(ubernale) 79
L(ucius) Tattius T(iti) f(ilius) Coxsa 89
P(ublio) Licinio Crasso 51
creatus 101

cru[stas 54
crustla 101
crustlum 101
culina(m) 63
cultorum 75
cur 57, 59
curae 72
curam (104)
curarunt 16, 16, 89
curavimus 101, 101
curavit 63, cur(avit)] 55, c[ura/v?]it 72, c(uravit) 84

...dai... 116
dat 60, 96
daturo(s) 101
datus 30
dea/deus *vide nomina deorum*
C(aius) Avillius December 79
decreta 101
decreto 89, d(ecreto) (124)
dec(urio) 36, ex dec(urione) 141, decuriones 101, 101, decurionib(us) 101, d(ecurionum) (124)
dederunt 51, d(ederunt) (117)
dedicata 79, dedic(ata) est 101
dedicatione 101, dedicationi 101, dedicationis 101
dedicatus 95
dedicaverunt 51, d(edicaverunt) 139, dedica[veruntque 141
dedicavit 102, d(edicavit?) 74, 80, ded(icavit) (104), d(e)d(icavit) 112
dedicoque 71
dedimus 101, 101
dedit 12, d(edit?) 74, d(edit) 107, 110
derelictus 44
di/[..] (106)
Dianae 8, 71, Dian(a)e 128
dico] 71
dictae sunt 71
die 51, 101, 101, diebus 101, diem 101, d(ies) 72
Diom[edes?] (104)
diritam 70
diruta 5, di[rut]um 50
D(is) M(anibus) 25, 35, 85, D(is) [M(anibus)] 26, [Dis Manibus] 30
dispensatoris 4
Dom(ino) *vide nomina Imperatorum*
Imp(eratore) Domit(iano) Caesar(e) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) 70
[domui] 71
domus A[ug(ustae)] 51
[do] 71
d(ono) d(at) 28, 37, 83, 114

	d(ono) d(ederunt) 94, do[no deder]unt 141
	dono dedit 115, d(ono) / ... / de[d(it)] (6), d(ono) d(edit) 98, 119
	donum 19, *vide et dare*
	d(onum) d(ederunt) 23
	donum dedit 2, d(onum) d(edit) 3, 9, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 38, 48, 53, 88, 93, 97, 100, 101', 127, don(um) dedit (7), d(onum) dedit 69
	duovir] 55, [...]vir 57, 59, (duo)vir(i) (124), IIvir(is) 101
Decidia	Egloge 115
Cicereia ... / ...	Elegans 40
Cornelia	Ephyre 109
	[..]epote (106)
	epulandum 101
	epulum 51
Antistia ...	Eur(?) 22
Blastus	Eutact[ianus? 51
Vinicia	Euty/chia 135
	extendit 74
Iulius	Exuperius 80
Aelia	Exusia 42
	faciendam 101, f(aciendam) 84, faciendos 101, faciendu[m] 89
	faciun(da) 63, fac(iundam) 55, [...]c 57, faciundum 16, (124), faciund(um) 16
	Fannia L(uci) f(ilia) Nasulei 96
	fanum 50
	fasqu[e 71
Onesimus / ... /	Faustinus 23
	fecerunt 113B, 139, [fe]c[e]runt 116, fece[runt 141
	fecit 17, 20, 35, 39, 74, 112, fecit] 26, feci[t] 72
	felicissime 101
Iulia Casta	Fe/licitas 140
Lucciae	Felicitati 25
Lautia Sp(uri) f(ilia)	Felicula (7)
[M]arius	Felix 72
	Feronia 111
	ferro 74
Rufria C(ai) f(ilia)	Festa 113A
L(ucius) Paquedius	Festus 70
	F(idelis) *vide* leg(ionis)
	Fidenatium *vide* senatus
	filia 23, f(ilia)/f(ilius) *vide nomina personarum*
	fl(amen) 141
Annia ...	Flora 16, [An]nia ... Flora 16
	Florae 18
	focum 18
	Fonionis 109
	[Fo]rtunae / [A]relaten(si) /

	[Nem?]ausen(si) (131), Fortun(ae) Con/servatrici 129
Cl(audiae)	Fo(r)tunat(a)e 25
Canniae	Fortunatae 44
T(ito) [Flavio?]. /	[For]tunato (104)
	[frate?]r 72
	frequentior 101
M(arcus) Maecil[i]us M(arci f(ilius)	[F]urr[..... 55, [...]ecili[....] 56, [...]us[...] [...] M. f. Furr[.. 58, [...] M. f. Furr[... 59
	Galbianorum *vide* horreorum
Septimia	Galla 94
	Gamalae 63
	Gemellus 29
C(aius) Pettius V(ibi) f(ilius)	Gemellus 89
	Genii 101, pro patr[io?] / Gen(io?) maior(um?) 18
	[gentique 71
	Germanico Caesare 101, Germ(anico) *vide* Domit(iano)
	gradus 18
	gratiae agerentur 101, gratias a/go 67
Cornelia / L(uci) f(ilia)	Gratilla 132
	Haedimiana (spira) 24
	Hercu[li 9'
Lucerini	Hermae 85
	Her/mete 28
Galgesti /	Hermerot(i) 110
C(aius) Tullius	Hesper 19
Valeria	Hetaera 60
	honora[t]ae 35
	honorem 51
	horreorum / Galbianorum 9
	hostiam 101
Antonia	Hygia 20
[D(ecimus) I]unius Annianus	Hymenaeus 24
	[....]i 112
	.....i..aḷpiiam (?) 53
Kal(endas)	Ian(uarias) (104)
	Ianum 71
	Idus, Idibus *vide nomina mensium*
	immolaretur 101, immolari 101, immolentur 101
	Imp(eratore) *vide nomina Imperatorum*
	impe(rio) 101'
	inarge[ntatum *vide* signum
	incendio 51
	incluso 74
	inpensam 101
	insul(ae) 12
	Invicta *vide* spira
	invitarentur 101
Seia	Ionis 109

	Iovemque[e 71
	irent 101
	Isia 16, 16
	[I]siacae *vide* spir[ae]
	Italia 51
Non(as)	Iul(ias) 70
	Iulius 137
	iunicem alba(m) 44
K(alendis)	Iun(iis) 74
	[Iuno]/nem 71
	[Iuppiter Optime Maxime] 71
	iussit 10
	iussu 73
Petroni/us	Iustus 138'

	Kalendas, -is *vide nomina mensium*

Q(uinto) Cascell[i]o	Labeone 101
Odicus	Latiaris 1
	Laverneis 89
	leg(atus) 138'
	lege 71, leges 71
	leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) / ... / P(iae) F(idelis) 128
	leiber 15
	Leuce (117)
	Libani 111
	l(ibens) a(nimo) 13, 137, l(ibens) m(erito) 12, *vide et* solvere
	liberis 71
Dei	Liberis Patris 67
	liberta 16 l(iberta) 16, 16, 36, 41, 50, 54, 90, 97, 112, 113A, 113B, (117), 123, 124', libert(a) 16, [l(iberta)?] 18, lib(erta) 22, 35, 40, 51, 98, 111, 130
	l(iberti) 34, l(iberto) 79, [l(ibertus)] 15, lib(ertus) 51, lib(ertus)] 111, l(ibertus)? 118, l(ibertus) 119
	liceat 95
	lo]cus 30
	lucerna aeria 69
	L(uci) 41, 97, 99, 113B, 113B, 118, 123, (124), 124', 132, L(uci?) 18
Clo]dia	Luciosa 141
	[Lu]cus 95
	ludos 101
	luminibus / restitutis 44
M(arco) Clodio	Lunense 51
Octavia /	Lupilla 88
Cn(aeo) Acceio Cn(aei) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Rufo	Lutatio 101

Maria	M........... 54
	M(?) 114
	Maenali 36, Maenalus 36
	magis[t]erium 51

	mag(istra) 27, 53, 54, 69, 74, 97, m[agistra?] 52, [ma]gistra (105), magistra 110, mag(istrae) 85, magis(trae) 102, magistrae 109, 113A, mag(istrae?) (117)
	magistratum 35
	magistri 89
Aninia M(arci) f(ilia)	Magna 109
Sulpicia Severa /	Maior 3
	maior(um?) *vide* Gen(io?)
	Manibus *vide* Dis
Sergia C(ai) f(ilia) Fabia	Marcellina 107
	M(arci) 55, 63, 109
M(arcus)	Marciu[s 50
	marmore 54
	marmorarius 79
	Martialis 43
C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius)	Martialis 76
Idus	Martias 101
	M/artis 137
Q(uinto) Iunio	Marullo 79
	masculos 95
	mater 36, [m]atri 72
Va/leria	Matr/ona 139
Ren(atia?)	Maxim(a) 95
	medicinis 44
	medicis 44
T(ito)	Memmi[o (104)
Valerio	Menandro 25
	menses 44
[b(ene)	m(erenti) 26, b(ene) m(erenti) 35, b[ene] / merenti 72
	merito 123, *vide et* solvere
	ministerio 44
	ministra 93, 130, 133, 134, ministrae 113B
	monte *vide* Aeflano, Aventino
	mulieribus 101, (mulieris) 54
	mulsum 101, 101
	munificentiae 101
	murum caementicium 89
Attia	Musa 134

	[.....]n (=[arge]n(team)?) 64
L(uci) ...	Nasulei 96
	natali 101, 101, 101, natalibus 101, 101
	[Nem?]ausen(si) *vide* [Fo]rtunae
	ne[potes?] 72
	neptis 127
Aelia	Nice 25
Cl(audiae)	Nice 25
Marcia	Nomas 50
	Non(as) *vide nomina mensium*
Kal(endas)	Novembris 79
	Numini 51, (104), Numini Augusto 101, 101, Numinis Augusti 101

C[.......] / [.......]o (104)
Octavia M(arci) f(ilia) Gamalae (uxor) 63
K(alendas) Oct[o]b(res) 51, K(alendas) Octobr(es) 101, 101
offininam 74
Faenia Onesime 9
operum Caesar(is) / et puplicorum 70
or(as) 72
Orestis 40
orna]mentis 141

Flavius ... / ... Paectu[s] 72
C(aius) Pae[ti]/nius 13
pagi 89
palliatum *vide* signum
palliolum 69
L(ucius) Pettius C(ai) f(ilius) Pansa 89
Panthaeo 128
Parcabus 115
pavimentum 74
Decidia L(uci) f(ilia) Pauli[na] 113B
Patr[io?] *vide* Gen(io?)
Patris *vide* Liberis
patron(a)e 26, patronae 35
[pecunia 55, p(ecunia) 84, 101, 113A, 113B, pecunia 101, 101, 101, 112, pec(unia) (104), [p(ecunia)] 137, pecu/nia 141, p(ecunia) p(ublica) (124)
pediseq(uorum) 36
p(edum) 74
Pegasi (6)
Pupia ... Peregrin[a] 113B
permit(tente) 95
perpetue 101, p(er)p(etuo) 101, perpetuo(m) 101, perpetuoque 101, p(er)p(etuus) 141
T(ito) Petillio P(ubli) f(ilio) Qui(rina) 101
Petroniae 26
phialam arg(enteam) 115
Claudio ... / Philades[p]oto 79
Philematio 36
Philoxeni 4
Loreia Pia 133
Valeria Pia 23
P(iae) *vide* Leg(ionis)
Picentina 90
Aties / Pieridis 93
L(ucius) Aur(elius) / Pisin/nus 119
C(aio) Cal[purnio Pis]one 74
Cn(aei) Pisoniṣ 127
L(uci) Pisonis 127
poliend(am) 63
pollicenti 101
Pom[p(eia)?] 95
p(ondo) 102, 115
Pontif(ex) Maximus 101
pontific(um) 44

populo 101, populus 101, populo] / Romano Quiritibus 71
portam 89
portic(um) 63, porticum 89, 109
posita 79, posit(am?) 95
[possessoribus] 30
posuerunt 19
posuit, 12, 34, 134, p(osuit?) 52, p(o)s(uit) (?) 84, pos(u)it 93, posu(it) 95
praedi]/oque 71
praefatus es[to 71
praef(ectus) 128
pr(o) / pr(aetore) 138’
Marcia Pri...... 50
.......a Primigenia 48
p(rimi)p(ilaris) 95
Priscae 130
Vergiliae Priscae 95
Prisci 34
Petrusia / Proba 110
probaruntq[ue] 89
pro[bavit] 55, prob[...] 58, [...]bavit 59
[..]lia Proc[ula] 102
proma(gistra?) 93
pro/misit 137
[propitius] 71
pr(ovinciae) 141
Popillia Psacas 38
P(ubli) 16, 16, 101
p(ublica) *vide* p(ecunia)
publicus 44
pulv[inar] 54
puplicorum *vide* operum

Iuli Quadr[ati] 51
quaesto?]/ribus (104)
IIIIvir 112
Quieta 93
Q(uinti) 15, 47, 113A
Quiritibus *vide* populo]
quod/annis 101, quotannis 101

rasas caleinas 69
recipera/ta salute 138’
red(didit) 137
redemptor 70, 79
redit 71
refecit 70, refe[cit] (105)
reip(ublicae) 141
rem/undari 95
reposuit 74
... / [r]es 72
resti[tuerunt 50, restituerunt 109
restitui 10
restituit 5, 51
restituta 44, restitutis *vide* luminibus

Tullia Restituta 19
L(ucius) Cass[ius Restu]tus 141
rivom 70
Romano *vide* populo]
Rufinae n(ostrae) 73
[..]rum (106)
D(ecimus) Rupilius L(uci) [f(ilius)] O[uf(entina)?] 99
C(ai) Rutili 14
Voluptas / Rutuleia 28

Sancto Deo Sabazi[o] (6)
Alennia Sabina 94
Caesia Sabina 17
sacerdos 25, 67, sacerd(os) 36, sacerdote 79, sacerdoti 26, [sacer]doti 72, sacerdot(is) (6), [sacerdotis 30
s(acrum) 3, 119’, Sacrum 8, 39, sacrum 10, 16, 16, 17, 20, 40, 42, 43, 108, 112, sacr(um) 15, 30, 60, 73, 76, 140, s(acrum?) 29, sacru[m] 78, sac(rum) 80, 92, 137, sacr/um 138
saeptum clusum 5
[P]ro [salute] 90, salute *vide* recipera/ta
sanatus 44
Sancto *vide* Sabazi[o], Silbano, Silvano
Sulpicia / ... / Saturnina 98
Caesilia ... Scylace 113A
Secunda 18
Secundus 51
sedeilia 63
se[de]s 74, s[edi?]bus 74
Ve[t]uri[a]e Semne 35
senatus / Fidenatium 51
Ael(iae) Serapiae 25
s(erva?) 53
servabimus 101
servi 4, servos 43, ser(vus) 15, 23, 34
Servilia 41
VIvir 119’
V[Iviratus] 51
signo 3, signum 71, signum] / palliatum inarge[ntatum] 54
Silvana/bus 128
Silvano 8, Sanct[o Silvano] 9', Silbano Sancto 67, Silvano Sanc[to] 67
Valgia Silvilla 39
simulacr(um) 12
a solo 50
solv(it) / l(ibens) m(erito) 15, v(otum) s(olvit) 90, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) 1, votum solvit ... / libens animo 44, [v(otum) s(olvit)] (?) l(ibens) a(nimo) 72, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) 86, votum / solvit l(ibens) a(nimo) 140, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) 4, 79, 129, 132, votum

	solvit / l(ibens) m(erito) 41, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)] 99, v(otum) s(olvit) m(erito) l(ibens) 14
	Sopilys 118
	soror 16, 16
	specul(um) arg(enteum) 102
Valeria	Spendusa 23
Invicta	spira 24, [I]siacae spir[ae] 101’
	Sp(uri (7), Sp(urii) 69
Barbia ...	Stadium 123
	stat[uam?] 64, statuarum 101, statuás 101
Ti(berius) Claudius	Stephan[us 111
cum	suis 83, d(e) s(uo) 20, de suo 88, (105), de / suo 139, in suo 17
voto	suscepto 5, [vot]o suscepto 116
	tabul(arius) 34
	tecta 74, tect(um) 18
	tegend(am) 63
	tegulas 74
	templum 89, templ[um 141
Petronia	Tertulla 94
ex /	testamento 16, ex / [test]amento 16
	testati sumus 101
	Thaine 38
Ael(iae)	Thalasse 25
Teren(t)ia	Th[allusa?] 26
Aelia	T/heodora 129
	Theogenea 14
	thure 101
	Ti(beri) Caesaris 101, Augusti et Tiberi Caesarum 101, Ti(berio) Caesare 101, Ti(berius) Caesar 101
	T(iti) 89, (124)
	t(itulum?) 84
Q(uintus) Mucius ... /	Trupho 15
	tunicas 69
in	tut(elam) 12
	[Tyc?]he 27, T[y]che 112
Rufellia ... /	Tych(e) 97
	Tyndaris 35
in	vac[uo] 95
C(aius) Iul(ius)	Valens 128
	Valeri 13
Annia	Veneri[a] 102
Occusia	Venusta (117)
	Venustus 4
	vescendum 101
	vestimenta alb[ata 54
	vet(eranus) 141
	Veteris 22
	vetustate 5, 50
	V(ibi) 89
	vicanis 101
	vicarius 4

vicshit 72
victimae 101
Valeria / Victori/na 100
vilic(us) 5, vilicus 9
Caecili/us Vincen/tius 139
vino 71, 101
ex visu 73
vitulus 101
Umbr[o]/nis 95
Per voce(m) (6)
vole[ns 71
ex voto 17, 128, votum 137, *vide et* solvere, suscipere
vovit 15, v(ovit) 124'
Ursa 125
(uxor) 141, uxsor 95

[....]ystis 112

Zmaragdus 9

Αὐρηλεία ’Αντωνεία 31
Αὐρήλιος ’Αντώ/νιος 31, ’Αντώνιος 31

βιότητος 31
βίου 31

γλυκερὸν 31
γλυκυτάτῳ 31

Διο/νύσου 31
δύναται 31

ἔζησον 31
ἔκτελέσας 31
ἔλιπον 31
ἔξαναλῦσαι 31
ἐποίησαν 31
ἔτεσιν 31

ʽΗγεμόνος 31
ἠελίοιο 31
ἡμέραι/σιν 31

Θ(εοῖς) Χ(θονίοις) 31
θεῶν πάντων 31

ἱερεὺς 31

Κεῖμαι 31

Μητρὸς θεῶν 31
μί/τον 31
μνήμης χάριν 31
μοιρ[ῶ]ν 31
μύσται 31
μυστήρια 31, 31

Αὐ/ρήλιος ’Ονήσιμος 31

σεμνά 31, σεμννὸν 31, σεμνὸς 31, σεμνῶς 31
συνεχῶς 31

τέχνῳ 31

ὑπολανθάνετε 31

φάος 31
φίλοι 31

LITERARY INDEX

The Nos. refer to the Nos. of the passages quoted in ch. II

abavi *17*
abditos *19*
abdomine *50*
abscede *32*
absolverunt *8*, absolutum *17*, absolutus *8*, *8*, *8*, *21*, *14*, *36*
abstinent *64*
abstuleris *51*
abutitur *11*
accedebat *8*, accessisses *28*
accepimus *17*, accepisse *8*, acciperet *24*, accipient *50*, [Accipite 32, accipite *32*
accommodaretur 8
accommodatius *6*
accusando *11*, accusante *8*, accusaret *17*, accusatus *36*
acerbissime *8*
acerrimo *8*, acerrimus *36'*
acriter *8*
actum *39*, actus *36'*
adclini *35*
additum *67*
adeptam *67*
adeunda *30*, adiit *17*, adire *18*, *64*
adfixa *62*
adiungi *67*
adiutus *8*
admitte *51*
adorat *51*
adsecutus *22*
adsedit *3*
adseverat *8*
adsolet *25*
adspectu *15*, aspectu *11*, *64*
adspicere *17*, adspici *15*, aspexit *32*, *64*, aspici *64*, Aspicite *11*
adsunt *11*
adulescentis *24*
adulescentulorum *42*
adulter *51*, adulterum *54*
adulteratam *53*
adulterium *23*, *36'*, *42*
aede *33*, aedem *32*, *56*, *60*, *64*, *67*, *67*
aediculam *13*
aedificium *56*
Gallus Aelius *56*
aequa *51*
aequale *17*

aestimans *56*
aestimationis *67*
aestum *32*
aevo *51*, aevum *68*
Affirmant *67*
Afranius *8*
agebat *8*, agebatur *3*, agere *56*, agerentur *51*, agit *2*, *egerit 13*
agros *67*
ais *6*, ait *8*, *8*, *56*, ait> *56*
Albano *40*
Alciden *32*, Alcides *32*
alienae *11*
alienati *8*
Alliensis 56
allocutus *38*
alma *32*
Alpis *8*
altaribus *15*
amarae *32*
Amaritudo *8*
amatores *57*
ambustum *14*
amentiam *70*
amici *61*, amicos *20*, amicum *36'*
amicitia *2*
amictu *50*
amisit *11*
amorem *67*
amphora *62*, amphoram *63*
ancillae *8*, ancillarum *18*, ancillas *51*
Angulus *32*
anili *11*
animalium *42*
animantium *67*
anno *8*
Anticatones 51
antiquetur *2*
antistites *11*, *67*
C. Antonio *36*
antro *32*, *51*
anus *32*
apparatu *67*
appareant *67, appareret 8*
appellabatur *55*, *71*, appellant *35*, appellantur *56*, appellanturque *68*, appellatam *66*, appellatos *70*, appellatum *66*, appellatus *66*
Appi *1*
apta *32*
aqua *36'*, aquam *67*, aquas *32*, *32*
aquarius *51*
ara *32*, *32*, *50*, aram *13*, *13*, aras *30*, *51*, Ara Maxima *32*
arbitraretur *21*
arcana *64*, arcanum *52*

ardor *51*
arguebatur *8*
argumenta *8*
Aricia *38*
Aricinorum *38*
arma *17*
asello *51*
asperitate *8*, asperitatis *8*
asperius *39*
assertionemque *67*
atri 56
attende *22*, attendes *17*
attigerint *67*
attonitae *51*
auctor *21*, *61*, Auctor *67*, auctore *8*, auctorem *11*
auctoritate *13*, *13*, auctoritatem *3* auctoritati *11*
audax *31*, *36’*
audebis *50*, auderet *23*, ausus *51*
audierit *63*, audire *11*, audisse *1*, *2*, audisti *11*, Audistisne *32*, audit *32*, *32*, audita *8*, auditum *67*
augusto *13*, augustum *16*, Augustus mensis *35*
aves *35*, avis *32*
avia *32*
avo *63*, *65*
Aurelia *8*, *54*
(?? auspicia?) *56*
auxilio *67*

Baias *4*
barbam *32*
barbaria *57*
Gavius Bassus *63*
beatis *3*
bellissime *56*
beneficia *17*, beneficio *18*
bestias *20*, *37*
bibebat *52*
Boeotii *67*
bona *35*, boni *2*, bonis *2*, *3*, bonorum *11*, *67*, bonos *22*
Bona Dea:
  Bona Dea *57*, *61*, *67*
  Bona ... Dea *62*
  Bona Diva *34*
  Bonae Deae *6*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *15*, *21*, *24*, *28*, *38*, *56*, *60*, *64*, *67*, *69*, *69*
  Bonae ... Deae *30*, *33*, *51*
  Bonam (Deam) *12*, *17*, *67*
  Bonam Deam *22*, *24*, *63*, *65*, *66*, *67*, *67*, *67*
  Bonam ... Deam *50*
  Damia *55*, *71*
  Deae Bonae *55*, *71*
  Diva ... Bona *35*

Fanae *68*
Fantuae *68*
Fatuae *70*, Fatuaeque *68*
Fatuam *63*, *67*, *67*
Faunam *67*, Faunamque *67*
feminarum deae *67*
femineae ... deae *32*
Fenta Fatua *61*
Fentam ... Fatuam *62*
Fentam Faunam *63*, *65*
laudandae ... deae *31*
Maiae *67*
Maiam *67*, *67*
Mater Magna *67*
Medeam *67*
Nymphae *68*
Opem *67*, *67*
Proserpinam *67*
Semelam *67*
Terrae *67*
Terram *67*, *67*
’Αγαθήν, ’Αγαθὴν (θεόν) *46*, *45*, *49*
(τῶν Διονύσου μητέρων) τὴν ἄρρητον *49*
γυναικείᾳ θεῷ *45*
Γυναικείαν (θεόν) *46*, *49*
(νύμφην) Δρυάδα *49*
θεὸς γυναικεία *67*
(Μίδα) μητέρα (τοῦ βασιλέως) *49*
Χθονίαν ‘Εκάτην *67*
boves *67*
Bovillas *38*
Butas *62*

C. *vide* P. C., S. C.
cadat *17*, cecidit *8*
Appi ... Caeci *8*
caecitas *17*, caecitatem *11*
caecus 8, caecus *11*
caeleste *vide* templum
caerimonia *17*, caerimoniarum *8*,*11*, *54*, caerimonias *11*, publicas caerimonias *53*, caerimoniis *15*, *16*
caesam *62*, *63*, caesus *36*
C. Caesar *8*, Caesarem *2*, *2*, Caesaris *7*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *40*, *42*, *51*, C. Caesaris *1*, *8*, *8*, *8 8*
CAI *13*
calautica 8, *calauticis 8*
Q. Fufio Caleno *8*
canas *32*
canenda *35*, canere *63*
cantantis *32*
capita *8*, *capiti 8*, caput *67*
carere *54*, careret *18*
carminis *35*
casa *32*, *32*
casti *16*

castitatem *57*
casu *24*, *64*, casus (*29*)
Catilina *21*, *36*
catinum *51*
Cato *2*
cava *32*
causa *2*, *2*, *2*, *44*, *54*, *67*, causam *8*
causalibus *62*
Causinius *vide* Schola
cede *32*, cessisset *67*
celebraretur *67*, celebratur *67*
cellam *8*
censorem *13*
censuit *13*, *23*
cepit *32*
Cereri *25*, Cereris *64*, Ceres *67*
certiorem (*27*)
chori *68*
Christum *61*
Cicero *8*, *36’*, Ciceroni *8*, M. Cicerone *36’*, *vide et* Tullius
circo Flaminio *3*
circumscripsisset *41*
citatus *54*
cive *18*, civem *17*, civi *22*, civem Romanum *36’*
civitate *21*, civitatis *61*
clam *36*, *63*
clamatur *50*
clamor *51*
Appium Claudium *8*
clausa *32*, *32*, clausisset *32*
Clausorum *35*
clavae *32*
Clodi *2*, *40*, Clodio *8*, *8*, Clodium *8*, *8*, *14*, Clodius *6*, *8*, *8*, *15*, *38*, *39*, *40*, *51*, P. Clodi *2*, *8*, *8*, P. Clodii *8*, P. Clodio *8*, P. Clodium *17*, *37*, *40*, P. Clodium Appi f. *1*, P. Clodius *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *18*, *36*, *36’*, *41*, *42*, P. ... Clodius *15*, Publio Clodio *53*, Publium Clodium *54*, Publiusne Clodius *11*, *vide et* Pulcher, Publius
Clodiam *8*
Clodiana *vide* religione
Sextus Clodius *63*, *63*
clunem *51*
coegit *67*, cogeretur *8*
coeperit *8*, coepit *8*
cognoscetis *13*, cognovi *14*
coisse *67*
coli *61*, *65*, coluerunt *11*
collegio *13*, collegium *13*
colligunt *67*
collo *50*
colo *32*

coma *32*, comas *32*
comes *40*, comites *34*
commemoratio *8*
commiserat *42*, commisisse *8*, commisisset *24*, committendi *8*, committeret *8*
communes *28*
comparantur *2*
comperimus *67*, comperisse *54*
comprehenderunt *23*
concedo *17*
concertationibus *8*
Concordiae *13*
concubitus *51*
concussit *32*
condemnatum *17*
condicione *6*
conditam *16*
conditor *61*
conductus *51*
confirmat *8*, *67*
confitentem *17*
confixum *15*
confugisse *8*
congesta *32*
congruebat *8*
coniventis *17*
coniugem *63*, *65*
conlocavit 65
conqueratur *15*, conqueri *15*
consaeptum *42*
conscientia *57*
conscius *51*
conscribere *8*, Conscribti, conscripti *vide* Patres
consecratam *13*, consecratum *56*, consecravit *63*
consecuta *22*
consederit *6*
consentit *67*
consilio *3*, *62*, consilium (*29*)
Consobrinis 8
conspirationis *8*
constans *53*, constare *56*, constat *67*, Constatura *44*
constituatur *62*, constituere *35*, constituit *63*, *65*, constitutum *3*
consuesset *63*
consul *3*, *8*, consules *2*, consulis *3*, consulibus *13*, consulum *8*
consulta 3, consultis, consulto *vide* senati, senatus
contactu *67*
contaminare *64*
contaminationibus *62*
contegantur *42*
contemptor *51*

contenderat *8*, contendimus *62*
continentia *8*
contineri *11*
contio *3*, *15*, *15*, contione *15*, contionem *3*, contionibus *8*, *contionibus 8*
contionatus *15*
contrarietate *55*, *71*
conveniat *8*
conversa *11*, *17*
conversaretur *57*
Corneliae *53*
Q. Cornificio *2*
cornu *50*, *51*
corona *51*
corporaliter *62*
corpore *35*
cottidie *3*
coxae *51*
cratere *50*
creberrimam *8*, creberrimis *8*
credant *61*, credas *30*, credat *42*, crede *17*, creditur *67*, credo *1*, *2*, *17*, *41*, credunt *67*, *67*
crimen *8*, *8*, crimine *8*, *54*, criminis *8*
crinemque *51*
crinita *33*
crisantis *51*
crista *43*
crocota *18*
cruenta *65*, cruentis *22*
crura *51*
cubiculo *15*
cucullo *51*
cupio *11*
curaret *13*, curat *11*
C. Curio *8*, Curionis *8*, C. Curione patre *8*
curiosos *17*
custodem *33*, custodibus *67*, custos *34*

damiatrix *55*, *71*
Damium *55*, *69*, *69*, *71*
damnatus *8*
dant *67*, dares *44*, dat *vide* operam, dati *8*, *42*, datur *67*, datum *13*, dederunt *17*, dedistis *35*, dent *32*
dea *12*, *55*, *71*, deae *17*, *50*, deam *67*, deo *32*, *56*, deorum *17*, *19*, *56*, *56*, *56*, deos *11*, *63*, *65*, *66*, deum *65*, di *32*, dii *61*, diis *62*, deorum penatium *16*, di immortales *11*, dis immortalibus *16*, patrii penatesque di *17*
debere *56*, debuit *5*
decernere *8*, decerneret *11*, decerneretur *39*, decreverit *53*, decreverunt *8*, decretum *3*, decretumque *41*

decertationem *8*
decipere *67*
decuriones *38*
decusque *63*
dedecoris *8*
dedicare *13*, dedicasset *13*, DEDICASSET *13*, dedicat *35*, dedicata *12*, dedicatam *67*
dedicatione *13*
deesse *17*, desunt *51*
defendat *15*, defendente *8*, defenderunt *17*, defensa *2*
defessis *32*
deflectimus *62*
deformitas *62*, deformitatis *57*
delata *8*
delatore *8*
demitigamur *2*
denuntiabat *8*
depasta *67*
deprehensum *1*, deprehensus *40*
deprendissent *18*, deprensus *41*
descendisse *8*
describitur *8*, *8*
Deseris *44*
desiderio *67*, desiderium *63*
designatus *vide* praetor
detegantur *8*
detestatus *67*
detulisse *63*
deversata *57*
devia *32*
devota *32*
Dicam *44*, dicant *67*, dicas *4*, *8*, dicemus *24*, dicendi *36*’, dicendo *8*, dicens *8*, *dicere 8*, dicere *10*, *23*, dicerent *8*, *8*, diceret *8*, dicet *30*, dici *17*, *66*, dicimus *66*, dicit *8*, *17*, dicitur *17*, *42*, *61*, *62*, *66*, *66*, *67*, dicta *68*, dictum *55*, *66*, *71*, dictus *70*, *dicunt 66*, dicunt *67*, *67*, *70*, dicuntur *8*, *17*, dixerant *8*, dixerat *32*, dixerit *8*, diximus *56*, *67*, *67*, dixit *3*, *8*, *8*, *40*
dictator *38*
die *5*, *8*, *14*, (*26*), (*29*), *38*, *40*, diebus *8*, diem (*27*), (*29*), dies *67*, *vide et* nefasto, nundinarum, religiosi
differentias *56*
digitis *43*, digitos *43*
dignior *57*
diligenter *17*, *17*
diligentia *8*, *13*
dimissum *8*
Diogenem *8*
Discidium *44*
disciplinis *66*
disertum *17*, disertus *36*’

disiunctum *8*
disputationibus *64*
dissimiles *36'*
diversas *8*
divina *66*, divinam (rem) *43*, *62*, divinum (honorem) *63*, (rem) divinam *67*, (res) divina *67*
divinare *68*
Divortium 8, divortium *53*
diurna *32*
docere *31*, doceri *67*
dolori *17*, doloris *44*
domi *1*, *7*, *8*, *11*, *50*, domo *8*, *11*, *14*, *17*, *40*, domum *8*
dominas *51*, domino *8*
dormit *51*
dubio *8*, *8*
dubitationibus *16*
dubitemus (*29*), dubito *39*
ducentis *15*
duceret *67*, duci *70*, ductus *2*, duxit *53*
duris *32*

ebiberat *63*, ebiberit *62*
ebria *63*
edissertate *61*
editi *67*, edunt *67*
eductum *1*
efferri *8*
egens *32*
egressa *67*, egressus *15*
eiectus *28*
elabi *11*, elabso *8*
elocutionem *8*
emersit 8
emiserunt *17*, emissum *14*, emissus *18*, *21*
equos *34*
erecta *43*
eripuit *11*
errantis *17*, erro *32*
errore *64*
erubescendi *8*
eruditam 66
Etruscis libris *17*
exacta *42*
exagitata *50*
excidere *11*
excludit *17*, exclusi *32*
excussum *17*
executor *36'*
exemplum *22*
exerceret *36'*
exercitu *36*
exhausto *32*, exhaustum *17*
exibit *30*
exilium *28*

existimatur *70*
exornatum *18*
exosa *35*
expiandos *23*, expiatur *64*
explicare *62*
expositionis *62*
expositum *56*
exprimamus *62*
exsequi *62*
exspectatur *15*
exstare *13*
extendatur *67*
extremum *8*
exul *28*, exulis *28*
exulares *28*

facere *8*, *41*, *56*, *56*, *56*, *56*, *56*, facerent *40*, faceretis *32*, facias *64*, faciat *34*, *56*, *56*, faciendi *36'*, faciens *52*, faciesque (*27*), facit *8*, faciunt *62*, *69*, facta *15*, *17*, *32*, *63*, factam *2*, facti *63*, factum *24*, *39*, *41*, *44*, facturus *67*, factus *8*, *8*, *11*, *18*, fecerat *22*, *32*, feci *32*, fecisse *8*, *8*, *28*, fecisti *10*, fecit *35*, *53*, *60*
fecit *35*, *53*, *60*
facetiarum *8*
facile *6*, *13*, *facile 8*, facillime *8*
facultatem *8*
fabricata *64*
Falerni *52*
falso *11*, falsum *4*
fama *53*
familia *8*, familiam *8*
Familiarissimus *28*, familiarissimus *40*
fana *32*, *68*
fanatice *11*
fando 66, fando *67*, fatur *70*
fas 8, fas *15*, *17*, *18*, *51*, *62*, *67*
fasceolis *18*
fascia *32*
fata *32*, *63*
fatidicae *70*
Fatui 68, *Fatuos 66*, Fatuos *70*, fatuos *70*, Fatuus *70*
favet *67*
Fauni *57*, *61*, *63*, *67*, *67*, *68*, *70*, FAUNI *66*, *Faunos 66*, *Faunum 66*, Faunus *63*, *63*, *65*, *Faunus 66*, *66*, *66*
femina *50*, *51*, feminae *8*, *8*, *23*, feminarum *67*
feras *32*
ferebantur 66, ferebatur *8*, feror *35*, ferre *1*, *56*, *63*, fert *2*, *2*, fertur *8*, feruntur *51*, latae *8*, tulisset *44*, tulit *28*, *32*, *36'*
ferme *8*, *8*
fesso *32*, *32*

feta *32*
fiant *56*, fiebat *8*, *8*, *41*, *55*, *71*, fient *25*, *51*, fieret *1*, *2*, *8*, *11*, *11*, *41*, fieri *42*, *67*, fit *16*, *17*, *17*, *17*, *17*, *69*
fide *8*, *54*
figura *8*, figuras *51*
FILIA *13*, filia *57*, *67*, filiam *53*, *67*, *67*, *filiam 66*, *filius 66*, f. *1*
Filippicis orationibus *8*
flagitio *11*, *15*, *18*, flagitium *8*
flagrantis *17*
flaminem *38*
Flaminio *vide* circo
T. Flaminino *13*
fluctum *51*
fluit *32*
flumine *32*, *32*
fluvios *68*
focos *19*
foedissima *17*, foedius *50*
†Fones *68*
Fonteiano nomine *19*
fontes *68*, Fontis *32*, fontis *32*, fontisque *32*
fores *32*
forte *2*, *17*, *24*, *64*
fortia *32*, *32*
fragiles *51*
frater *8*, fratri *35*
fraude *8*
frigebat *3*
frigido *51*
frondibus *32*
frontibus *50*
frustra *35*
Fufius *3*, Q. Fufium *39*, *vide et* Caleno
fuga *32*
fugatus *15*, fuget *34*
fugit *51*
fundo *24*
fungeretur *8*
fur> *22*
furia *22*
furiosis 8, *furiosum 8*
furore *8*
futura *66*

T. Serti Galli *24*
Gallinarum *43*
gemina *43*
gemit *50*
genere *56*, genus *8*, *8*, *67*
generositas *43*
geniti *66*, genitos *66*
gentem *19*
Geryonis *67*

gloriari *15*, *28*
Gorgone *32*
(*Ti. Gracchus*) *23*
Graece *63*, Graeco *25*, *62*, Graecos *8*, *67*
Graecia *8*
grata *3*
grave *8*, gravem *17*, graves *36*', gravis *3*, gravius *17*
gravitate *11*, gravitatis *8*
gregibus *32*
gustare *67*

habeatur *64*, habent *68*, habere *44*, *67*, haberi *67*, habet *8*, *35*, habetis *11*, habetur *56*, habitis *8*, habuerant *8*, habuisse *8*, *habuisse 66*
habitant *68*
habitu *8*, *8*, *36*
Habra *8*
Haruspices *17*, haruspicum *17*
hemitheos *66*
herbarum *67*
hercule *7*
Herculeae *32*
Hercules *67*, Herculi *67*, Herculis *32*, *67*
heres *35*
heroas *66*
Hesiodi *66*
hiberna (*29*)
hiemaris (*27*)
hirnea *51*
hirsutum *32*
historia *8*
hodie *14*
homine *8*, *18*, hominem *11*, *13*, *15*, hominemque *15*, homines *11*, *17*, *17*, *51*, *56*, *66*, *68*, Homines *17*, homini *32*, *56*, *56*, *67*, hominibus *17*, *68*, hominum *17*, *17*, *51*, homo *11*, *36*'
honesti *24*, honestissimas *8*
honoravit *63*
honore *55*, *71*, honorem *63*
horam *38*, horis *5*
horret *11*, horruit *17*
hospes *32*
hospita *32*
hostia *67*
hostili *22*
humanas *11*
humanitate *8*
humatus *56*

iacit *32*
iactetur *8*
Iani *44*, Ianus *61*
Ianiculi *61*

ianuam *32*
Iasone *67*
igne *32*, igni *36’*, ignibus *14*, ignis *19*
ignotum *17*, ignoverit *17*, ignovit *17*
ilico *8*
imbecillitas *11*
imitata *35*, *51*
immortales, immortalibus *vide* di, dis
impatiens *51*
imperio *17*
impetu *8*
implicuisses *11*
imposito *51*
improbis *2*, *3*
improbitas *17*
imprudentia *17*
imprudentis *15*
impulsu *3*
impune *32*
impunitatem *22*
impurissime *11*
inaccessum *8*
inanis *3*
inaudita *19*
inaugurato *13*
incendi *51*
incesti *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *36’*, incesto *8*, *11*, *14*, *21*, *39*, incestu *8*, incestum *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *8*
incidant (*27*)
incisae *13*
incitat *51*
inclusas *32*
inconcessa *64*
incredibili *17*
incurritur *51*
incursandi *68*
indemnatum *36’*
Indi *51*
indicat *62*
indicia *67*
indifferenter *67*
INDIGENAE *66*, ‘indigenae’ *66*
indigitari *67*
indixerat *8*
indutus 8
induxit *65*
ineptarum *63*
ineptias *65*
inexpiabili *19*
infamia *1*, *8*, *8*, infamiam *8*, *8*
infamis *36’*
infantes *67*
inferre *62*, inferri *67*, inlata *17*, inlatum *8*, intulerit *15*, *51*, intulisset *21*, intulit *11*

ingenium *8*
ingrato *67*
ingredi *8*, ingreditur *67*
†iniecta† *2*
inimicitias *36'*
inimicus *8*
initianto *25*
initum *36'*
iniuria *17*, iniuriam *61*, *67*
inludit *11*
innocentes *66*
innumeri *62*
inparibus *43*
inpiis *64*
inpudico *8*, inpudicos *8*
inquam *4*, *15*, *24*, inquit *28*, *32*, *54*
insaniae *57*
inscriptae *13*
insignem *24*, insigni *1*
instat *2*
instaurassent *2*, instauratum *8*
instauratione *64*
institerat *35*
instituto *56*
institutor *63*
intacta *51*
intelleges *17*, intellegit *70*, intellegitur *11*
Interamnae *8*, *40*, Interamnam *5*
Interamnanus *vide* Schola
intercalatum (*26*)
intercessisset *8*
interdiceretur *36'*, interdicta *32*
interemisset *36'*
interesse *67*, *67*, interest *15*, interfuerant *8*, interfuisse *11*
interpretata *17*
interrogatus *8*, interrogatusque *54*
interventu *8*
intrare *17*, *36*, intrasset *36*, *41*, intrat *50*, intraverit *64*
introierat *8*, introire *56*, *67*, introisse *5*
invictum *17*
invidia *8*
invisa *19*, *68*
invisere *11*
inulta *32*
inustum *22*
iratam *32*
ire *34*, iri *5*, ite *50*, itum *5*, eat *34*
irrita *32*
Italia *67*, Italiae *67*
itineris (*29*)
iubes *44*, iubet *34*, *51*, iubetur 51, iussit *67*
iucunda *3*, iucundum *61*

iudicabit (*29*), iudicaretur *8*, iudicarunt *21*, *iudicatum 8*, iudico *54*
iudices *3*, *8*, *17*, *54*, iudicibus *8*, *42*, iudicum *8*
iudicio *8*, *17*, *17*, *22*, *24*, *42*, *iudicio 8*, iudicium *8*, *41*
Iulia *8*, *54*
Sex. Iulius *13*
iunctos *34*
Iunoni *32*, Iunonis *67*
iura *32*, ius *28*, *35*
iurgiosam *8*
iussu *8*
iuvencae *34*
iuvenem *51*

Kal. Febr. *38*, Kalendis Maiis *67*
kapitalis *8*

Cornelius Labeo *67*, *67*
labris *32*
lac *67*
lacessebat *8*
lacus *68*
Lanuvium *38*
Laomedontiades *51*
lapsi *67*
Latio *63*, *65*
lavat *32*
laudabilior *61*
laudaret *3*, laudarunt *17*
laudes *8*
legationem (liberam) *6*
lege *32*, *56*, legem *36'*, *56*, leges *28*, legibus *28*, *28*
legi *3*
leniter *35*
lenonum *51*
Cn. et L. Lentulis *8*, L. Lentulo *8*, *8*, Lentulum *17*
leonis *32*
levissimus *3*
libenter *34*
liberam *vide* legationem
liberasset *23*, liberatum *21*, liberaverunt *8*, *17*, liberemur *16*
libidine *51*, libidinis *17*
libris *vide* Etruscis, pontificum, libro *63*
liceat *56*, *56*, *64*, *67*, liceret *8*, licet *64*, *67*
Licinia *13*, LICINIA CAI FILIA *13*
limen *50*, limina *32*, *32*, limine *33*
limitis *32*
liniamenta *8*
linque *32*
litterae *13*, litterarum *13*, litteris *22*
Livia *35*

loca *32*, loci *28*, loco *3*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *13*, *18*, *34*, *42*, LOCO PUBLICO *13*, locum *38*, *53*
locatio *22*
locutus *33*, loquamur *7*, loquitur *8*, loquuntur *17*
longaevorum *68*
luci *32*, lucoque *32*, lucos *68*, Lucus *32*
lucrum *44*
M. Luculli *16*
ludis maximis *16*, ludum *51*
luditis *32*
luere *8*
lumbos *51*
lumina *11*, luminis *17*
luteo *43*
luxerat *32*, luxisse *32*
Lybico *32*
Lycurgei *2*
Lydo *32*
lympha *32*, lymphis *32*

mactatur *67*
madentia *51*
(*Sp.* *Maelius*) *23*
maenades *51*
magistrum *11*
magnitudine *67*
Maio (mense) *67*
maiorum *11*, *56*
male *33*, malis *51*, malorum *2*, *36*’
malefici *17*
malunt *52*
manibus *32*, manu *67*, manus *1*, *32*
Manifestum *37*
mansisse *40*, mansurum *40*
manubiae *22*
C. Marcello *8*
maribus *19*, *30*, *50*, mas *63*
marito *62*, maritum *35*, *44*
masculorum *42*
mater *8*, *54*, matris *vide* Vestaeque
matronarum *42*, matronas *8*
Mauri *51*
Maxima *vide* Ara
medicinas *67*
medie *8*
Medullinae *51*
Megalensis *44*
mellarium *67*
membra *32*
meminisse *39*, meninit *8*
memoria *17*, memoriam *19*
mensas *19*
mense *44*, *vide et* Maio, mensis *vide* Augustus
mentibus *51*, mentis *11*, *11*

mentionem *2*, *8*
mentitus *8*
Mercurium *67*, *67*
meri *51*, *62*
Messalla *2*, *3*
Q. Metello *13*
metuenda *12*
(Milo) *23*, Milo *38*
minacissimis *8*
minas *8*
ministerio *8*
ministrat *32*
mirum *15*
miseris *3*
misisti *20*, *37*, missi *8*, *8*
mithris 8
mitra *18*
modestiae *8*
modi *6*, modum *11*, *36'*, *70*
moles *35*
moleste *1*
mollis *32*
monete *11*
monilia *50*
monstrari *62*
monte *vide* Vaticano, montis *35*
monumentum *13*, *22*, *22*
mora *51*, morae *51*
morabatur *8*
more (sinistro) *50*, morem *63*, mores *8*, *8*, *13*
moriuntur *68*, mortuus *56*
mortalibus *67*
mortem *24*, *63*
muliebri (habitu, ornatu, veste, vestitu) *1*, *2*, *8*, *14*, *53*, *muliebri* (*veste*) *8*, muliebribus *vide* religionibus, soleis, muliebrium *vide* religionum
mulier *67*, mulierem *67*, mulieres *18*, *62*, *63*, *67*, *69*, mulieribus *63*, mulieris *36*, mulierum *25*
multitudine *8*
mundi *32*, *64*, *mundus patet 56*
munera *44*
municipio *38*
muro *56*, murum *56*
murteis *vide* virgis
mus *51*
myrteam *vide* virgam, myrteas *62*
mysteria (*26*), (*29*), Romana ... mysteria (*27*), mysteriorum (*29*)
mystic[i]a[e] *56*

nascenti *67*, nata *13*
natalibus *51*
nativa *35*

naufragio *8*
navigatio (*29*)
necesse *11*, *56*
nefandum *23*
nefaria *63*, nefario *24*
nefas *2*, *11*, *36*, *56*, *64*, *67*
nefasto (die) 56
negarent *8*, nego *17*, negavit *54*
neglegi *15*, neglectis *15*, neglexit *17*
negotium 13
NEMORA *66*, nemora *68*, nemus *32*
neptem *53*
nesciente *62*
Nestoris *51*
nigrae *43*, nigris *43*, nigrumque *51*
nobilis *36'*, noblissimae *23*, nobilium *42*
nocendi *65*
nocentissimumque *17*
nocte *40*, noctu *5*
Nocturna *vide* sacrificia
nomen *17*, *19*, *28*, *63*, *67*, *67*, nomina *35*, nomine *8*, *8*, *8*, *19*, *22*, *67*, *67*, *nomine 66*, nominis *35*, *60*, *67*
nominabatur *36'*, nominant *63*, nominantur *8*, nominatam *63*, nominavit *65*, nominetur *67*
nosset *8*, *36'*, nota *51*, noverunt *51*
notatum *41*
noverca *32*
novo *44*
nudus *8*
Numae *51*
numen *11*, numinis *51*
numero *8*, *8*, numerus *8*
nummi *42*
nuncupetur *67*
nundinarum (die) *3*
nuntium *2*

obesset *17*
obicit *4*
obiret *24*
obruit *19*
Obscure *17*
observari *56*
obsessam *57*
Obstinante *8*
obstitisseque *67*
obstrictos *21*
obstupefacti *70*
obtecta *62*
obviam *5*
obvolutam *63*
occasio *67*
occulta *19*, occultaque *17*, *17*, occultiore *67*, occultum *17*

occurrit *38*
oculis *15*, *30*, *32*, oculorum *11*, oculos *17*, *17*, *17*, *34*, *35*
odiosa (*29*)
odium *14*
odorato *32*
offensae *8*
officia *32*
officiosus *56*
ollam *63*
Olympia (*29*)
†*omam castita* 66
opacos *32*
operae *2*, operam (dat) *2*
operata *34*
operis *22*
opertanea *vide* sacra
operto *4*, *8*, *8*, *28*, *40*, *42*, *55*, *63*, *69*, *71*, opertum *28*
opinari *11*, opinatus *53*
opinio *17*, opiniones *8*
oportebit *28*, oportere *11*, *54*, oportet *12*
oppidum *56*
Opportune *8*
optandos *17*
ora *32*, ore *11*, *11*, *43*
oratione *8*, orationem *8*, orationibus *8*
oratorem *17*
orbe *32*, orbem *32*
ordinem *41*, *66*, ordinis *3*
origine *70*
ornabat *32*, ornati *24*, orneturve *33*
ornatu *vide* muliebri
otio *6*

pactione *42*
paeniteret *63*
Palatinae *35*
palato *32*
palla *32*
Pallada *32*
palma *32*, *51*
pandite *32*
Panes *68*
parca *44*
Parce *32*, parcendum *8*, pepercisse *8*
parentum *19*
pariter *51*, *51*
pars *35*, parte *35*
partu *67*
passa *35*, passi *22*, passus *13*, patior *6*
passuum *8*
pateat *32*, patet *32*, *32*, *50*, *patet vide mundus*
patellas *51*
pater *67*, *67*, patrem *63*, *65*, patres *35*,

Patres conscribti *8*, patres conscripti *15*, patribus *36’*, patris *67*, *67*, P.C. *8*
paternae *57*
patientia *8*
patrii *vide* penates
paulatim *50*
pectus *32*
pecunia *8*, pecuniam *42*
pedibusque *43*
penates patrii, penatium *vide* di, deorum
pendentis *51*
Penelopa *57*
penem *51*
penetrales *19*, penetralia *64*
penetrasse *8*, *53*
pensa *32*
percrebuit *8*
perdidisti *17*
perhorrescis *28*
periculo *23*
permitterent *67*
perpessa *67*
persequi *22*
perstringi *8*, perstringit *8*
pertinere *61*
perturbatis *9*
pervertit *19*
pervestigandum *8*
pervolgabatur *8*
perusta *32*
petebatur *36’*, peterentur *8*, petiverunt *8*
Phariae *34*
piandos *32*, piatur *32*
pictura *51*, picturae *42*
Pici 66, Picum *63*, *65*
Pinario *67*
pinnis *43*
Piso 2, Pisonis *3*
pl. *vide* tribuno, tribunus, plebem *36’*
placant *50*, placari *11*
placeretne *3*
planius *17*
plebeiam *8*
plenam *8*
poena *11*, *56*, *64*, poenam *8*, *17*, *24*, poenas *17*, *22*
polluamur *62*, pollui *15*, polluit *11*, polluta *17*, pollutaque *17*, pollutarum *54*, pollutis *53*
Pompeia *8*, Pompeiae *8*, *54*, Pompeiam *53*
Pompei *3*, Pompeio *3*, Pompeium *3*, Pompeius *3*, Quinti Pompei *53*
Pompilium *63*, Pompilius *63*
ponat *33*, poni *63*, ponit *32*, posita *32*, *51*, posuere *50*
pontem *60*

pontifex *8*, pontifices *2*, *11*, *11*, *13*, *16*, pontificis *8*, pontificum *11*, *13*, pontificum libris *67*
pontifex maximus *13*, pontificis maximi *8*, *8*, *11*, *14*, *pontificis maximi* *8*, maximi pontificis *36*
populare *vide* sacrum, popularem *10*, populari *18*, *20*, *37*, popularis *18*
POPULI *13*, populi Romani *16*, *36*’, populo *1*, *2*, *8*, *10*, *25*, *42*, *52*, populo Romano *16*, *17*, *40*, *41*, populum *8*, *56*, populus *32*, populus Romanus *18*
porca *67*, porcae *50*, porcaque *67*
portione (?) *56*
posse *11*, *56*, *67*, *67*, posset *17*, *63*, possit *17*, *51*, *56*, poterat *36*’, potes *10*, potest *8*, *11*, *17*, potuerit *7*, *8*, potuisse *8*
posterum (in) *22*
postis *32*
postulantur *8*, postulatae *8*
potare *52*
potentiam *67*
potentem *67*, potentissimo *8*
potestate *vide* quaestoria, potestatem *68*
Potitio *67*
potu *61*
praecellebat *57*
praecipitem *8*
praeclarissimum *22*
praediceret *66*
praedita *13*
praefuerunt *11*
praegnans *vide* sus
praeiudicium *8*
praemia *51*
praesciendi *68*
praesentiam *67*
praesentissimam *68*
praesidium *8*
praestare *67*
praetendens *8*, praetenderet *8*
Praetexuntur *8*
praetor *3*, *13*, *44*, praetore *3*, praetorem *41*, *56*, praetori urbano *13*, praetoris *8*, *8*
Praevaluit *8*
precibus *2*
precor *32*
pressa *67*
Priapi *51*
princeps *2*
principium *8*
privata *vide* sacra, privato *41*
privilegium *28*
probari *8*, *8*
proconsule *36*
procul *32*, *50*

Proculeia *44*, *44*
prodendum *38*, prodere *52*
producit *3*
proelium *24*
profanae *50*
profanare *64*
profecerat *41*
profectus *38*
profero *28*, proferuntur *67*, protulisse *67*
prohibet *62*, *prohibitum 66*, prohibuerunt *13*
prolixum *68*
promulgasse *2*, promulgata *3*
pronuntiaverint *8*, *pronuntient 66*
properare *51*
propitium 66
propositorum *36*'
propria *67*, propriores *8*
proscindit *8*
protexit *57*
providendo *8*
provinciae *21*, provincias *8*
provocat *51*
prurigo *51*
psalteria *18*
psaltria *51*
publica, publicae *vide* res, re, sacra, rei, religionis, publicas *vide* caerimonias, publicis *vide* religionibus, sacerdotiis, sacris, publico *67*, PUBLICO *vide* LOCO, publicum *55*, *71*
Publius *7*
pudicam *67*
pudicitia *15*, *17*, pudicitiae *63*, pudicitiamque *15*
pudorem *15*
puella *32*, puellas *32*, puellis *32*, *32*
puer *4*
pulchellus *4*
P. Clodius Pulcher *8*
pulvere *32*
pulvinar *13*, pulvinaribus *15*, *21*, *23*,
puniceae *32*, puniceo *32*
purae *43*
purpura *44*
purpureisque *18*
puta[n]t *56*, putant *67*, *70*, putare *3*, putares *11*, putas *17*, putat *11*, putaverit *8*, putes *2*
putris *32*

quaerenda *17*, quaereretur *8*, quaeritur *51*, quaerunt *64*, quaesieram (*29*), quaesivit *3*, *3*, quaeso *22*
quaestionem *8*, *53*
quaestor designatus *41*

quaestoria (potestate) *8*
questus *15*
Quintus *6*

ratione *62*
re *8*, *17*, rebus *3*, *3*, rei *8*, rei publicae *2*, rem *1*, *2*, *13*, *13*, *vide et* divinam, re publica *22*, res *3*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *44*, res publica *18*
reatu *8*, reatus *8*
recepta *32*
rediens *38*
redimicula *50*
referciunt *68*
refert *56*, *63*, relatam *2*, rettulissent *54*, rettulit *13*
regale *67*
regibus *17*, regium *63*
religio *16*, religione *2*, *3*, *11*, *11*, Clodiana religione *3*, religionem *8*, *11*, religiones *15*, *23*, religionibus *15*, *15*, *15*, *15*, *15*, *42*, muliebribus religionibus *11*, publicis religionibus *8*, religionis *11*, *11*, *17*, publicae religionis *11*, religionum *8*, *16*, *63*, muliebrium religionum *22*
religiosa *56*, Dies ... religiosi *56*, religiosissima *36’*, religiosissimis *14*, *15*, religiosius *17*, religiosum *11*, *16*, *56*, *56*, <Religiosum *56*, *religiosum 56*, *Religiosus 56*
remississe 2
removentur *2*
Remus *35*
reo *8*, reum *54*, reus *8*, *8*, *8*, *36’*, *42*
repente *18*
repertis *32*
repetitus *51*
repudiarat *8*, repudiasset *54*, repudiavit *8*
resculpit *8*
reservatus *24*
respondes *44*, respondit *3*, *8*, *13*, *67*, responsum *3*
responsa *66*, responso *16*, responsum *17*
restituit *35*
retecta *32*
ridere *32*, *51*, risit *15*
ridiculum *15*
rite *25*, ritu *67*, ritus *62*, ritus veteres *51*
rogatio *2*, rogatione *3*, rogationem *2*
rogo *44*
Romae *8*, (*26*), *28*, *64*, Romam *5*, *16*
Romana, Romani, Romano *vide* mysteria, populi, populo, Romanos *63*
rotant *51*
rubicundo *43*
rubore *57*

ruit *32*

sacellum *38*
sacerdos *6*, *32*, *55*, *71*, sacerdoti *20*, *37*
sacerdotio *13*, publicis sacerdotiis *11*
sacra *11*, *15*, *15*, *17*, *17*, *19*, *19*, *30*, *31*, *32*, *36’*, *40*, *56*, *63*, *64*, *65*, opertanea sacra *43*, sacra privata 11, publica ... sacra *51*, sacris *9*, *15*, *15*, *53*, *63*, *67*, *67*, sacris publicis *16*, sacro *25*, *32*, *56*, *67*, sacrorum *11*, *62*, *67*, *67*, sacrum *13*, *32*, *56*, *56*, *67*, *69*, SACRUM *13*, *sacrum 56*, populare sacrum *44*
sacrarium *24*, *36*
sacrificant *63*
sacrificia 8, Sacrificia *17*, Nocturna sacrificia *25*, sacrificii *42*, *64*, sacrificio *8*, *16*, sacrificium *1*, *2*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *11*, *17*, *17*, *41*, *55*, *69*, *71*
saetaeque *32*
saltante *51*
salutatum *8*
salute *16*
sancta *56*, sanctissimis *23*, sanctissimo *13*, sanctissimum *13*, sanctum *16*, *56*, *56*, *sanctum 56*
sanctimonia *8*
sanctitatem *55*
Saturniae civitatis *61*
Saturno *65*, Saturnus *61*, *63*
Satyri *68*
Saufeia *51*, *52*
Saxo *13*, Saxum *35*
S.C. *41*, senati consultis *15*, senatus consulto *2*, *2*, *2*, *13*, *SENATUS CONSULTUM 13*
P. Scaevola *13*
sceleratiores *64*, *scelerato 8*, sceleratos *66*
scelere *16*, *17*, *19*, *21*, scelus *17*, *64*
sceptrum *67*
C. Causinius Schola Interamnanus *40*
sci<em>us *6*, sciendum *66*, sciens *11*, *17*, scies (*26*), scimus *64*, *67*, scio *1*, scire *17*, *17*, (*29*)
scribas (*26*), scribis (*29*), scribit *62*, *63*, scripsi *3*, scripsit *63*
scrutari *64*
secreta *51*, secreti *32*
secuta *35*, sequar *30*, sequeretur *17*
sedeat *34*
seditionis *8*, *22*
seditioso *22*
segetem *67*
senatu *2*, *3*, *3*, *3*, *8*, *8*, *8*, *39*, senatui *16*, senatum *8*, *11*, senatus *8*, *13*, *13*, *13*, *22*, *23*, *53*, Senatus *41*, senatusque 3, *vide et* S.C. *etc.*

sententia 8, sententiae 8, sententiis 8, 8, 22
sentiret 3, sentis 17
sepulchrum 60, sepulcro 56, sepulcrum 56
sepultus 56
sermonis 67
serpentem 67, serpentesque 67
servat 66, servatum 1
servi 8, servis 51, servorum 51
P. Servili 16
servilia 32
servulae 1
severe 2, 11
severitate 13
sexum 8, sexus 51
siccam 32, siccis 32, sicco 32
Sicilia 5
Sidonia 32
signa 35, signumque 62
significare 8, 8, significaret 8, significari 37, Significat 41
Silvani 68
silvas 68
simile 4, similiter 56
simplex 51
simpuvium 51
simulabitur 51
simulacrum 13
singulis 62, singulorum 8
†sirpie† 6
sistris 34
sitienti 67
sitim 32, sitis 32, 32
socios 37, sociosque 20
sole 32
soleat 67, soleant 68, solebat 41, soles 28, solet 15
soleis (muliebribus) 18
solia 19
sollemne 8, sollemnes 23
sonantia 32
soror 8, 54, sororem 8, 63, sororemque 65, sorores 22, sororis 17, 36’, sororum 15
spectatur 43, spectet 34
spem 51
speramus 6
spiritu 8
stamine 32
Statueram 8, statuissent 16
stillarî 42
stipendariosque 37
stomachi 8
strophia 18
stuporem 66
stuprasset 36
stupri 17, stupro 11, 14, 18, 36’, *stupro* 8, stuproque 15, stuprum 15, 21

Stygias ... tenebras *32*
Subcontumeliose *7*
subiti *44*
subiuncta *17*
subrepti *52*
subscribentibus *8*
L. Sullae *53*
summittat *51*
summorum *11*
summota *32*, summotis *42*
sumpto *51*, sumunt *50*
superstitione *11*, superstitionibus *16*
superstitiosum *11*
supplicio *23*
Surgit *4*
suscepto *32*
suspendit *8*
suspicio *8*, *8*, *17*, suspicione *54*
sus praegnans *67*

taeterrimam *24*, taeterrimeque *11*
tegebat *32*
tela *32*
temeranda *31*
temerarium *8*
Templa *35*, templis *34*, templo *13*, *67*, *67*, templum *67*, *67*, *67*, caeleste templum *64*
tempora *13*, tempore *8*, *35*, *39*, temporibus *56*, temporis *8*, tempus *6*, *8*, *36'*, *41*
temptaris *31*
tenebit *28*, tenere *57*, tenuit *11*
tenebras *vide* Stygias
tenerae *50*
tentavit *67*
tergo *32*
terra *32*, *32*, *32*, terraque *32*, terrae *67*, *67*, *67*, terram *67*, *67*, *67*, *68*
terrent *32*, terrentes *67*
testiculi *51*
testificando *8*
testimonii *8*, testimonio *8*, testimonium *8*, *8*
testis *8*, *54*
theatra *34*
theogoniam *66*
Tiberim *60*
tibia *51*
tibicina *50*
Tigranem *6*
time *30*, timentes *67*, timuisse *30*
Tiresias *32*
tollendam *13*, tollerentur *13*, tollit *51*, sustulerunt *22*, sustulit *32*
tormenta *8*
torquet *32*
torrens *51*
tractatur *7*

tradit *63*, *67*
trahebat *8*, trahentem *32*
transeamus *62*, transisset *36'*, transiturum *8*
Transfigurasse *67*
traverso *43*
tribuit *67*
tribunatu *36'*
tribuno pl. *8*, tribunus pl. *3*, *8*, *22*
tristia *32*
Tullio *8*, M. Tullium *8*, Tullius *8*, Marcus ... Tullius *8*, *vide et* Cicero
turbulente *8*
turpissimum *17*, turpissimus *50*, turpius *42*
turpitudinis *8*
tuta *32*
tutoris *16*

Varro *63*, *67*
vas *67*
vastas *32*
vates *32*
Vaticano ... monte *51*
vaticiniis *70*
vehementer *2*, vehementi *8*
velabant *8*, *32*, velari *51*
velim *6*, (*26*), (*29*), vellet *22*, *36'*, volebat *8*, *40*, volens *8*, voluit *65*, volunt *64*, *volunt 66*, *66*
veneranda *32*
venire *34*, venisse *2*, *8*, *venisse 8*, *8*, *venisset 8*, *8*, venit *51*
verba *17*, *32*, verbis *3*, *36'*, verbo *16*, verbum *11*
verbenas *62*
verberaretur *67*
verendo *32*, vereor *2*
veritatem *8*
versatam *42*
verum *7*, *51*
Vestae *64*, Vestaeque matris *16*
Vestales virgines *8*, *vide et* virgines
veste, vestitu *vide* muliebri
vetantur *34*
veterem *44*, veteres *vide* ritus, veteris *35*, *51*
vetusta *17*, Vetusta *17*, vetustum *17*
vicerat *32*
victoriam *8*
victum *67*
videatur *56*, *56*, videbatur *8*, videntur *43*, video *17*, viderat *11*, *17*, videretur *24*, videri *3*, *8*, *40*, *56*, *videri 8*, *8*, VIDERIER *13*, viderit *63*, *67*, Videtisne *13*, videtur *8*, *8*, *8*, *11*, *15*, *vidisse 8*, visa *67*, visam *3*, visum *8*, *16*, visus *8*
vilicum *8*

vilissimos *57*
vincta *32*
vindicandae *22*, vindicat *32*
vini *61*, *62*, *63*, *63*, vino *67*, vinoque *51*, vinum *67*, *67*, *67*
violari *15*, *56*, violarit *15*, violasti *11*, violatis *42*, violatum *16*, violavit *17*
vir *7*, *8*, *17*, *17*, *64*, *67*, viri *2*, *15*, viris *8*, *8*, *32*, *32*, *32*, *42*, *63*, *64*, *64*, *64*, *67*, viro *63*, *67*, *67*, virorum *11*, *31*, *34*, viros *17*, *22*, *51*, *57*, virum *2*, *8*, *35*, *35*, *36*, *56*, *63*, *67*, *67*, *virum 8*, *8*
virga myrtea *67*, virgam myrteam *67*, virgis (murteis) *62*, virgis myrteis *63*
virgineo *35*
virgines *2*, *2*, *40*, virgines Vestales *17*, virgo Vestalis *13*, *vide et* Vestales virgines
viriles *35*, virili *8*, *15*
virtus *51*
visere *30*
vita *11*, *67*
vitiis *8*
vitis *67*
vittae *32*
vituperationes *8*
vixerit *63*
ultimos *66*
ululantque *51*
umbra *32*
umbroso *32*
universa *62*, universo *8*
vocat *32*, vocatur *67*
vocem *67*, vocibus *8*, vocis *67*, vox *51*, *67*
volnus *24*
voluntatem *56*, *56*, voluntati *67*
urbano *vide* praetori
urbe *8*, Urbe *34*, urbibus *64*, urbis *17*
urget *2*
usui *67*
usurpasse *17*
uteretur *3*
vultusque *32*
uxore *8*, *42*, uxorem *8*, *8*, *36*, *54*, *63*, uxori *2*, uxoris *8*, *54*, *70*

Ἅβραν *48*, ἅβραν *49*
ἀγένειον *54’’*
ἀγναὶ *45*
ἄγνωστα *59*
ἀγομένων *54’’*
ἀγορὰν *58*
ἀδελφῆς *49*
ἀδελφὸς *47*
ἀδεῶς *49*
ἀδοξήσωσι *49*

ἀειπαρθένοι *59*, ἀειπαρθένων *58*
ἀθέατον *vide* θυσίαν
ἀθέσμοις *49*
ἀθρόως *46*
αἰσχρὰν *54’*, *59*
αἰσχύναντος *59*
ἀϰόλουθον *48*, ἀϰόλουθος *49*, *49*
ἀϰούσης *49*
ἀϰριβεῖς *49*
ἄϰρους *vide* πόδας
ἁλώσεται *59*
ἁμαρτάνειν *59*
ἀμείψασθαι *54'*
ἀμπελίνοις *49*
ἄμυναν *54'*
ἀναγϰασθέντος *48*
ἀναλαβὼν *49*
ἀναμεμιγμένης *49*
ἄνδρα *47*, *49*, Ἄνδρα *49*, ἄνδρας *45*, *47*,
  ἀνδράσι *48*, *49*, ἀνδρὸς *45*, ἀνδρός *49*,
  τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν *54’*, ἀνὴρ *48*, *49*, ἀνήρ *48*
ἀνέϰραγε *48*
ἀνεῳγμέναις *49*
ἀνῆϰε *47*
ἀνθοῦσι *45*
ἀντιτάξας *49*
ἀπέβη *49*
ἀπεπέμψατο *49*, *59*, ἀπεπέμψω *49*,
  ἀποπεμψάμενος *54’*
ἀπεπήδησε *49*
ἀπέφηνε *54’*
ἀπιοῦσαι *49*
ἀποδόντων *49*
ἀποθάνωσι *58*
ἀποϰλεῖσαι *49*, ἀποϰλείσασαι *48*
ἀπολύσαντες *49*
ἀπορρήτοις, ἀπόρρητον *vide* ἱεροῖς, θυσίαν
Ἀποφεύγει *49*
ἀρίστοις *49*
ἀριστοϰρατιϰῶς *2*
ἁρμόσασθαι *54’’*
ἄρρεν *45*, *49*, *59*
ἀρχὴν *48*, *59*, ἀρχήν *54'*
ἀσέβειαν *54’*, ἀσεβείας *48*, *49*
ἀσελγείας *49*
ἄτολμος *47*
αὐθάδης *48*
Αὐρηλία *49*, *49*, Αὐρηλίας *48*, *49*
αὐτόχθονες *66*
ἀφείλοντος *49*
ἀφῆϰε *48*
ἀφιϰνεῖσθαι *59*
ἀφοσιοῦνται *45*
ἀφροδισίων *45*
Ἀφροδίτης *45*, Μουρϰίαν Ἀφροδίτην *45*,
  Μυρτίαν *45*

ἄχαρις *49*

βασιλέως *49*
βδελυρίᾳ *49*
βλαστάνουσι *45*
βουλὴν *58*, βουλῆς *49*
βουλόμενον *49*
βοῶσα *49*
βωμός *47*

Γαΐου *54’’*, *vide et* Καίσαρος
γάλα *45*
Γαλατίας *54’*
γειτνιῶντος *46*
γένει *49*
γενειῶν *48*, *49*
γενέσθαι *49*, *49*, γένοιτο *58*, γενομένης *49*, γενόμενος *49*, γενομένου *48*, *49*, *54’’*, γίνεταί *47*, ἐγίνετο *48*
γενικῶς *3*
γιγνώσκειν *49*, ἔγνωκεν *47*
γνώμας *49*
γράμμασι *49*
γυναῖκα *47*, *49*, *49*, *54’*, *54’’*, *54’’*, *59*, *59*, γυναῖκας *48*, γυναῖκες *45*, *46*, *48*, *49*, *49*, γυναικὶ *49*, *54’*, γυναικὸς *46*, *48*, *49*, *54’’*, γυναικῶν *48*, *49*, *49*, *54’*, γυναιξὶ *47*, γυναιξὶν *54’’*, γυνὴ *45*, *47*, *49*, *49*, *49*
γυναικείαν *48*
γυναικωνίτιδος *49*, γυναικωνῖτιν *67*

δαιμονίου *58*
δαμόσιον *55*, *71*
δεδοικότας *49*
δεινὰς *49*
δέους *58*
δεύτερος *49*
δήμαρχον *54’*, δημάρχους *54’*, <δημάρχων> *48*, δημάρχων *49*
δῆμον *58*, δῆμος *49*, δήμου *46*, *58*, δήμῳ *49*, *54’*
διαβάλλοντος *54’*
διαδὺς *48*
διακοσμεῖ *49*
διαπορoῦντος *47*
διαπτοηθεισῶν *49*, διεπτοήθησαν *47*
διατριβῆς *49*
διδούσης *47*
διέπεσε *58*
διερευνώμεναι *48*
δικαστὰς *49*, δικαστῶν *49*
δίκην *48*, *49*, *49*
διόδων *48*
διώκουσι *54’*, ἐδίωκον *54’*
δοκεῖ *54’*, δοκοῦντος *47*
δόξαν *47*

δούλων *58*
δράκων ἱερὸς *49*
δρᾶν *49*
δύνασθαι *59*
δυνατώτατοι *49*

ἔγκλημα *49*
ἐγράψατο *48*, Ἐγράψατο *49*
ἐγχειρεῖν *47*
εἰκὸς *58*
εἷλκε *49*
εἰσῆλθε *48*, ἐσελθεῖν *54’’*
εἰσήχθη *49*
εἰσφέρουσι *45*, εἰσφέρουσιν *45*
ἐκολάσθη *45*
ἐκπεπληγμένους *49*
ἐκράτουν *54’*
ἔκρινεν *54’*
ἐκφοβήσας *58*
ἐλευθέρων *58*
Ἕλληνες *46*, *49*, *49*
ἐλπίδα *58*
ἐνεκάλεσεν *59*
ἐνιαυτὸν *46*
ἔντευξιν *49*
ἐξαρπάσαι *58*
ἐξελαθῆναι *54’’*, ἐξελαύνεται *49*, ἐξελαύνουσι *45*
ἐξῆν *54’’*
ἐξίσταται *49*
ἐξοικίζουσι *45*
ἔοικεν *45*, ἐοικώς *49*
ἑορτάζουσαι *49*
ἑορτῆς *49*
ἐπαχθής *48*
ἔπεισε *58*
ἐπετέλουν *59*, ἐπιτελούσης *49*, ἐπιτέλουσιν *45*
ἐπιβουλὴν *54’*
ἐπικεχειρηκότος *49*
ἐπίκλην *54’*, *54’’*
ἐπιτυχὼν *49*
ἐπυνθάνετο *49*
ἐρῶν *48*, ἤρα *49*, *54’’*
ἐσθῆτα *48*, *49*
ἑσπέρας *46*
Ἑστιάδων παρθένων *46*
ἑταιρείαν *59*
ἑταίρων *47*
εὐγενής *48*
εὐεργέτουν *54’*
εὐθὺς *49*, *49*, *49*
εὐπατρίδης *49*
εὐπρεπής *54’’*
Εὑρίσκεται *49*
ἐχθρὸν *54’*
ἕῳ *58*

ζητεῖν *48*, ζητοῦσα *49*

ἤδη *46*, *54’*
ἤθροισε *58*
ἡλικίᾳ *48*
ἤλπιζε *48*
ἡμέραν *49*
ἤμυνε *49*
ἠξίουν *49*
ἠπίστατο *59*
ἠπόρει *48*
ᾑρεῖτο *54’*
ἤρθη *58*
ἠρώτησε *49*
ᾔτησεν *48*

θάνατον *58*
θέμις *49*
θεοῖς *49*, θεόν *46*, θεὸς *49*, θεοῦ *47*, *49*, θεῷ *45*, *49*
θεραπαινίδος *49*, θεραπαινὶς *48*
θρασὺς *48*
θρασύτητι *49*
θύεται *46*, θυούσαις *47*, ἔθυον *48*
θύραις *49*, θύρας *48*, *49*, θυρῶν *49*
θυσίαν (ἀπόρρητον ... καὶ ἀθέατον) *48*

ἰδοῦσα *48*
ἱεραὶ *vide* παρθένοι, ἱερὰν *45*, ἱερὸς *vide* δράκων
ἱερὰ *49*, ἱεροῖς ἀπορρήτοις *46*, ἱερῶν *49*, *58*, *59*
ἱερουργίᾳ *54’*, ἱερουργίαν *45*, *49*, *54’*
Ἰουλίᾳ *54’*
ἱστοροῦσι *45*

καθήκῃ *49*
Καῖσαρ *48*, *49*, *54’*, *54’*, *59*, (Καῖσαρ) *54’*, Καίσαρα *49*, *54’*, Καίσαρι *49*, Καίσαρος *48*, *48*, *48*, *49*, *49*, *54’*, Γαΐου Καίσαρος *54’’*
Καλὸν *vide* Κλώδιον
καλουμένην *49*, καλοῦσι *45*, καλοῦσιν *45*, κληθεὶς *49*, *54’*
Καπιτώλιον *58*
καρτεροῦντι *49*
καταγνῶναι *58*
κατακεκαυμένων *47*
κατακεκοιμῆσθαι *47*
κατάλογον *58*
καταμαρτυροῦντες *49*
καταπεφευγότα *48*, καταπεφευγώς *49*
καταφανοῦς *49*
κατάφωρον *54’’*
καταψηφισάμενοι *49*
κατεῖπεν *54’*
κατεῖχον *46*

κατελείφθη *49*
κατέπαυσε *49*
κατερέφουσι *49*
κατήγορος *49*
κελεύειν *47*, ἐκέλευσαν *47*, ἐκέλευσεν *58*, κελεύσασα *49*
κεφαλῆς *54’’*
Κικέρων *46*, *47*, *54’*, *58*, Κικέρωνος *47*, *47*, *54’*
κλήμασιν *49*
Κλώδιον *48*, *49*, *49*, *49*, Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν *54’*, Κλώδιος *48*, *48*, *49*, *54’*, Πόπλιος Κλώδιος *49*, Κλώδιος … ὁ Ποῦλχερ *54’’*, Κλωδίου *48*, *49*, *49*, *49*, Κλώδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου *59*, Κλωδίῳ *48*, *49*, *49*
κοσμοῦσαι *45*
Κόϊντος *47*
κραυγῇ *49*
κρύφα *45*, *48*

λαβόντα *54’*, λαβόντες *48*, λαβὼν *48*, λαβών *58*, λαμβάνουσι *48*
λαθοῦσα *45*, λήσειν *49*, λήσεσθαι *48*
λαμπάδων *49*
λαμπράν *47*, λαμπρός *49*
λεγομένῳ *59*, λεγομένων *49*, λέγονται *49*, λέγουσιν *49*, εἰπεῖν *49*, εἰπὼν *59*
Λεντούλου *58*
Λευκούλλῳ *49*
λόγος *49*, λόγου *49*, λόγῳ *49*
λύπης *54*

μακρότατον *58*
μάντεως *45*
μαρτυρίαν *54’*
μάρτυς *49*
μέγα *47*, *49*, μεγάλῃ *49*, μεγάλην *48*, μέγιστα *47*, *49*
μειράκιον *48*
μεμοιχεῦσθαι *59*
μέσον *49*
μεταδιδοῦσα *47*
μεταλαμβάνουσα *47*
μηδὲν *59*
μήτηρ *49*, μητρὸς *46*, μητρός *48*
μοιχείαν *49*
μόναις *54’’*
μοναρχίαν *54’*
Μουρκίαν *vide* ’Αφροδίτην
μουσικῆς *49*
μυθολογοῦντες *45*
μῦθον *49*
μυρσίνας *45*, μυρσίνην *45*, *45*, μυρσίνης *45*
Μυρτίαν *vide* ’Αφροδίτην
μυστηρίων *54’’*

νέᾳ *49*, νέος *48*

νενομισμένα *45*
Πόπλιος Νιγίδιος *47*
νυκτὸς *48*, *49*, *58*, νυκτός *54''*
νύκτωρ *49*
νύμφαν *49*

ὁδηγούσης *54''*
οἰκειούμενοι *49*
οἴκημα *48*, *49*
οἰκίᾳ *46*, *48*, *49*, *58*, *59*, οἰκίαν *46*, *48*, *48*, *49*, *49*, *54''*, οἰκίας *45*, *49*
οἰκιακῶν *47*
οἶκοι *45*
οἶκον *49*
οἴκτῳ *58*
οἶνον *45*, οἴνῳ *45*
οἰόμενος *49*
ὁμοίως *47*
ὁμολογοῦντα *49*
ὄνομα *48*, τοὔνομα *48*
ὀνομάζουσι *46*, ὀνομάζουσιν *49*, ὠνόμαζον *45*
ὄργια *49*
ὀργιαζομένων *49*, ὀργιάζουσαι *46*
ὀρκῶσαι *58*
Ὀρφικοῖς *49*
Οὐατίνιόν *54'*
οὐδείς *48*, οὐδὲν *49*, οὐδενὸς *49*
ὄφελος *49*
ὄχλον *49*
ὄψιν *49*

παιδίσκης *48*, *49*
παίζειν *49*
παλαιὸν *45*
πανήγυρις *3*
παννυχίσι *49*
παντελῶς *58*
παραδόξου *49*
παρακαθίδρυται *49*
παρακεκινδυνευμένην *49*, παρακινδυνεύσωσιν *49*
παραλαβοῦσα *49*
παραμένοντος *46*
παρασκευαζομένων *58*
παρεισῆλθε *48*
παρῆλθεν *46*
παρῆν *48*, παρούσης *49*, παρουσῶν *46*
παρθένοι (ἱεραὶ) *47*, παρθένων *vide* Ἑστιάδων
παρώξυνεν *47*
πατρίδος *47*
πατρίκιος *54''*
πατρίων *59*
περιβοήτου *48*, περιβοήτων *49*
περιέπουσα *49*
περιῄει *49*
περιμένειν *49*, *49*

περιφεύγοντι *49*
πεφωρακέναι *49*
πιστεύειν *59*
πλανηθέντα *54''*, πλανώμενον *48*, πλανωμένῳ *49*
πλεῖστα *47*, πλείστων *49*
πλῆθος *49*
πλούτῳ *49*
πόδας (ἄκρους) *54*^{11}
ποιηθέντων *58*, ποιῶσι *45*, ἐποίει *49*
ποίησιν *59*
πόλει *49*
πολίταις *46*
πολιτικὰς *47*, πολιτικῶν *47*
πολλὰ *49*, πολλὴν *47*, πολλῆς *49*, πολλοῖς *49*, πολλῶν *58*
Πομπηίᾳ *49*, Πομπηίαν *48*, *48*, *49*, Πομπηίας *48*, *48*, *49*, *49*
Πόπλιος *vide* Κλώδιος, Νιγίδιος, Πουπλίου *vide* Κλωδίου
Ποῦλχερ *vide* Κλώδιος
πρᾶγμα *46*, *49*, πράγματος *48*
πρᾳεῖά *47*
πράξεις *47*
προδραμούσης *49*
προελθὼν *46*
προκατέσχε *58*
προπεμφθείς *46*
προπυθόμενος *58*
προσαγορεύουσαι *45*
προσελθεῖν *49*
προσπεσοῦσα *49*
πρότερος *54'*
προὐκαλεῖτο *49*
πῦρ *58*, πυρὸς *47*

ῥάβδοις *45*
Ῥωμαῖοι *46*, *49*, Ῥωμαίοις *49*

σηκὸν *45*
σημεῖον *47*
σκευὴν *48*, *49*
σκηνὰς *49*
σπένδουσι *45*
σπουδὰς *49*
στρατηγοῖς *58*, *59*
στρατηγοῦντος *49*
στρατιωτῶν *58*
συλλαβεῖν *54'*, συνειλημμένων *58*
συμφροσύνην *54'*
συνειδυίας *49*
συνεῖσα *48*
συνεισῆλθε *48*, *49*
συνεκάλει *48*
συνεκάλυψεν *49*
συνέστησαν *48*, *49*

συνηγόρευε *54’*
συνηνέχθη *49*
συνκεχυμένοις *49*
συνοικῆσαι *59*, συνοικήσασαν *49*, συνῳκήκει *49*
συνταράξας *58*
σώζειν *49*
σωτηρίαν *47*
σώφρονα *59*, σώφρων *49*

ταραχῶδες *49*
τελεῖται *49*
Τεραντία *47*, Τεραντίαν *47*
τέφρας *47*
τριῶν *vide* ἀνδρῶν
τύχη *49*

ὕβρει *49*
ὑβρισμένοις *49*
ὑπατεύοντος *49*
ὑπάτοις *59*, ὑπάτου *46*
ὑπεραρέσκοντα *54’*
ὑπονοηθῆναι *49*
ὑπόνοιαν *54’*
ὑποψίαν *59*
ὑπωπτεύθη *59*

φανέντος *49*
φανερὸς *49*
φασί *49*, φήσαντος *48*, *49*, φησιν *47*, ἔφη *49*, *49*
Φαύνου *45*, Φαύνῳ *49*
φθέγξασθαι *48*
φιλοσοφίας *47*
φιλότιμος *47*
φιλοτιμούμεναι *45*
φίλου *46*
φλόγα *47*
φλοιῶν *47*
φράσας *46*, φράσειε *49*, ἔφραζον *49*, ἔφρασε *47*
φρονήματι *48*
φρονοῦντα *49*
φροντίδων *47*
φρουρᾷ *58*
Φρύγες *49*
φυλακαί *49*
φύσιν *47*
φωνῇ *49*, φωνὴν *46*, φωνῆς *54’’*
φῶτα *49*, *49*

χαλεπὴν *49*
χαριζόμενον *49*
χρεία *58*, χρείας *54’*
χρῆναι *59*, χρησαμένη *45*, χρῆσθαι *45*, ἐχρῆτο *47*

χρόνος *49*
χώρειν *47*, ἐχώρει *49*, *49*

ψαλτρίας *48*, *49*

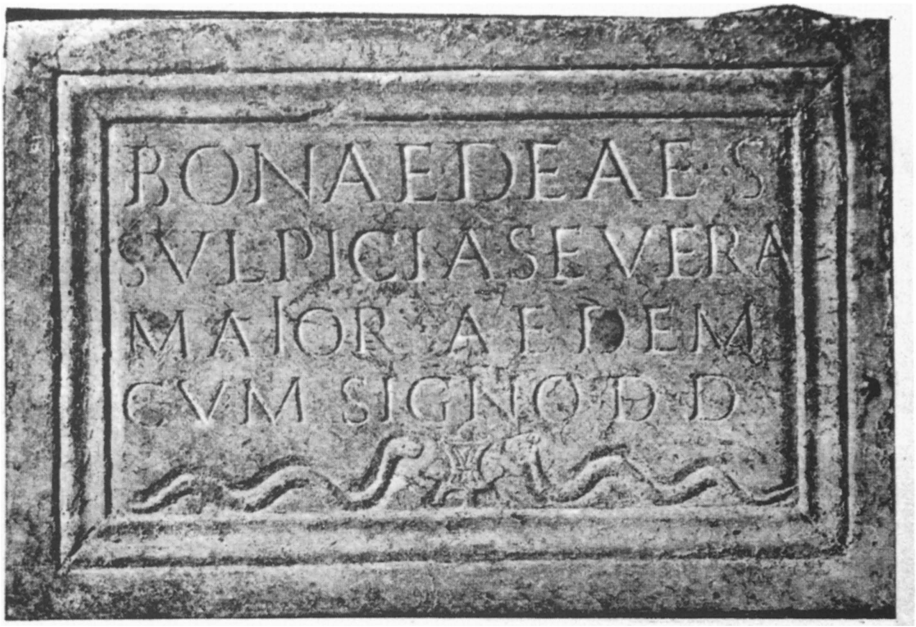
ὡρμημένῳ *49*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF THE PLATES

Frontispiece	Photo from Jacobus Laurus Romanus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Roma, 1612, No. 42
I, Mon. 3	Photo from F. Cumont in *MEFRA* XLIX (1932), pp. 1-5, fig 1
I, Mon. 5	Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 7292. Photo: H. J. J. Brouwer
II, Mon. 4	Florence, Palazzo Rinuccini. Photo: Soprintendenza alle Antichità Firenze, No. 24968/2
II, Mon 8	Photo: Soprintendenza Monumenti (Rome), Neg. No. 5630; Soprintendenza Forum (Rome), Neg. No. 11.622
III, Mon (6)	Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 6723. Photos: H. H. J. Brouwer
IV-VI, Mon. (7)	Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 6722. Photos: H. H. J. Brouwer
VII, Mon. 9	Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 4609. Photo: Oscar Savio
VIII, Mon. 14	Rome, Palazzo dell'Esposizione. Photo neg. 6095
VIII, Mon. 18	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 5662, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. VIII 14. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
IX, Mon. 19	London, British Museum, Reg. No. 1805.7-3.207. Photo: Museum
X, Mon. 22	Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, antiquarium, Inv. No. 29.299. Photos: H. H. J. Brouwer
XI, Mon. 24	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Ref. No. *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1773), pt. III, No. 12. Photo: Museum
XI, Mon. 26	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 5673, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. VIII 34. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XII, Mon. 34	Mentana, Collezione Zeri No. 41. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome; Inst. Neg. 69.2545
XIII, Mon. 36	Rome, Musei Vaticani, Inv. No. 6771, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. XLVII 20. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XIII, Mon. 39	Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, magazzino epigrafico, Inv. No. 12.6369. Photo: Museum, neg. No. 3438
XIV, Mon. 44	Rome, Musei Vaticani, depositories, Inv. No. 6855, Galleria Lapidaria, Inv. No. XLV 44. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XV, Mon. 45	Rome, Musei Vaticani, depositories, Inv. No. 3026. Photo: Archivio fotograf. Gall. Mus. VATICANI, Neg. XXXII.10.21. Detail: H. H. J. Brouwer
XVI-XVII, Mon. 46	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 114. Photos: Museum
XVIII	Ostia Antica, temple of Bona Dea outside the Porta Marina. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer

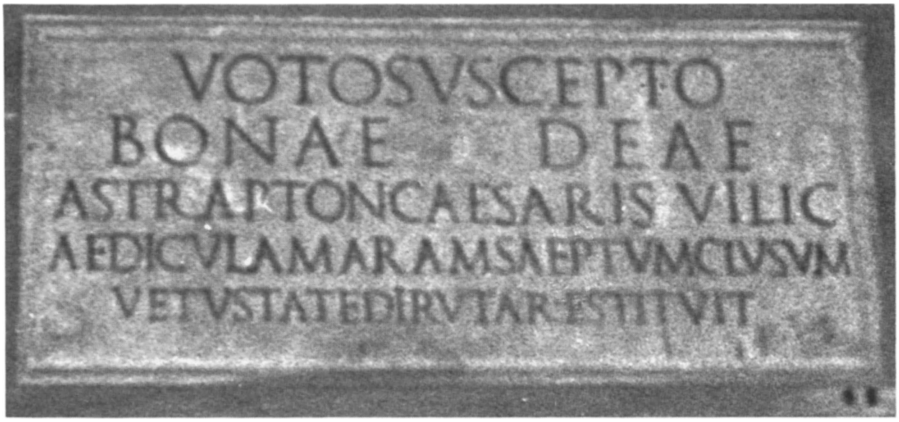
XIX, Mon. 55	Ostia Antica, Regio IV-Insula VIII-3 (in the temple of Bona Dea), Inv. No. 31.003. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XX, Mon. 56-59	Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. Nos. 12.304; A. 17: 7734 a-b-c; 6684 a-b-c. Photos from F. Zevi in *Epigraphica* 1968, p. 85, figs. 2-5
XXI, Mon. 63	Ostia, Inv. No. 11.821. Photo from M. Cébeillac in *MEFRA* tome 85-1973-2, p. 517, fig. 1
XXI, Mon. 64	Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 8183. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXII, Mon. (65)	Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 409. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXIII, Mon. (66)	Ostia, Museo Ostiense, Magazzino, Inv. No. 16.678. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXIV, Mon. 68	Rome, Villa Albani, garden, Inv. No. 348. Photo: Alinari
XXV, Mon. 71	Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, depositories, Inv. No. 115.643 Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXVI, Mon. 73	Photo from O. Marucchi in *BullCom* 1879, tav. XXIII
XXVII, Mon. (77)	Photo from A. Maiuri in *NS* 1913, pp. 244-247, fig. 2
XXVIII-XXXI. Mon. 81	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Magazzino, Inv. No. 147.827. Photos from A. Greifenhagen in *RM* 1937, plates 51-52
XXXII, Mon. (82)	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. No. 110.339. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXII, Mon. 83	Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Magazzino, Antiquarium A b 14; Inv. No. 14.001 (3799). Photo: Museum, Neg. Nos. 10.400 and 10.399
XXXIII, Mon. 91	Photo from A. Greifenhagen in *RM* 1937, plate 50, 1
XXXIV, Mon. 101'	Photo from G. Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte, esame del territorio e dei materiali archeologici*, Roma, 1980, II (*Tavole*), tav. CCIV 1
XXXIV, Mon. 109	Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, in the wall "AQUILEIA", without Reg. No. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXV, Mon. 111	Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Inv. No. 2002. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVI, Mon. 98	Pisa, Campo Santo, depositories, Inv. ant. 1. U-Inv. mod. No. 147. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVI, Mon. 115	Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Sala IV, Reg. No. 427. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVII, Mon. (118)	Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Reg. No. 1654. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVII, Mon. (119)	Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, Magazzino, Reg. No. 1200. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVIII, Mon. (120)	Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, in the wall "AQUILEIA", without Reg No. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XXXVIII, Mon. 121	Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Museo, Reg. No. 2475. Photo: from Città di Bologna, VI Mostra biennale d'Arte Antica, 1964, *Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia settentrionale dalla repubblica alla tetrarchia*, Catalogo I (Tavole), tav. LXXXIII, I 173
XXXVIII, Mon. 122	Pula, Arheološki Musej Istre, depositories, Reg. No. 5862. Photo: Museum

XXXIX, Mon. 123	Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, depositories, without Reg. No. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XL-XLI, Mon. (124)	Trieste, Musei Civichi di Storia ed Arte ed Orto Lapidario, Orto Lapidario, without Reg. No. Photo: H. H. J. Brouwer
XLII-XLIV Mon. 126	Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität, Reg. No. B. 77. Photos: Museum
XLV, Mon. 128	Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Reg. No. 168.1881. Photo: Museum
XLVI-XLIX, Mon. 130	Arles Musée Lapidaire d'Art Païen, Reg. No. P. 548. Photos: Museum
L, Mon. (131)	Arles, Musée Lapidaire d'Art Païen, Reg. No. P. 78. Photo: Museum
L, Mon. 132	Cucuron, collection Deydier. Photo from M. Clerc, *Aquae Sextiae, Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence dans l'Antiquité*, Marseilles, 1973, Pl. XXXII
LI, Mon. 133	Glanum, Inv. No. 2852.
LI, Mon. 134	Glanum, Inv. No. 2853.
LI, Mon. 135	Glanum, Inv. No. 2854. Photos from H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum (Saint-Rémy de Provence), Fouilles et Monuments archéologiques en France Métropolitaine* (Supplément à "Gallia"), Paris, 1946, p. 97, fig. 78.
LII	Photo from A. Greifenhagen in *RM* 1937, p. 229, fig. 1



BONAEDEAE S
SVLPICIA SEVERA
MAIOR AEDEM
CVM SIGNO D D

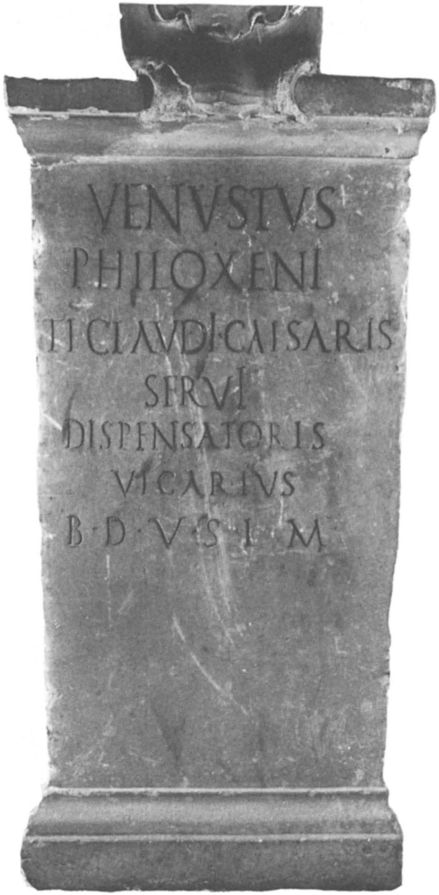
3



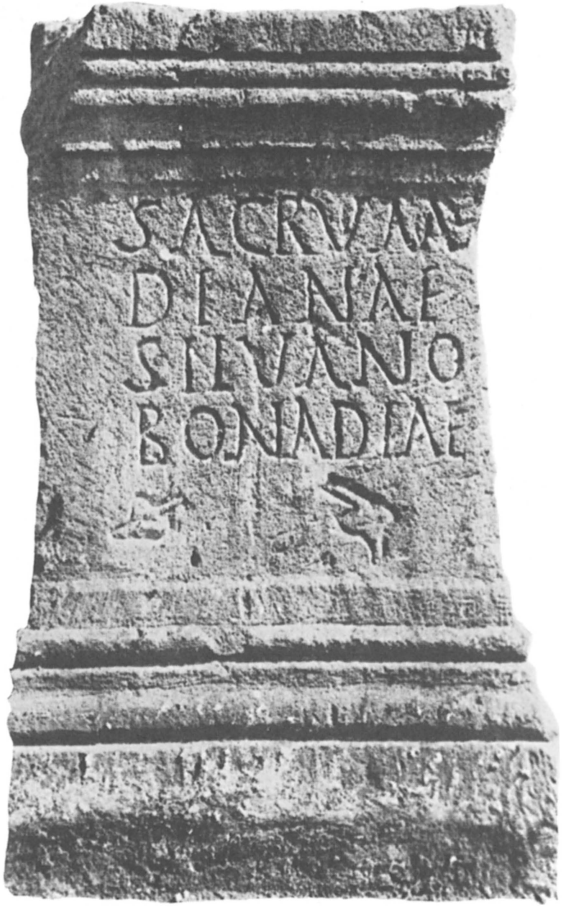
VOTOSVSCEPTO
BONAE DEAE
ASTRAPTONCAESARIS VILIC
AEDICVLAMARAMSAEPTVMCLVSVM
VETVSTATEDIRVTARESTITVIT

5

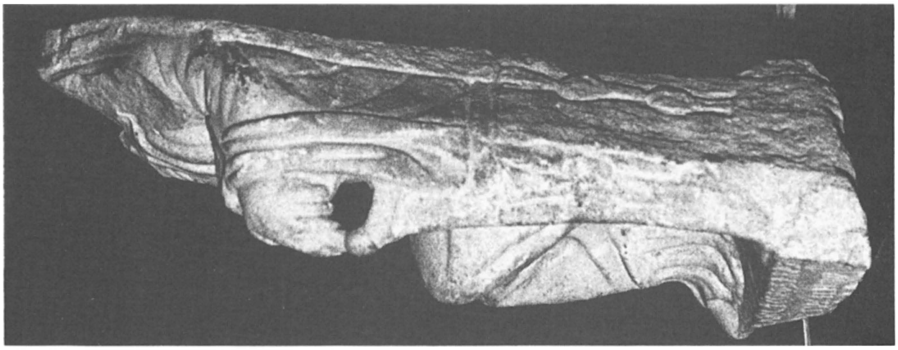
PLATE II

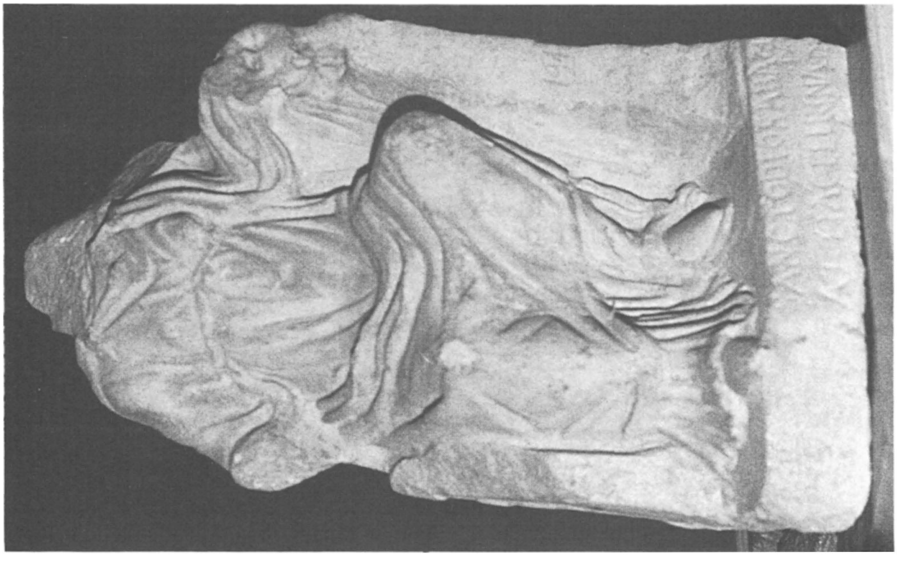

VENVSTVS
PHILOXENI
TI CLAVDI CAISARIS
SERVI
DISPENSATORIS
VICARIVS
B·D·V·S·L·M

4

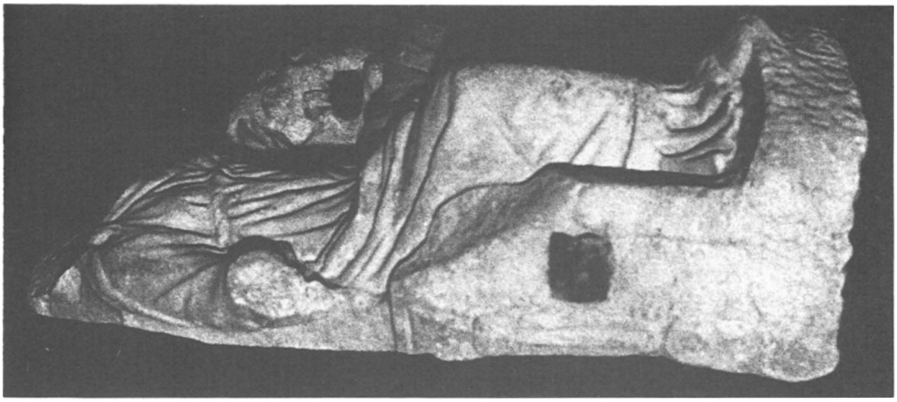

SACRVM
DIANAE
SILVANO
BONADIAE

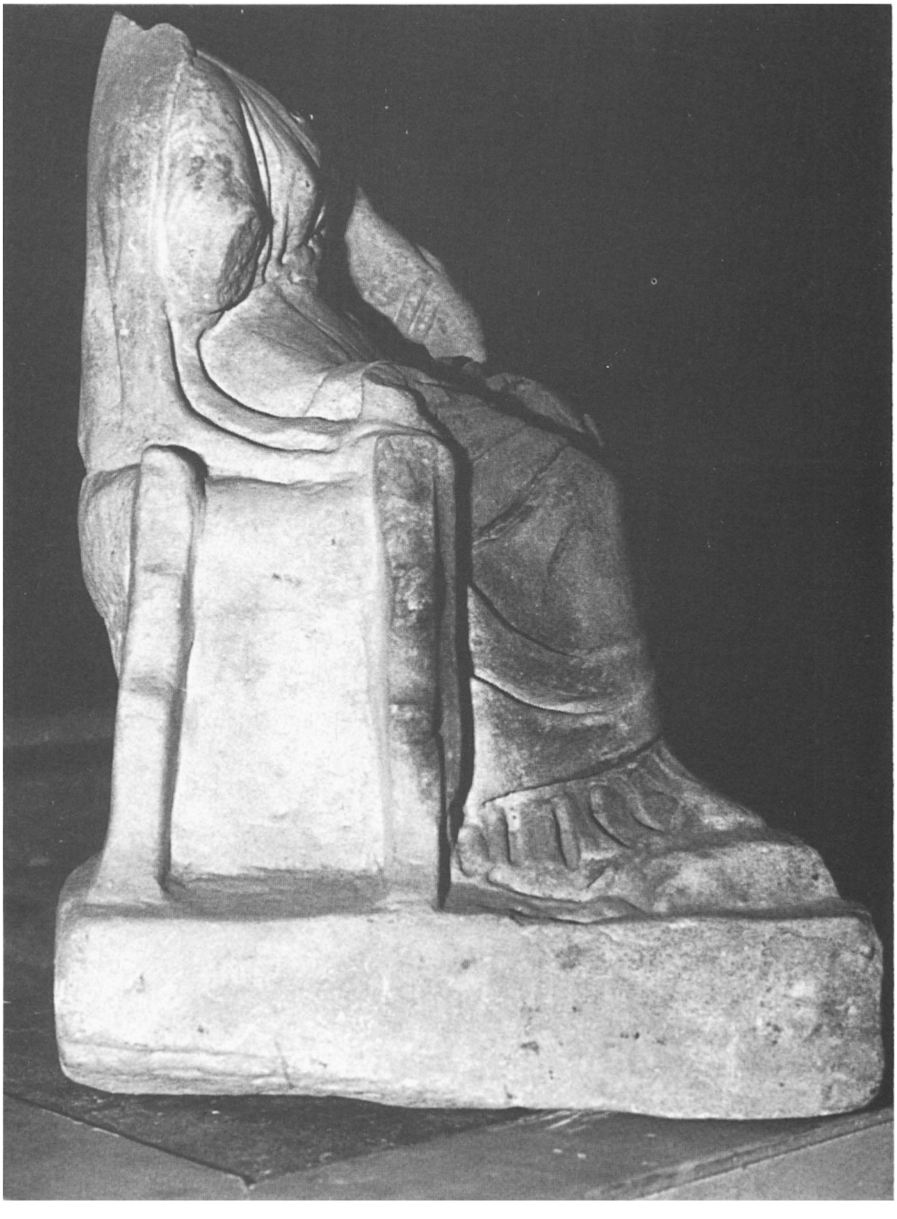
8



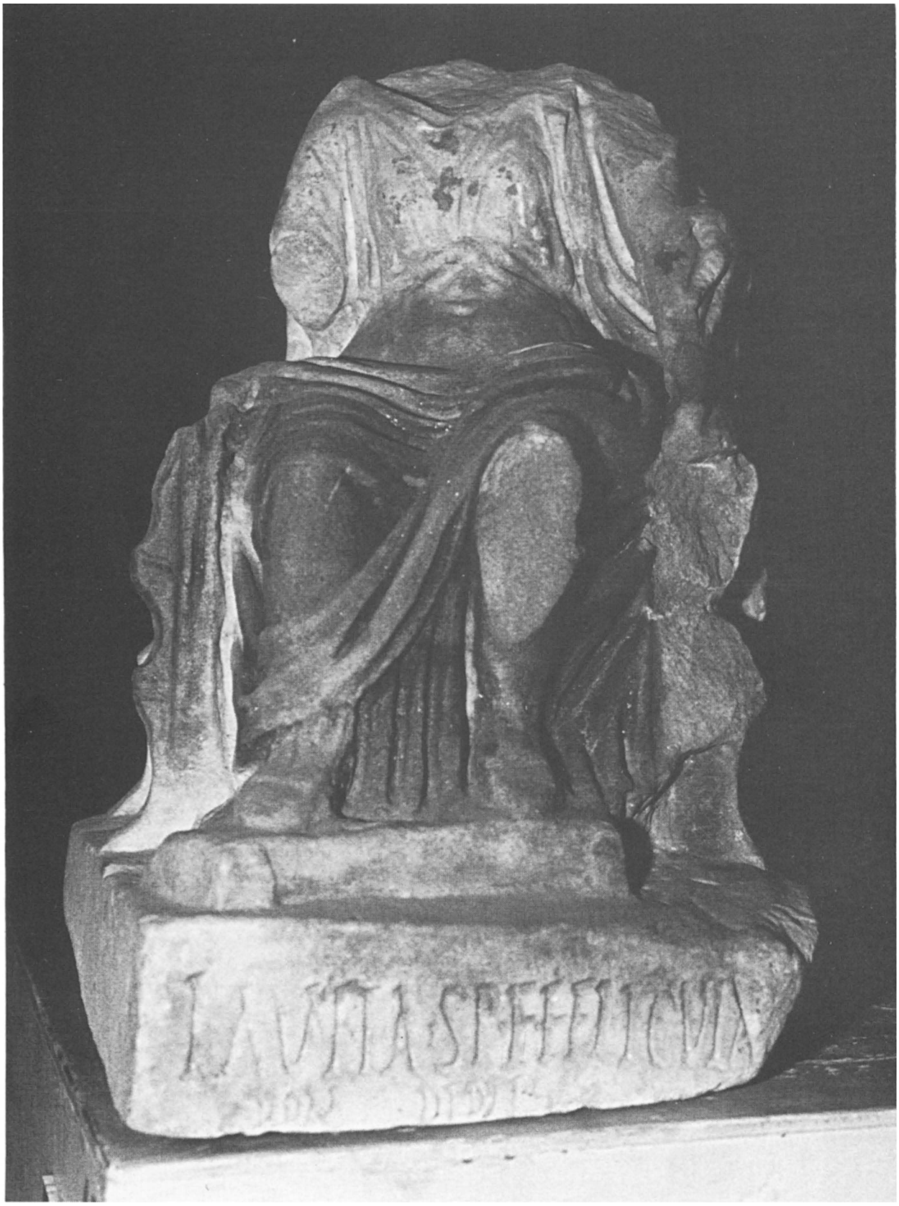


(9)



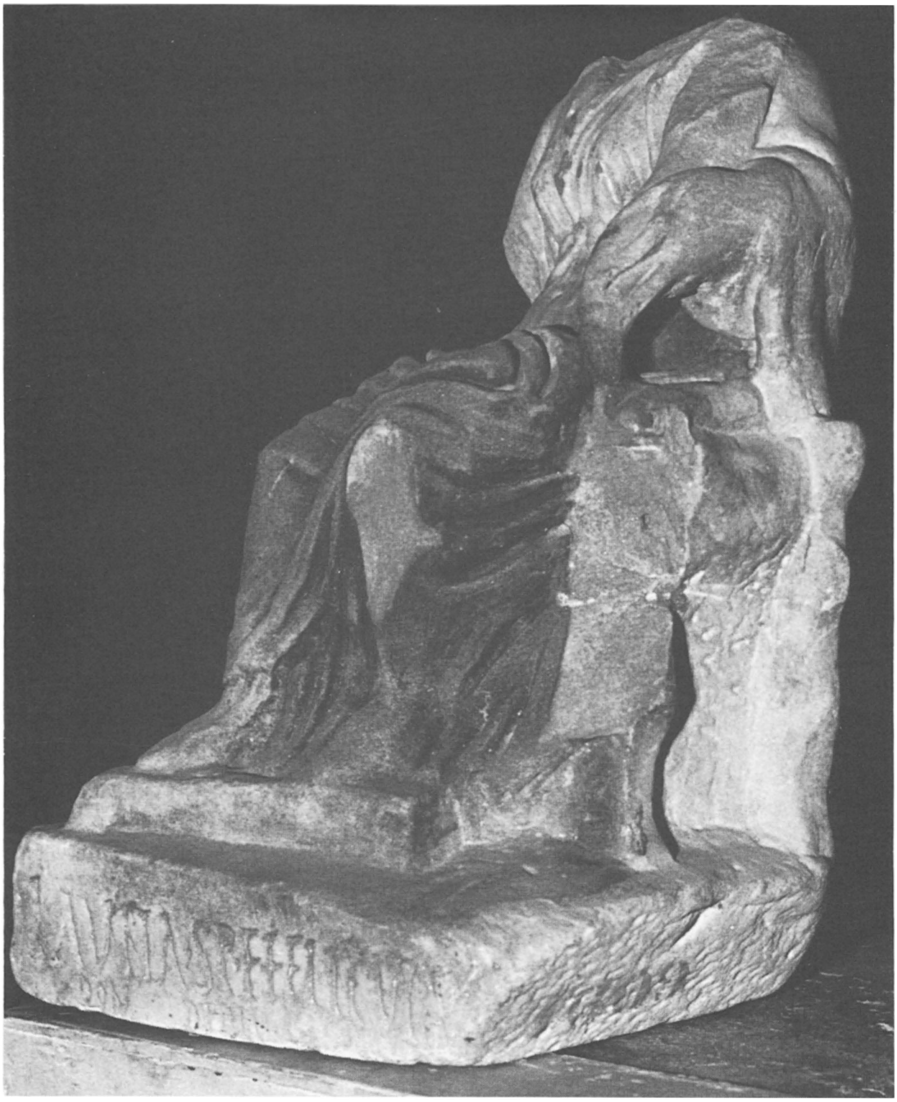


(7)



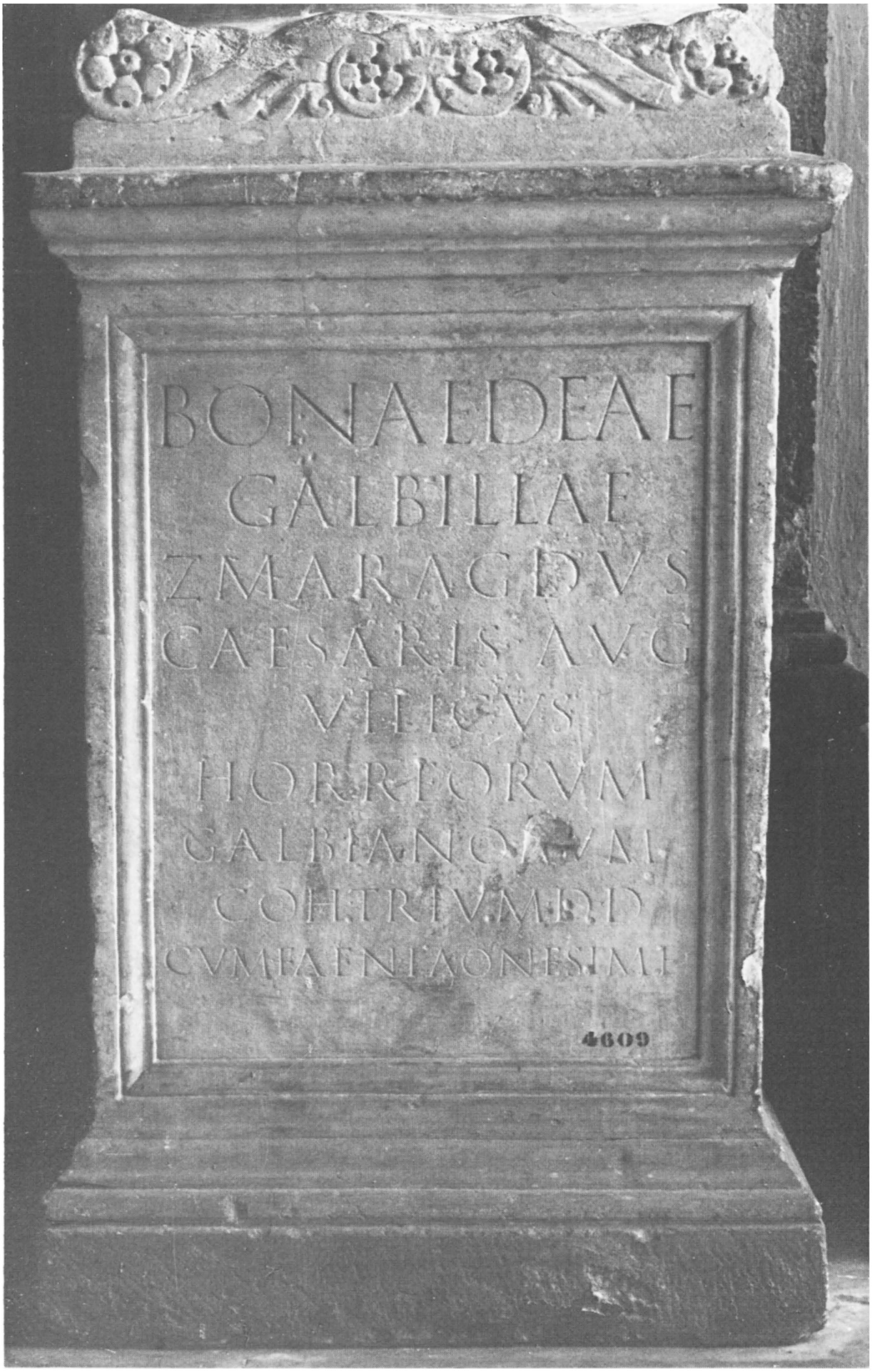
(7)

PLATE VI



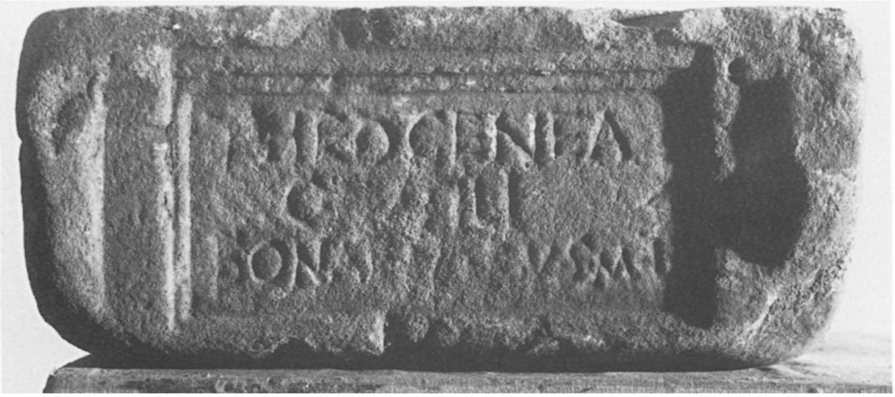
(7)

PLATE VII

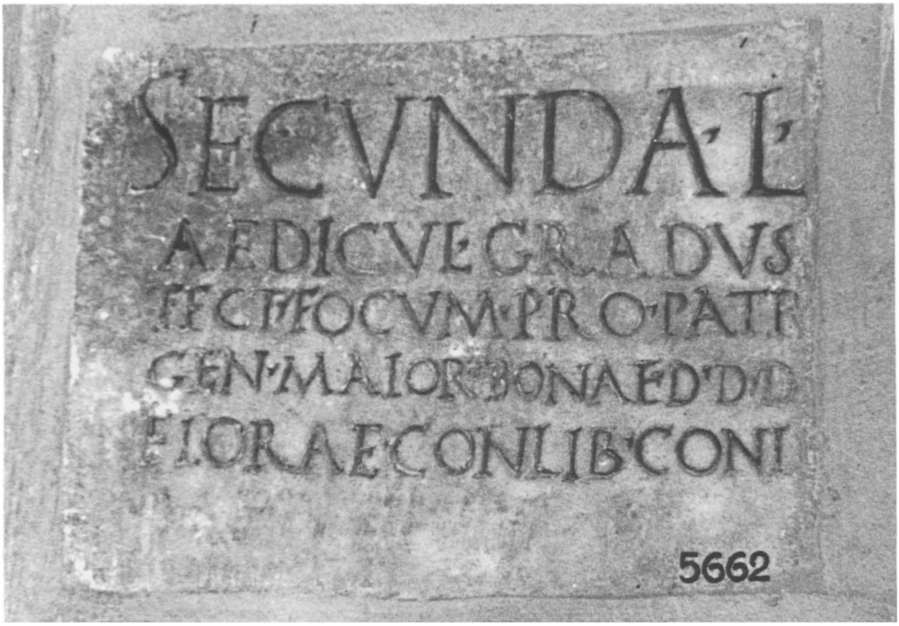

BONAE DEAE
GALBILLAE
ZMARAGDVS
CAESARIS AVG
VILICVS
HORREORVM
GALBIANORVM
COH. TRIVM. D. D
CVM FAENIA ONESIME
4609

9

Plate VIII



14


SECVNDA·L
AEDICVE·GRADVS
FECIT·FOCVM·PRO·PATR
GEN·MAIOR·BONAE·D·D
FLORAE·CONLIB·CONI
5662

18

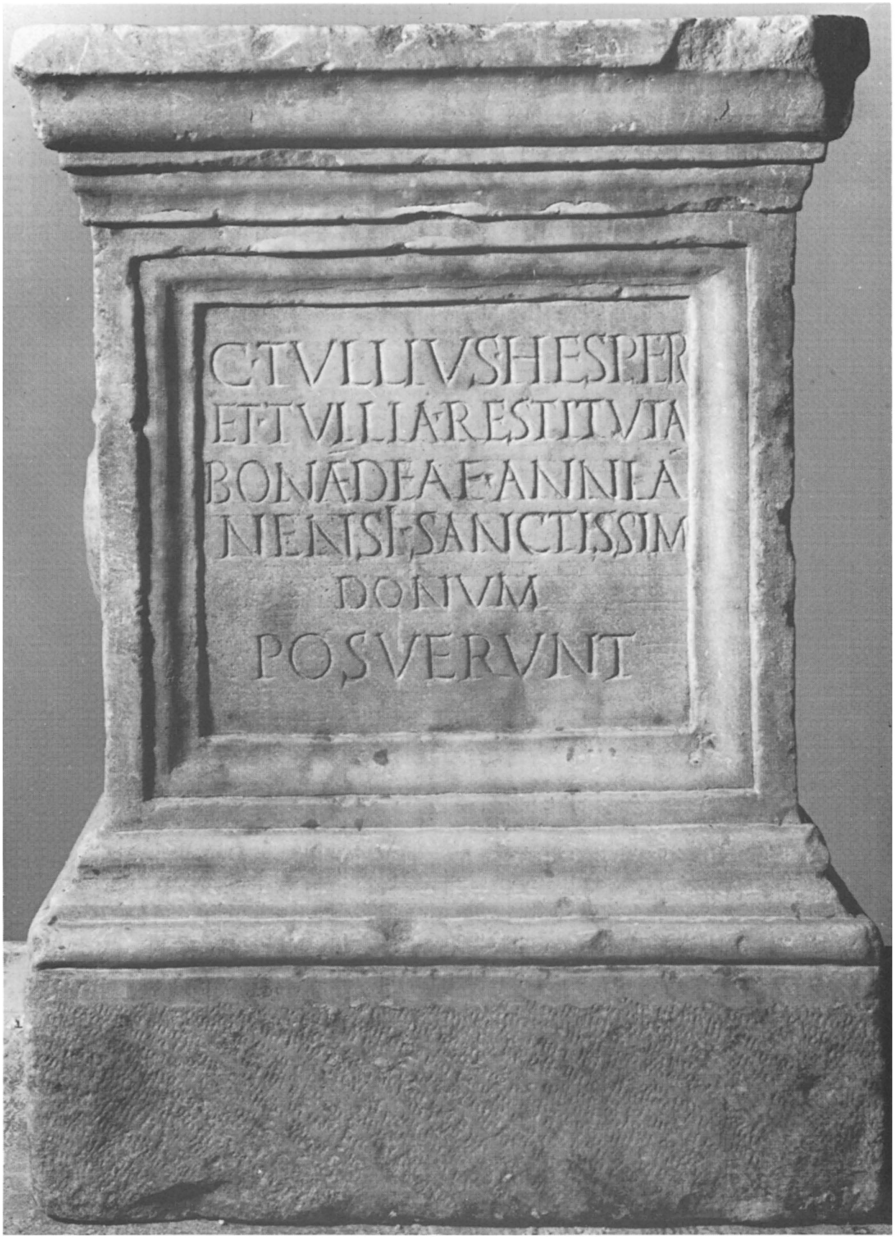
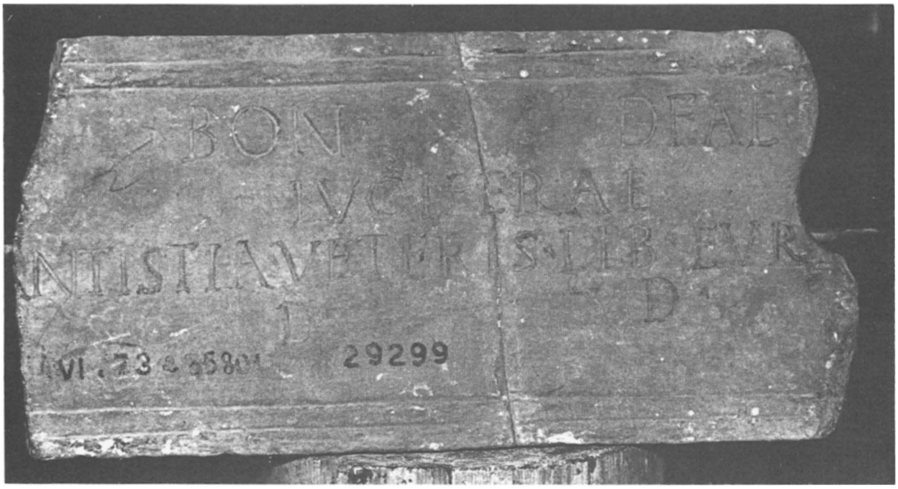
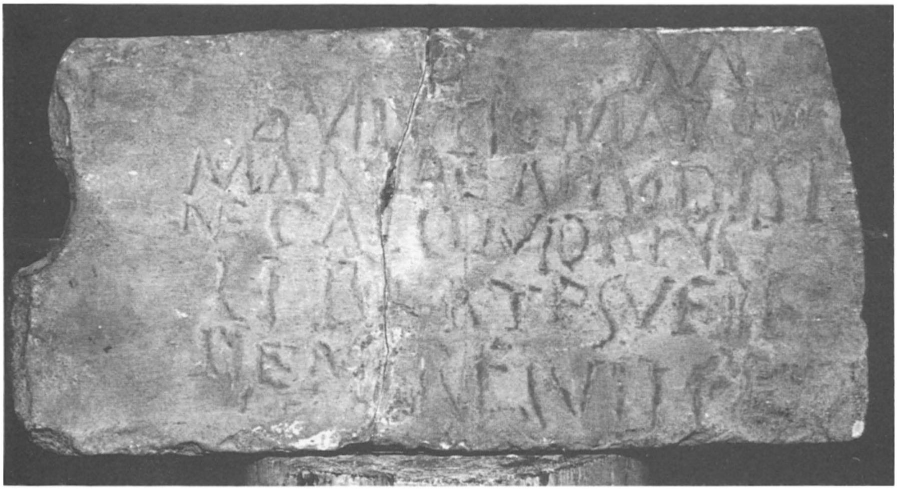

C·TVLLIVS·HESPER
ET·TVLLIA·RESTITVTA
BONA·DEAE·ANNIA
NENSI·SANCTISSIM
DONVM
POSVERVNT

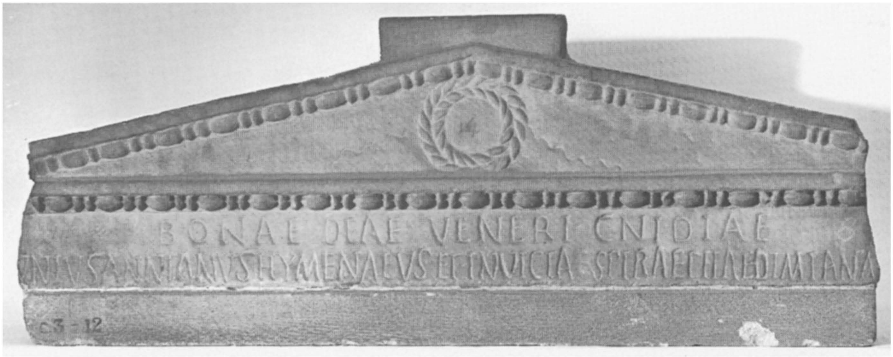
PLATE X


BON DEAE
LVCIFERAE
ANTISTIA VETERIS LIB EVR
D D
VI. 73 & 35801
29299

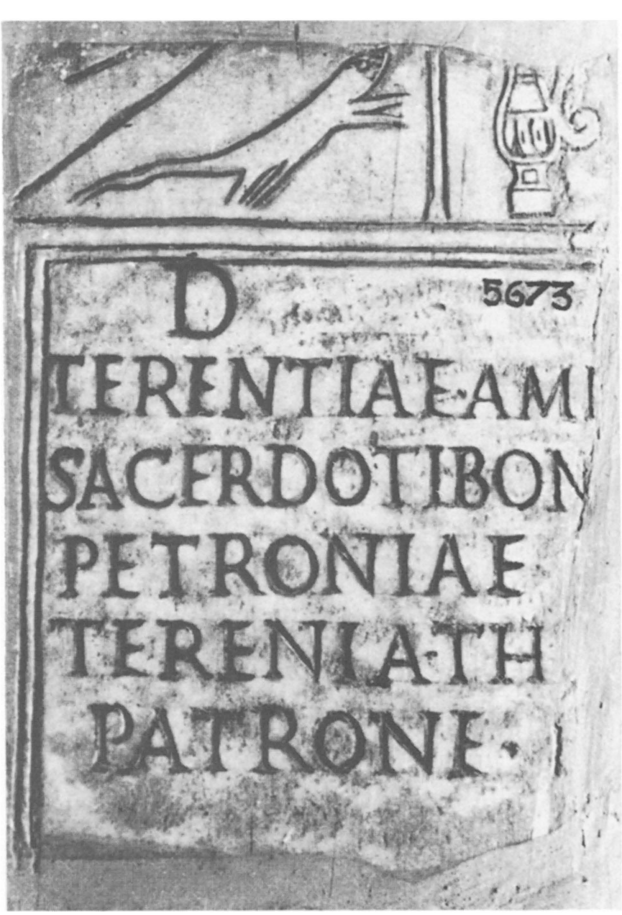
22



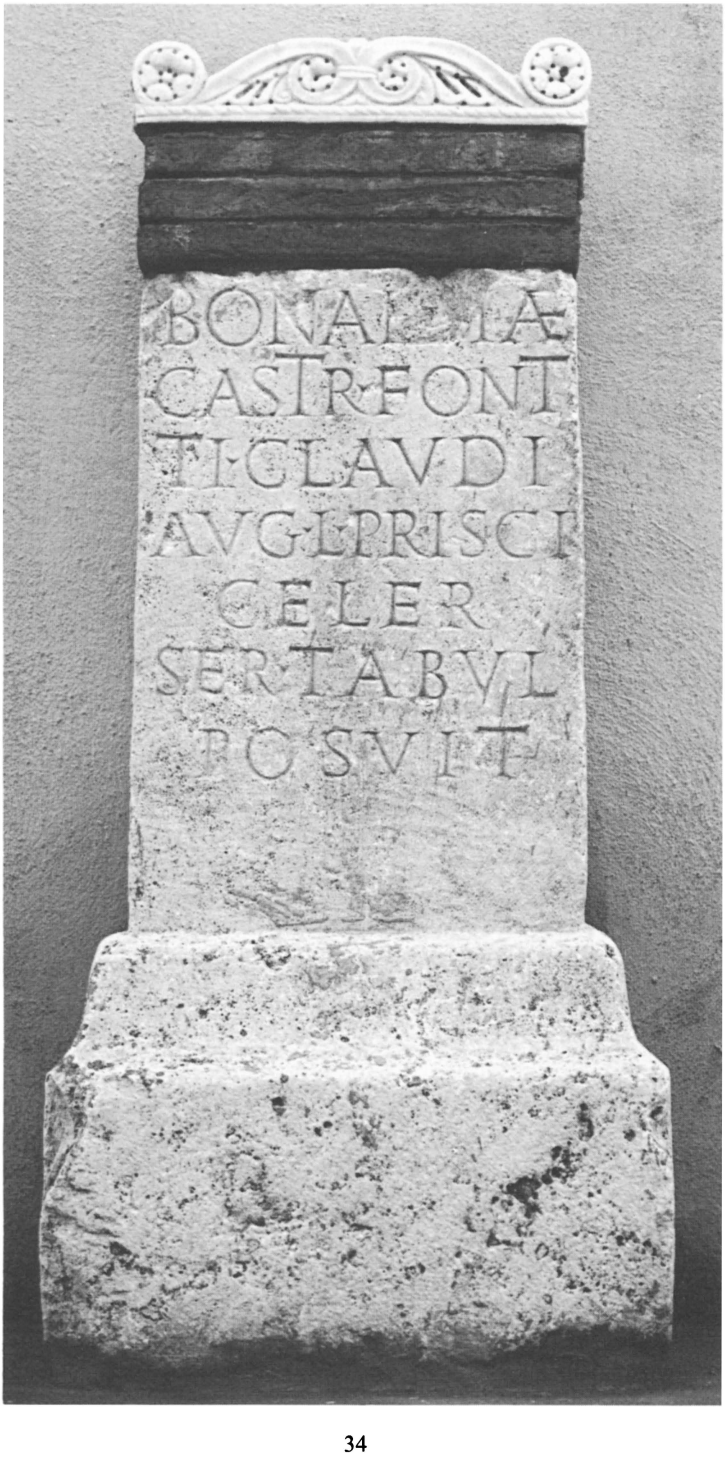
22

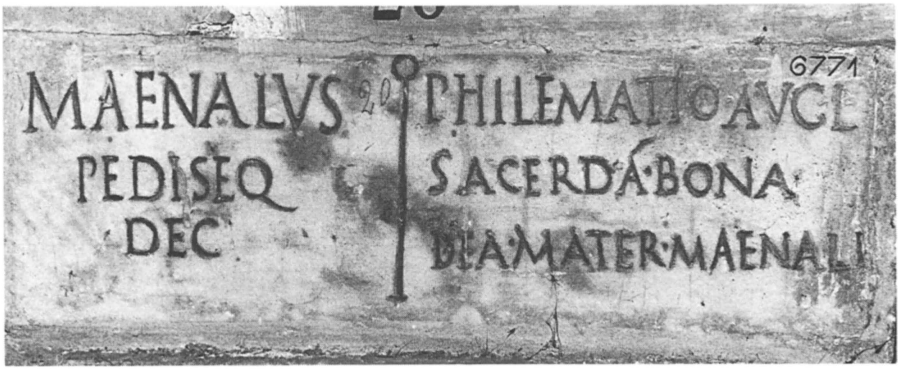

BONAE DEAE VENERI CNIDIAE
c3 - 12

24


D
5673
TERENTIAE AMI
SACERDOTI BON
PETRONIAE
TERENIA TH
PATRONE

26

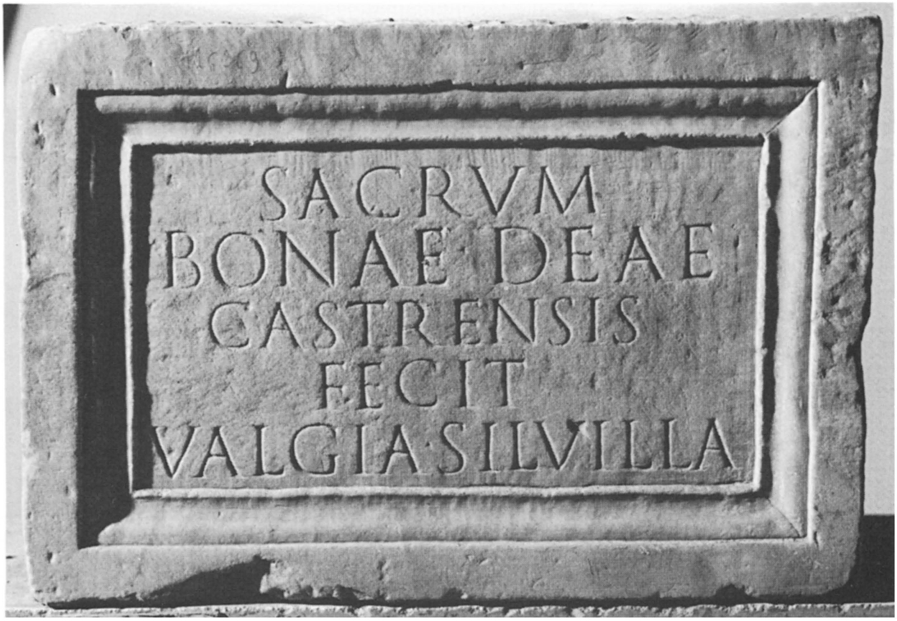

BONA [illegible] Æ
CASTR·FONT
TI·CLAVDI
AVG·L·PRISCI
CELER
SER·TABVL
POSVIT



MAENALVS
PEDISEQ
DEC

PHILEMATIO·AVG·L
SACERDA·BONA
DEA·MATER·MAENALI

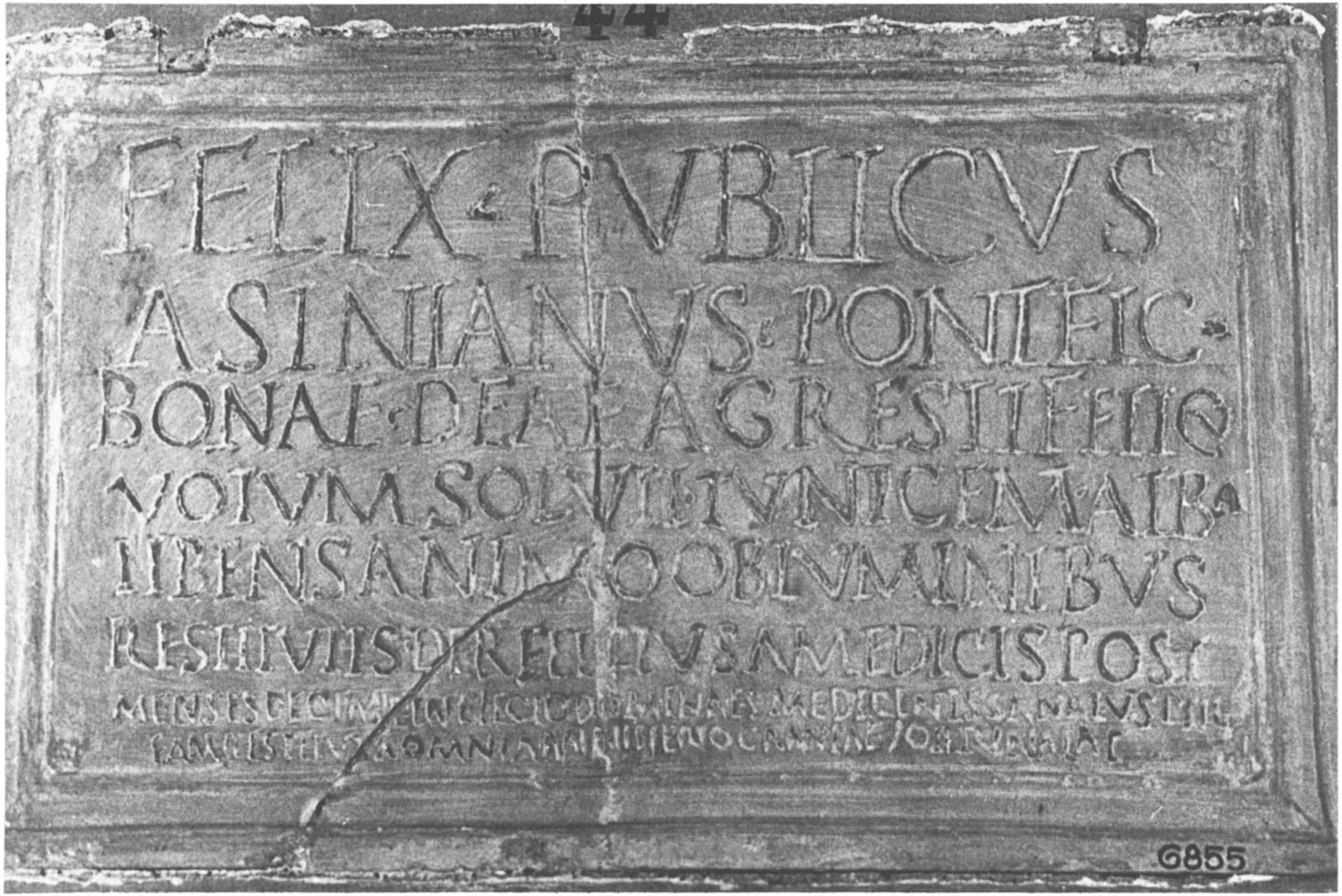
36



SACRVM
BONAE DEAE
CASTRENSIS
FECIT
VALGIA·SILVILLA

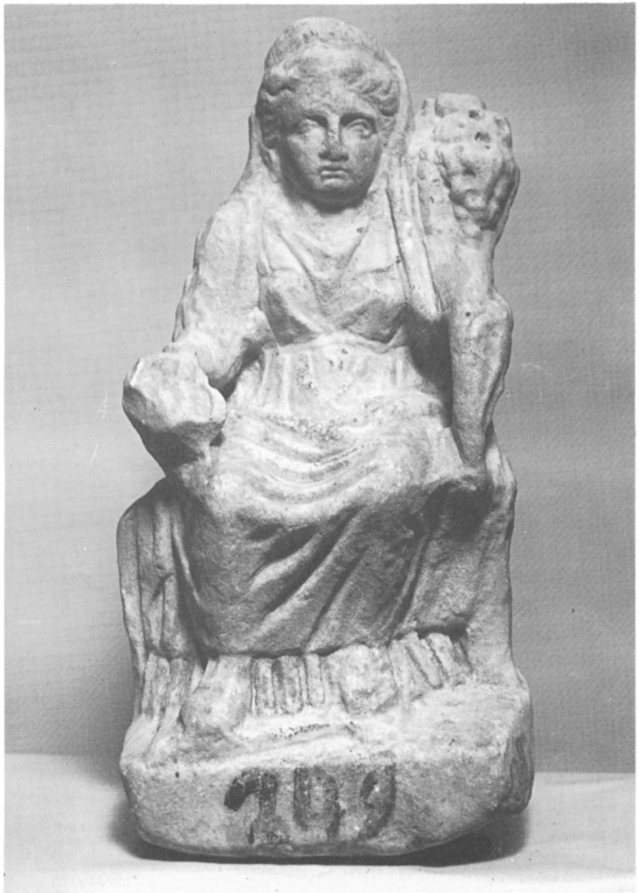
39

PLATE XIV

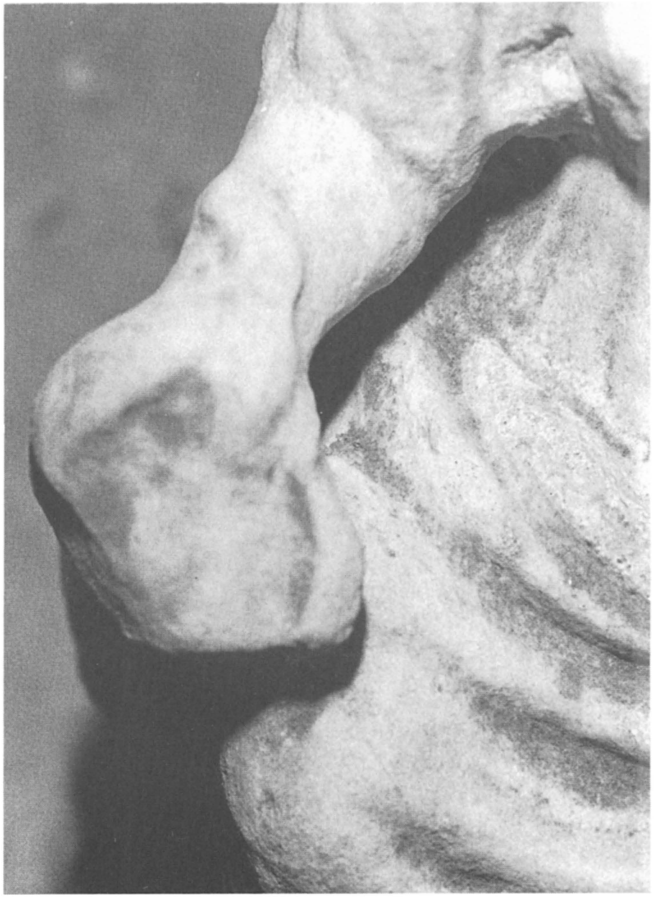

44
FELIX PVBLICVS
ASINIANVS PONTIFIC
BONAE DEAE AGRESTI FELICI
VOTVM SOLVIT IVNICEM ALBA
LIBENS ANIMO OB LVMINIBVS
RESTITVTIS DERELICTVS A MEDICIS POST
G855

44

PLATE XV

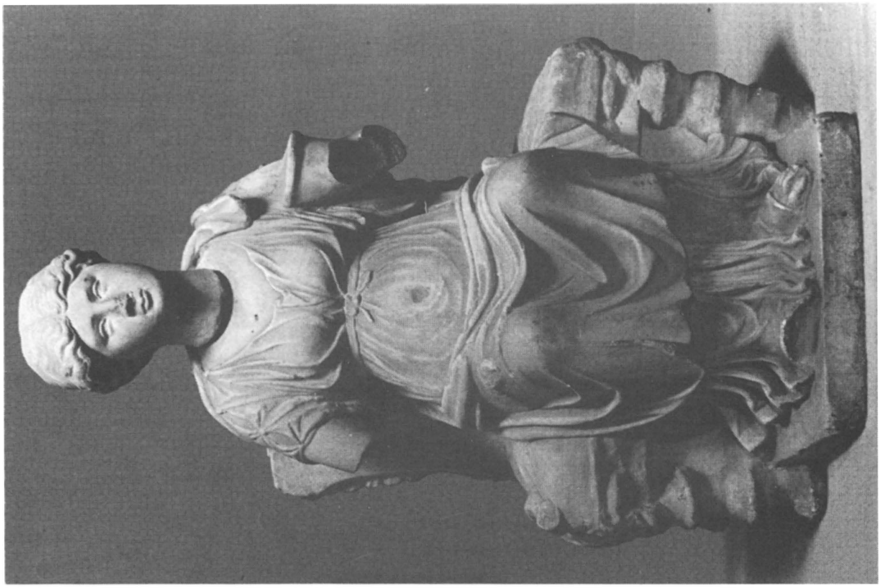


45

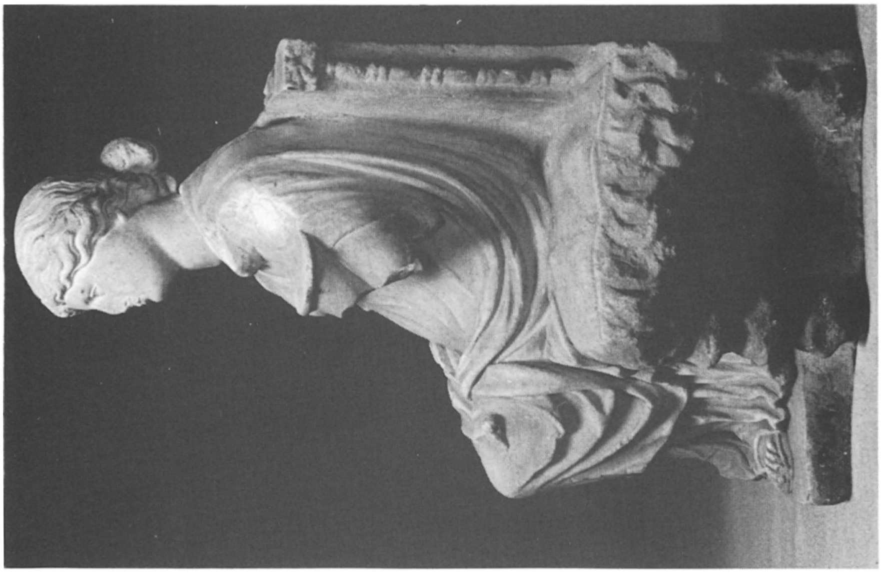


45

PLATE XVI

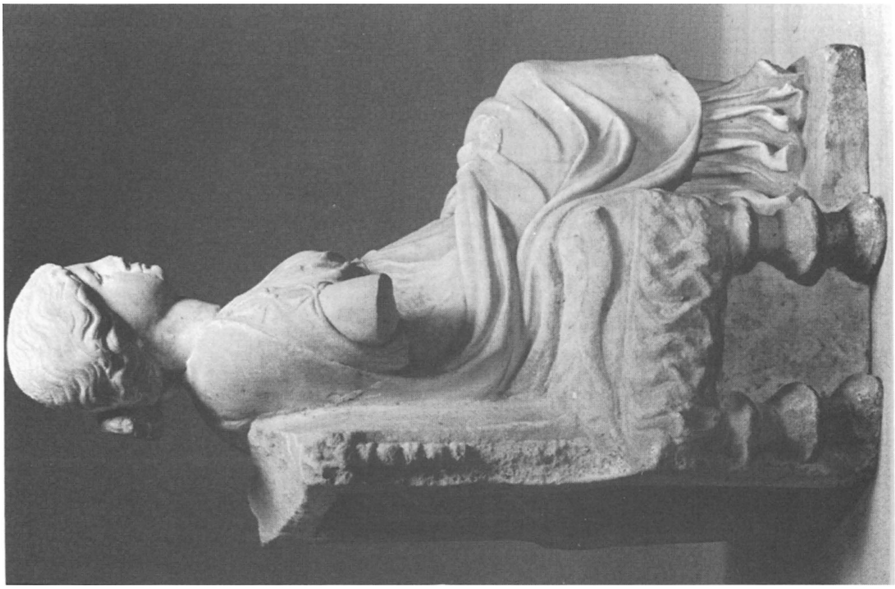


46

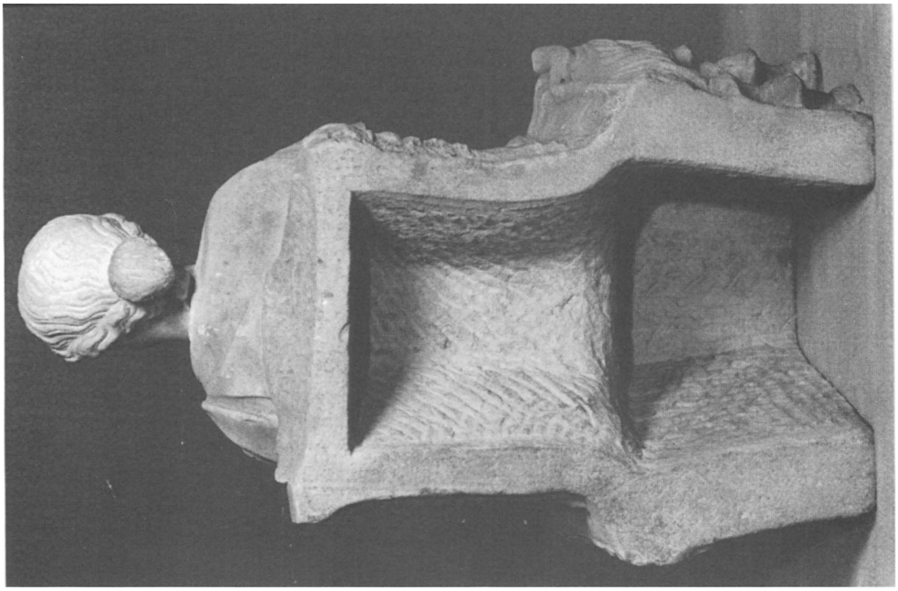


46

PLATE XVII

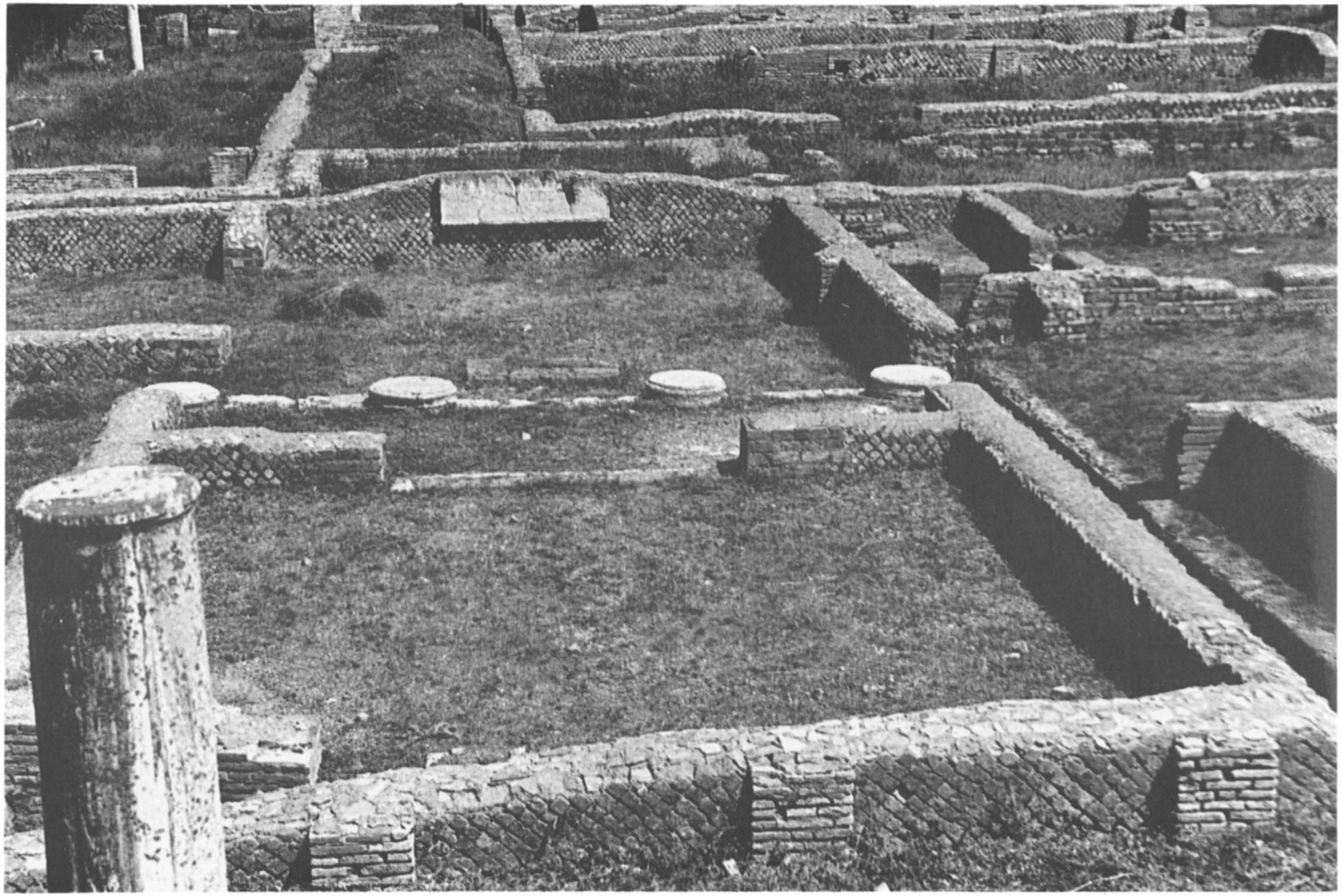


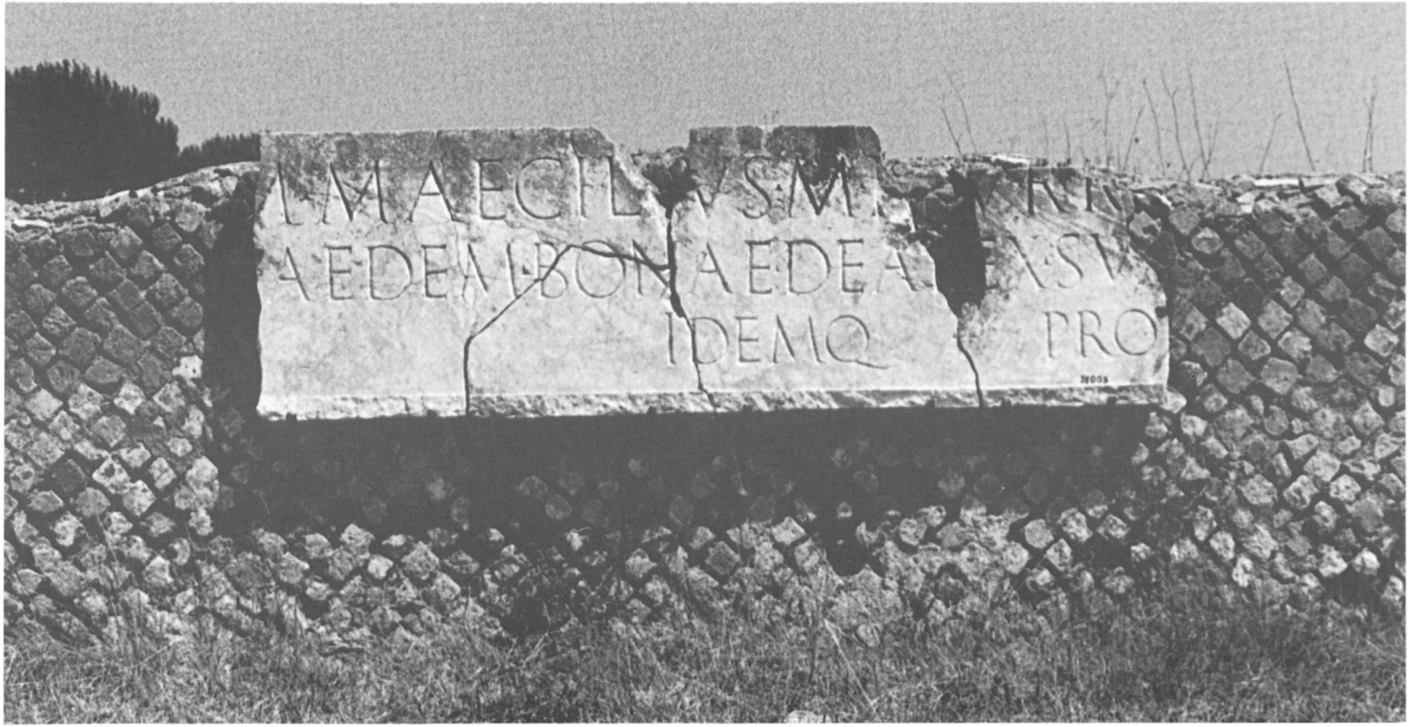
46

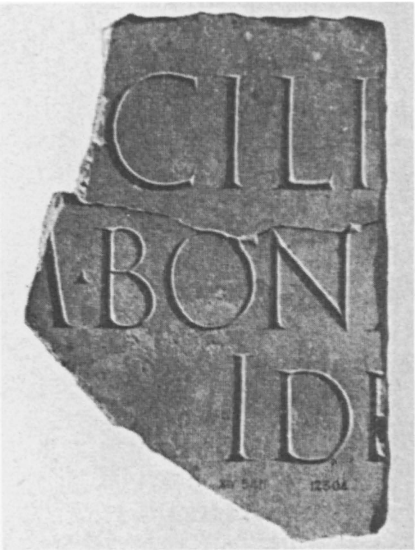


46

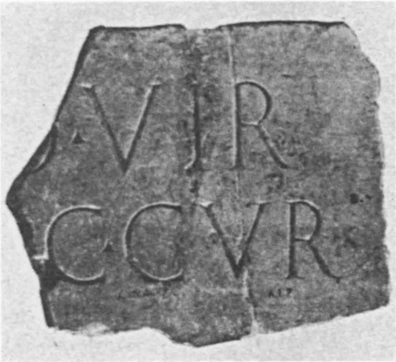
PLATE XVIII



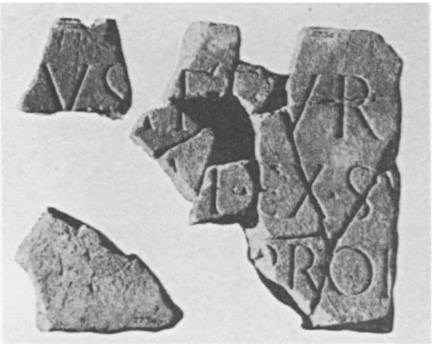

L·M·AECIL VS·M
AEDEM·BONA AEDEA EX·SV
IDEMQ PRO


CILI
A·BON
ID

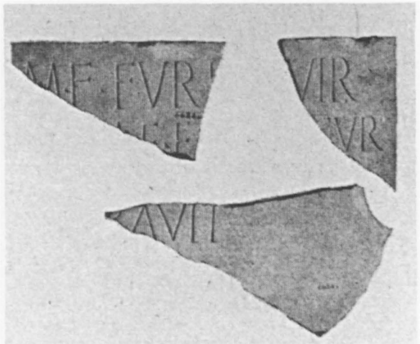
56



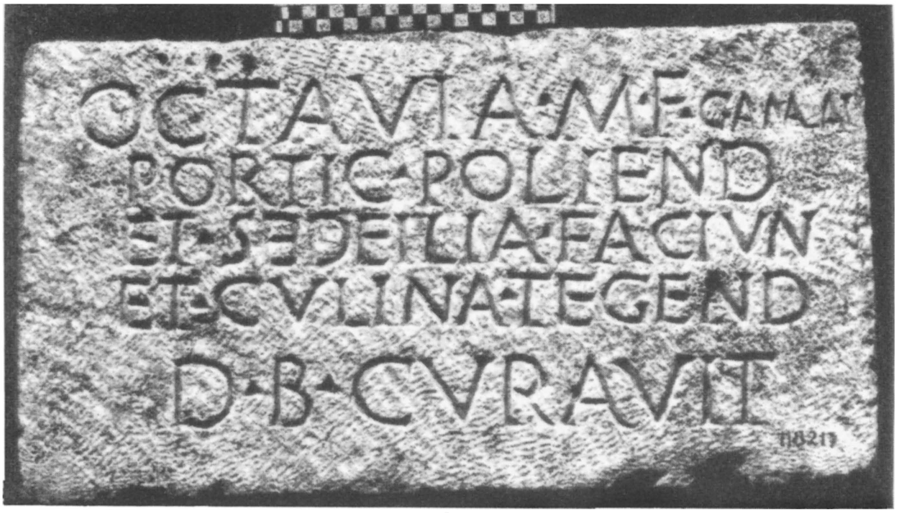
57



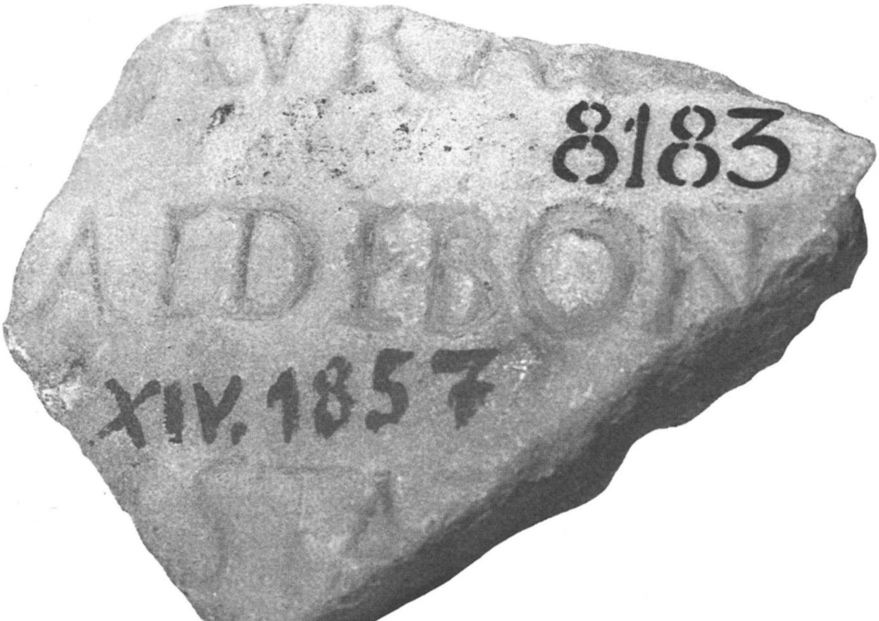
58



59


OCTAVIA·M·F·GAMALA
PORTIC·POLIEND
ET·SEDELIA·FACIVN
ET·CVLINA·TEGEND
D·B·CVRAVIT

63


8183
ADBON
XIV. 1857

64

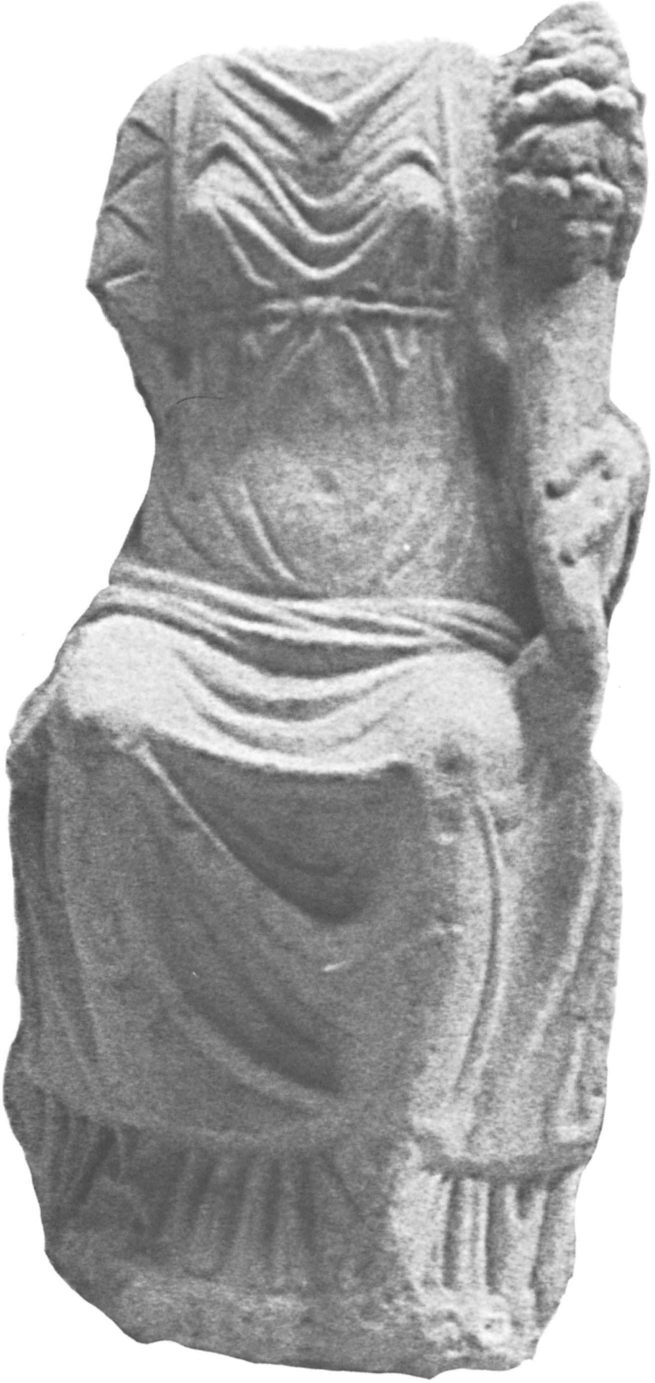
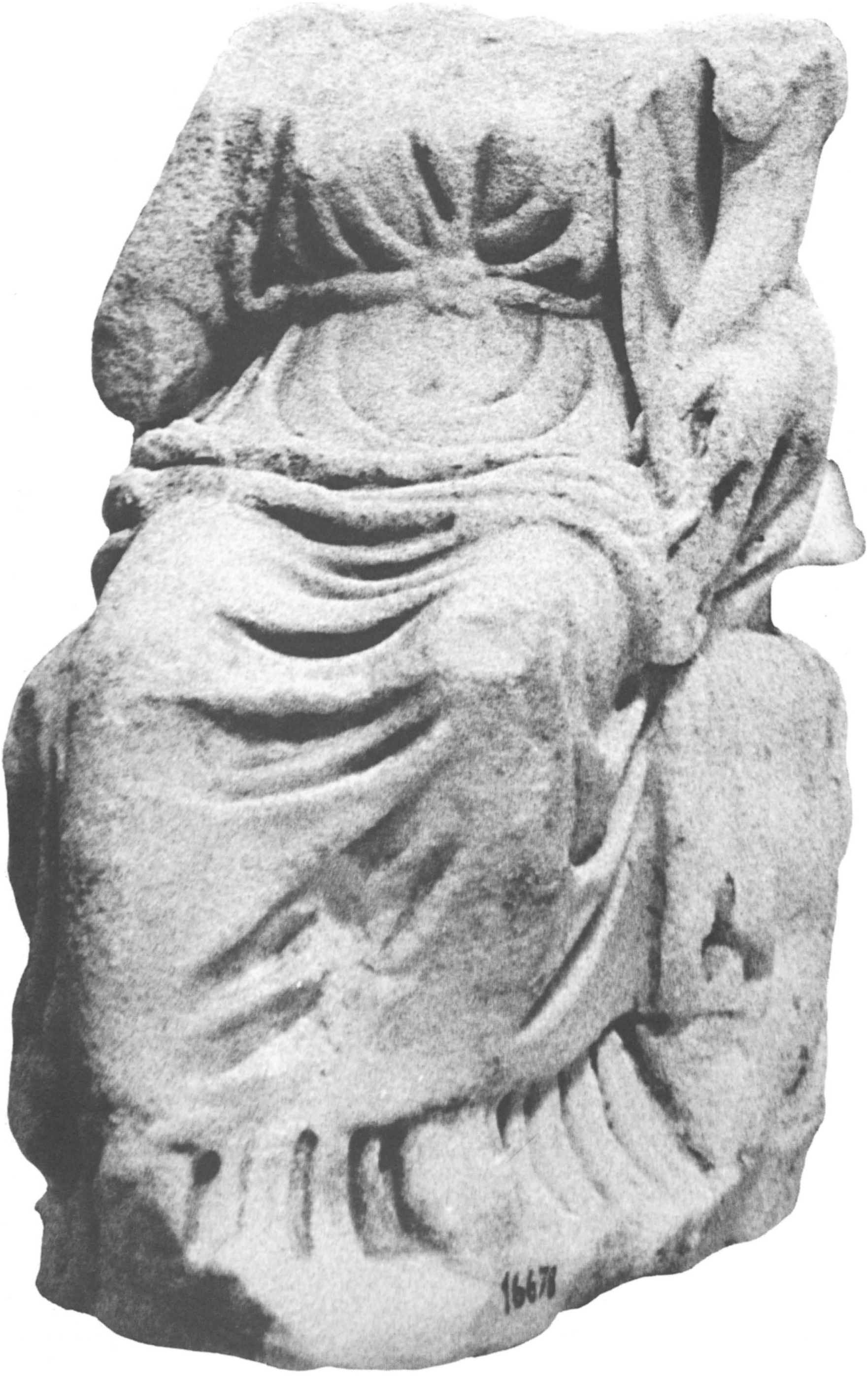


PLATE XXIII



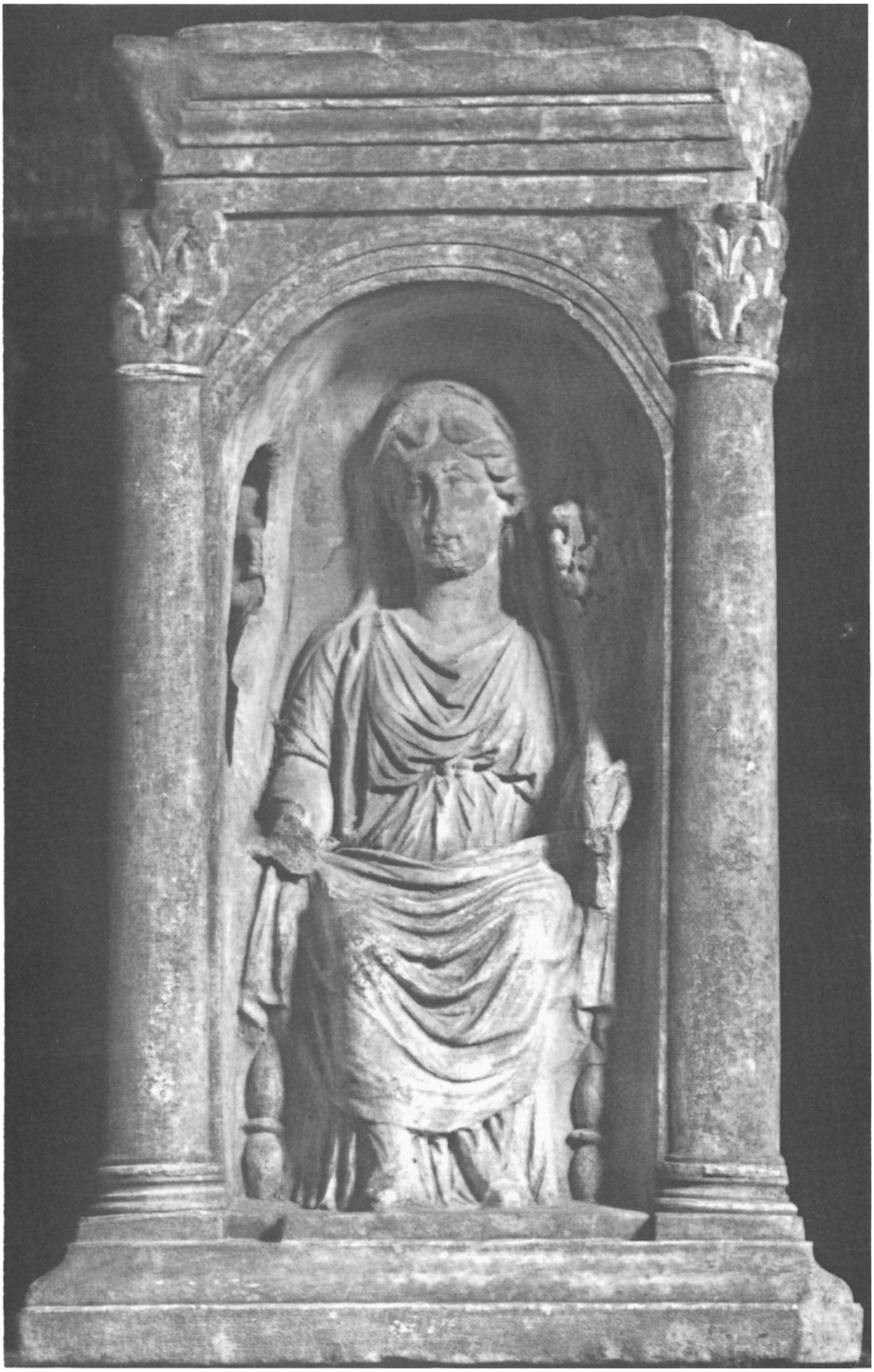


PLATE XXV

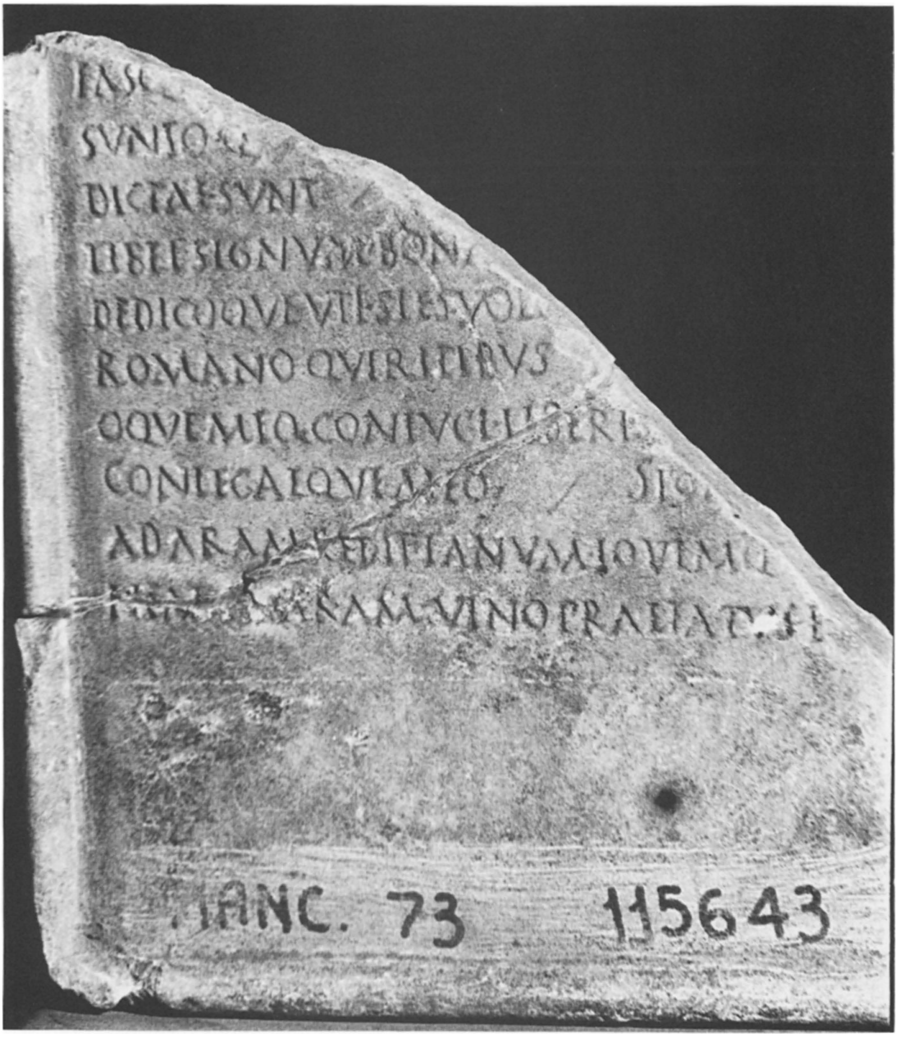
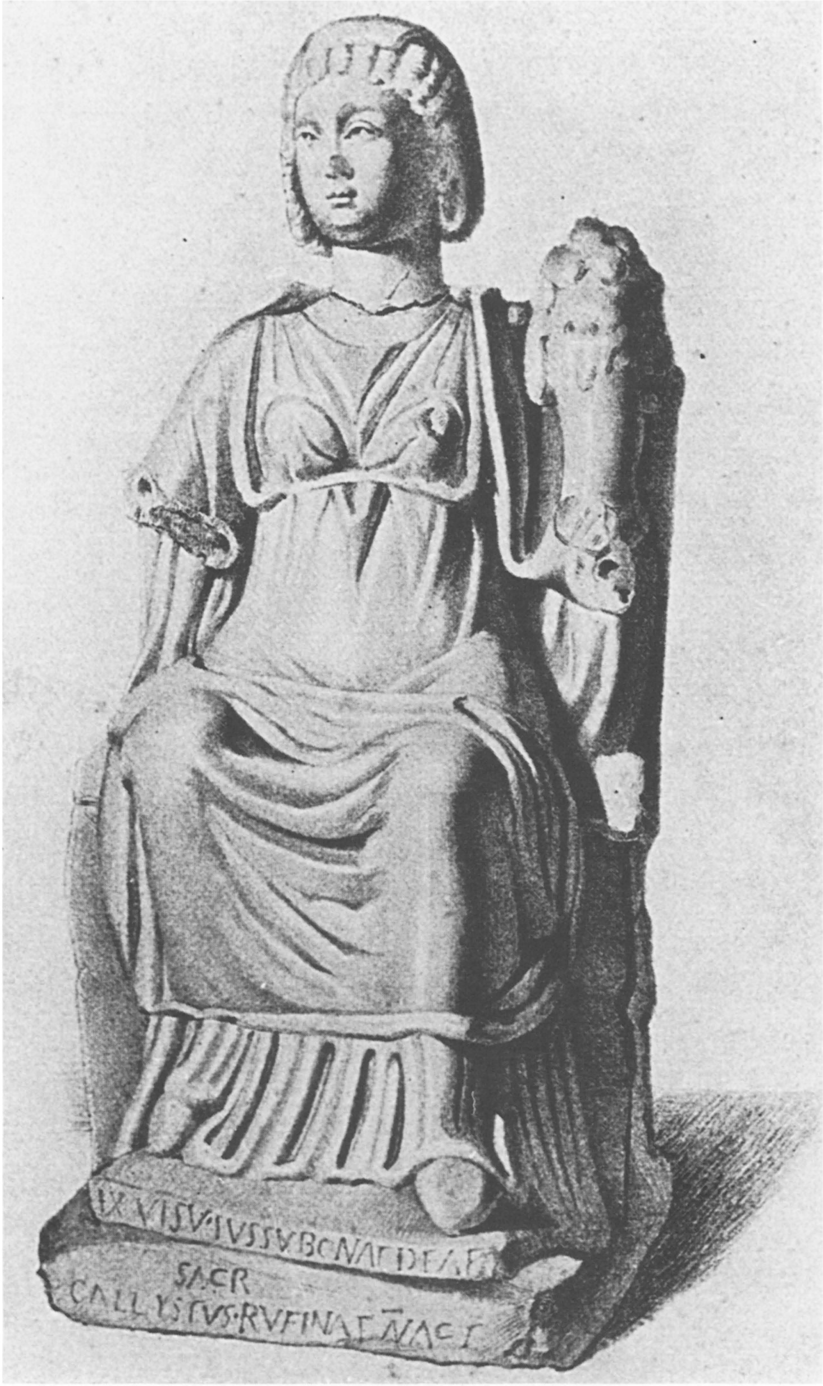
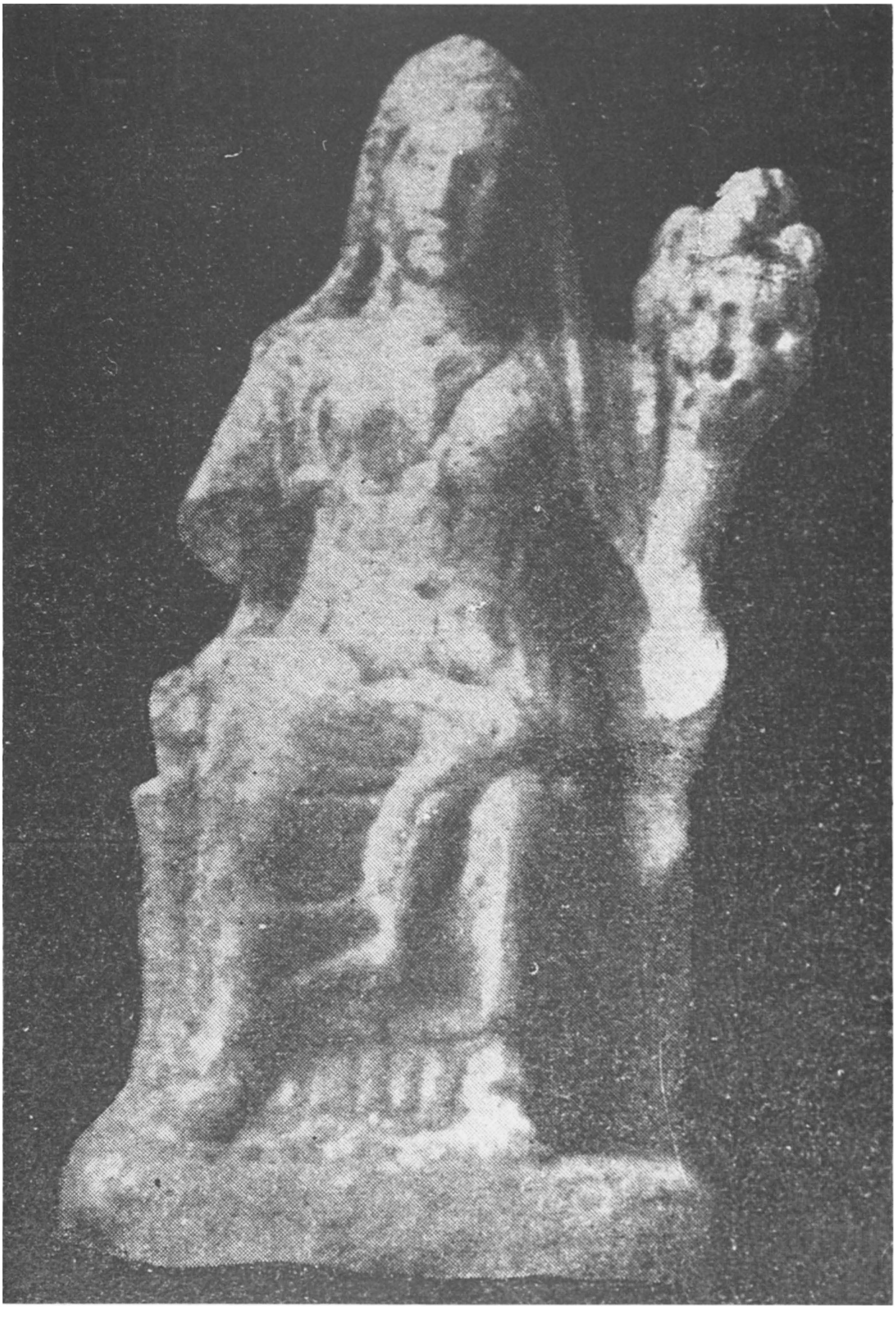
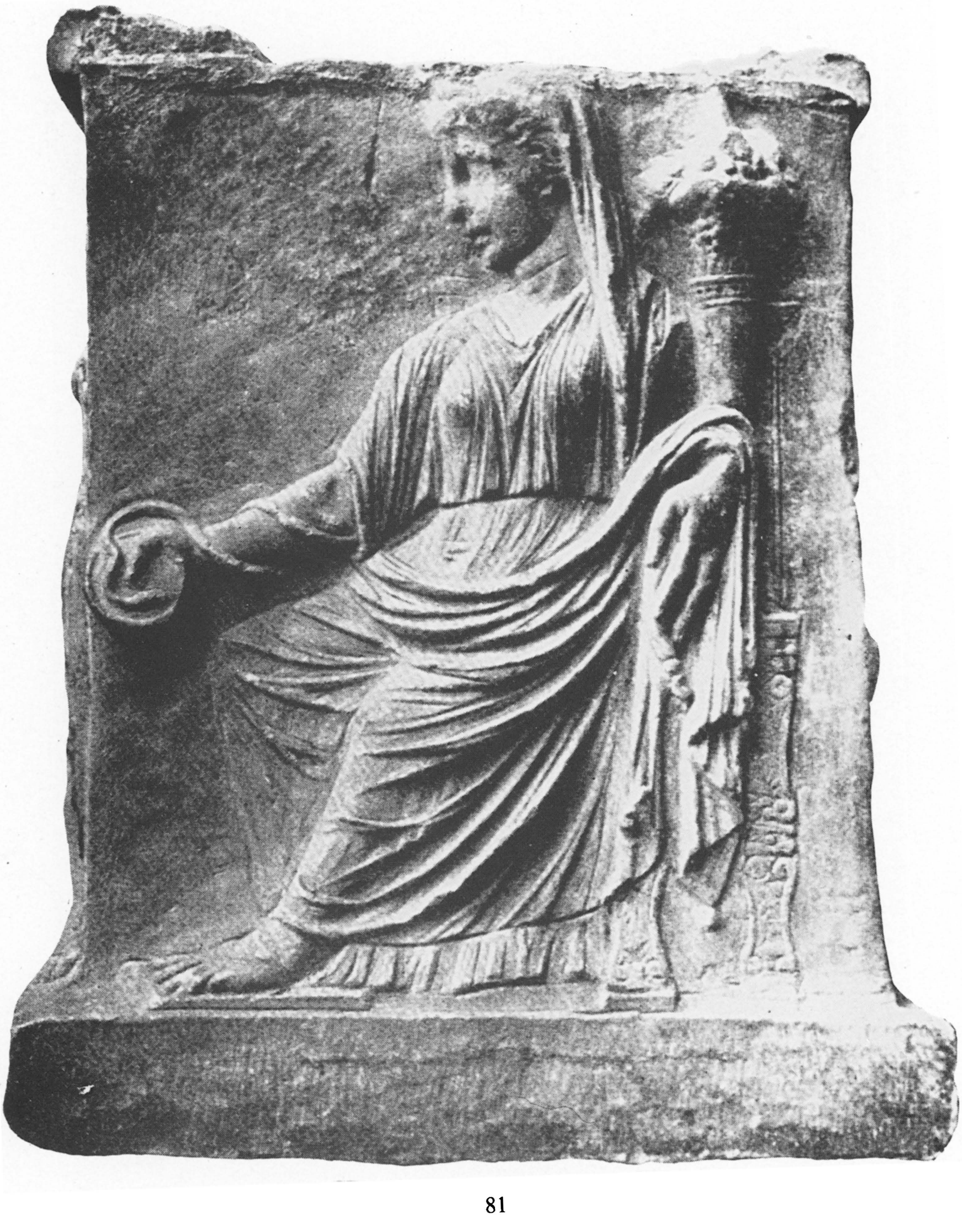

FASC
SVNTO
DICTAE SVNT
LIBET SIGNVM BONA
DEDICOQVE VTI SIES VOL
ROMANO QVIRITIBVS
OQVE MEO CONIVGI LIBERI
CONLEGAEQVE MEO SIG
AD ARAM DITIANVM IOVEM
ARAM VINO PRAELIAT SI
ANC. 73 115643

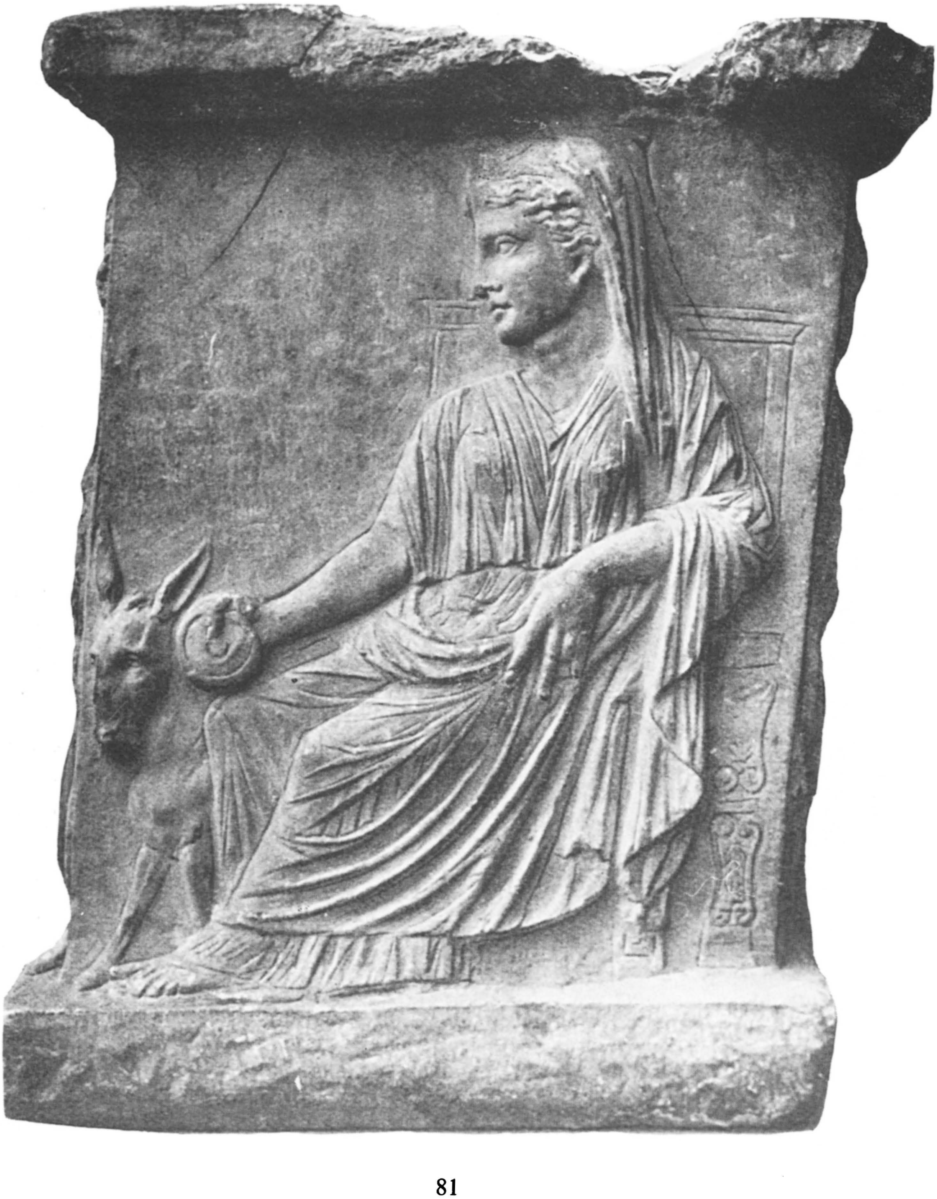
PLATE XXVI


IX VISV·IVSSV BONAE DEAE
SACR
CALLYSTVS·RVFINAE N̄ VAC S





81



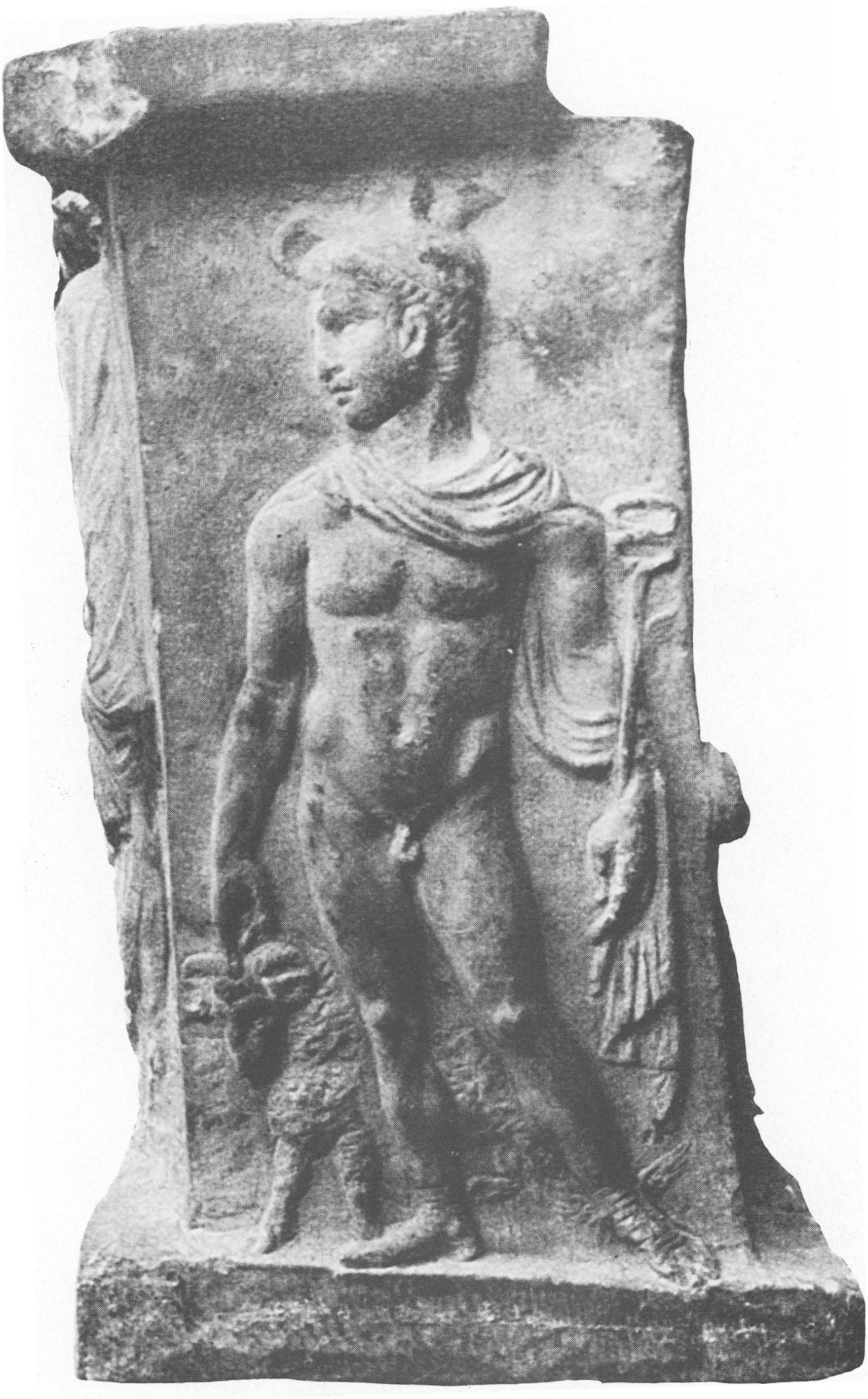


PLATE XXXI

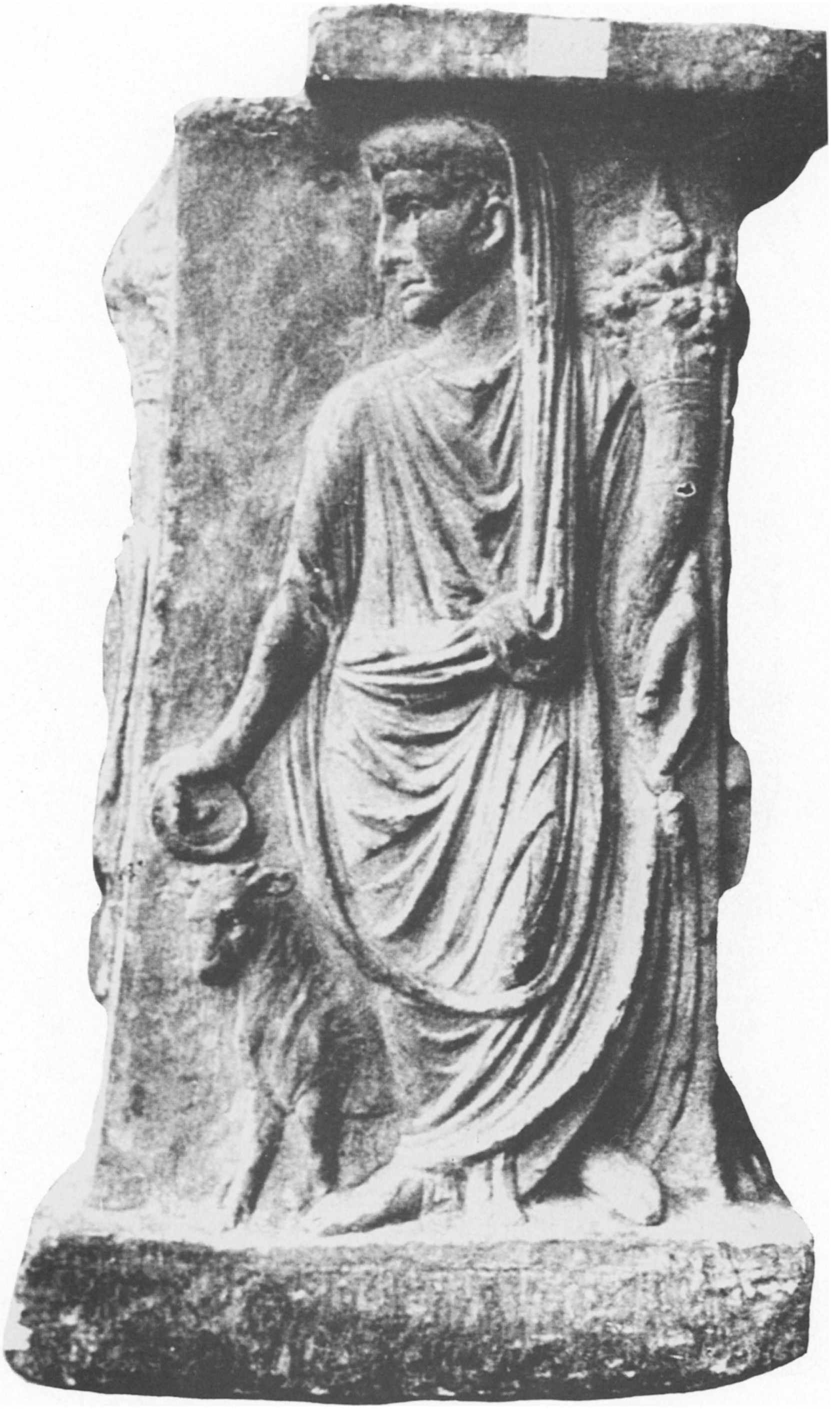
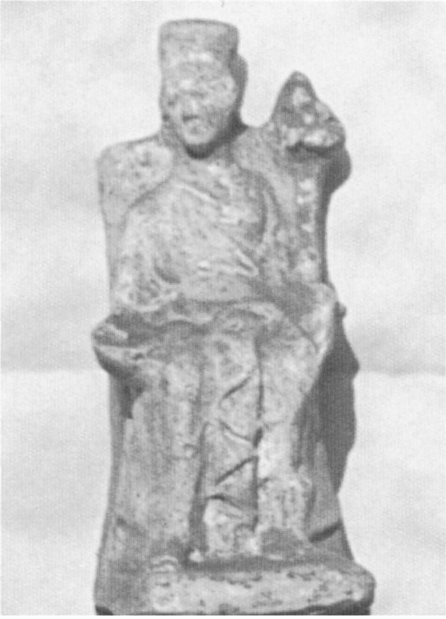
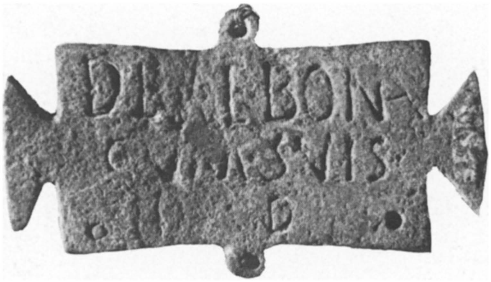


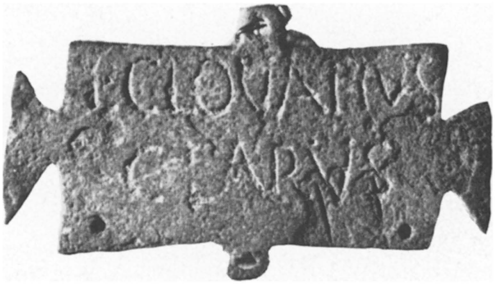
PLATE XXXII



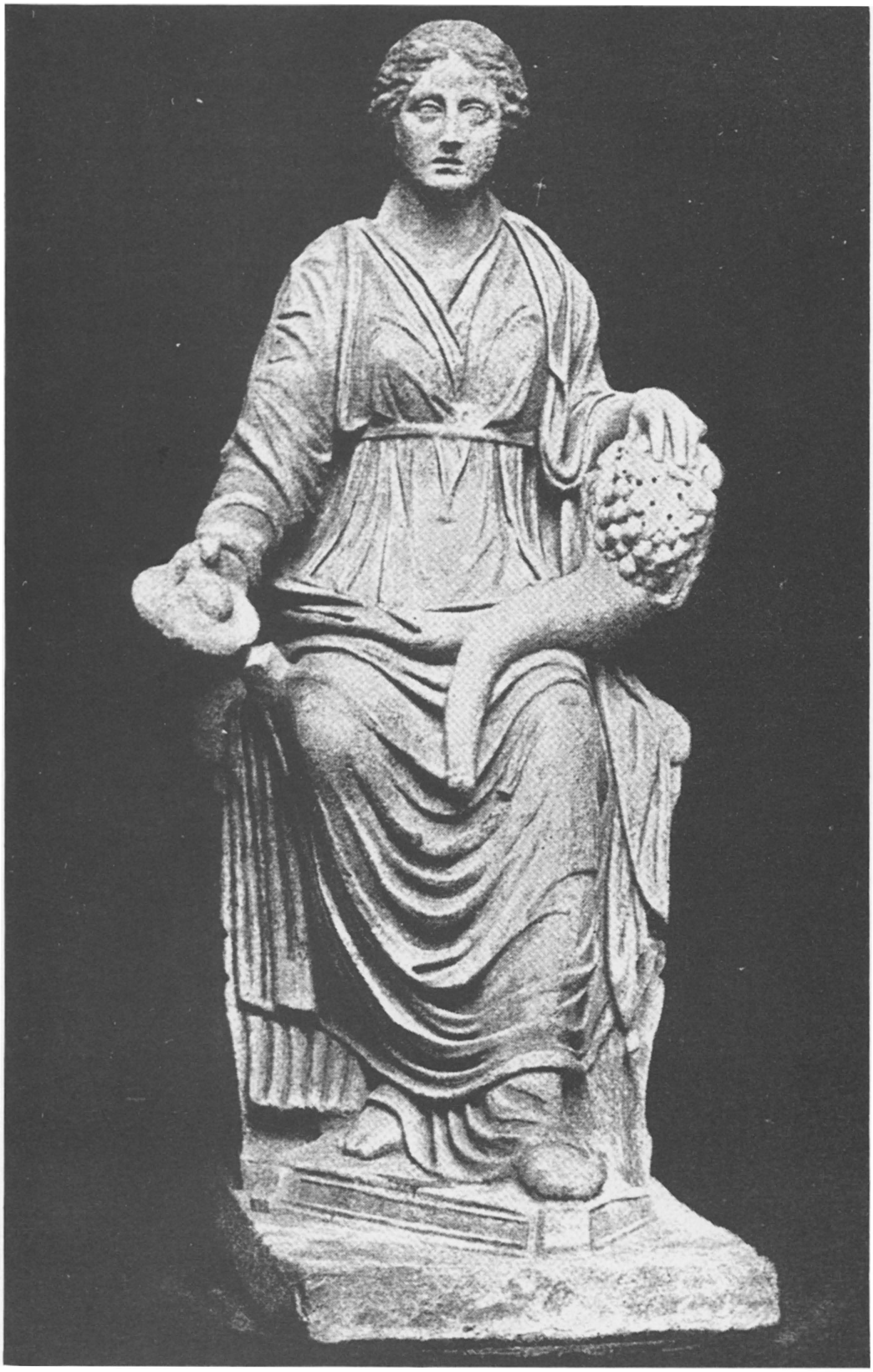
(82)

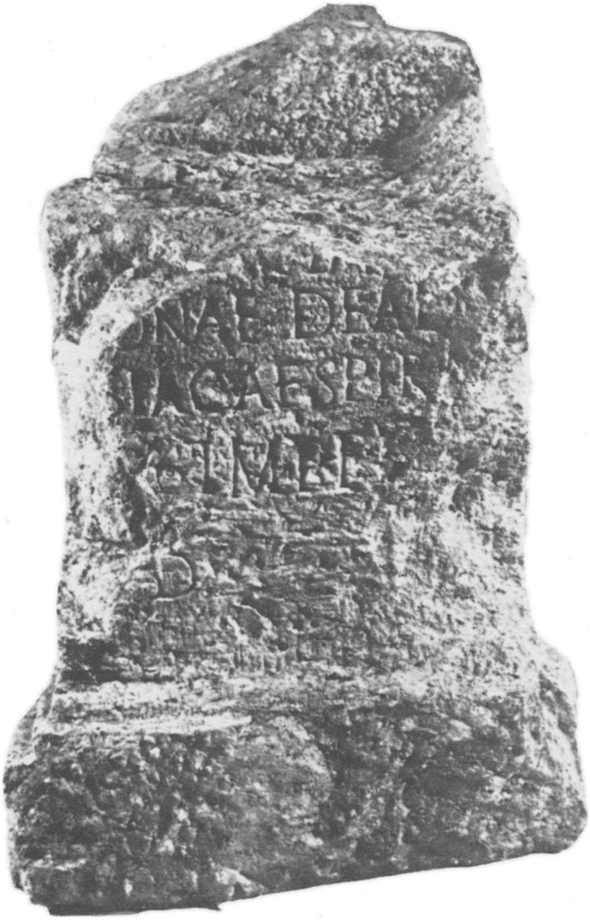


83

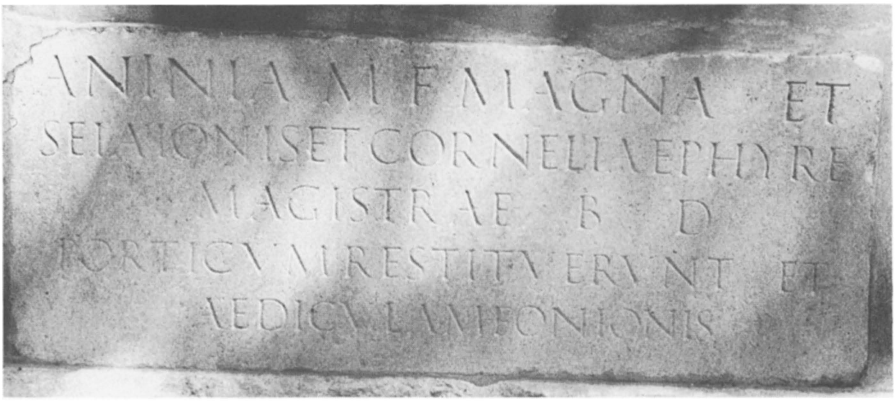


83



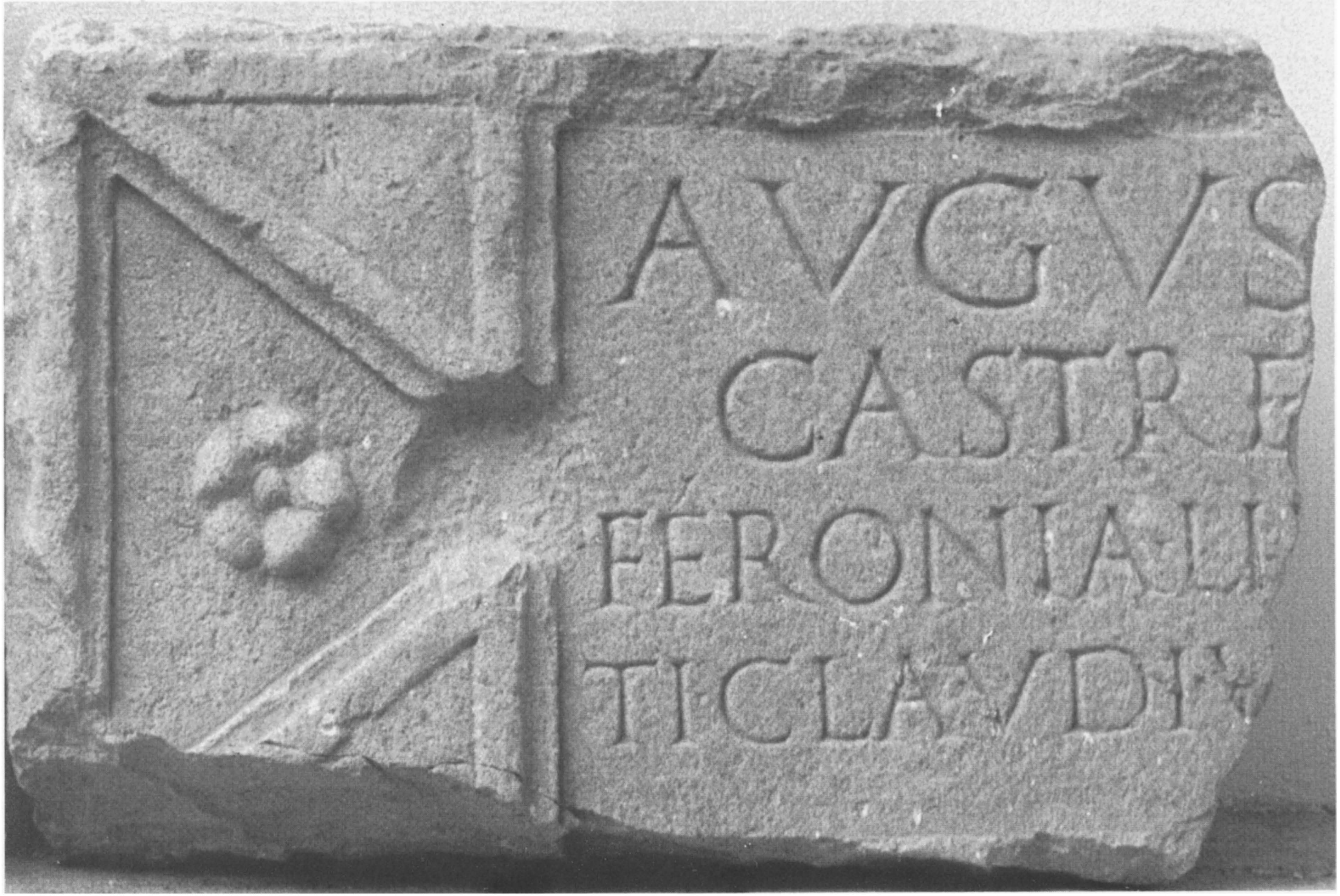

ONAE DEAE
IA CAES PR
L IMBE
D

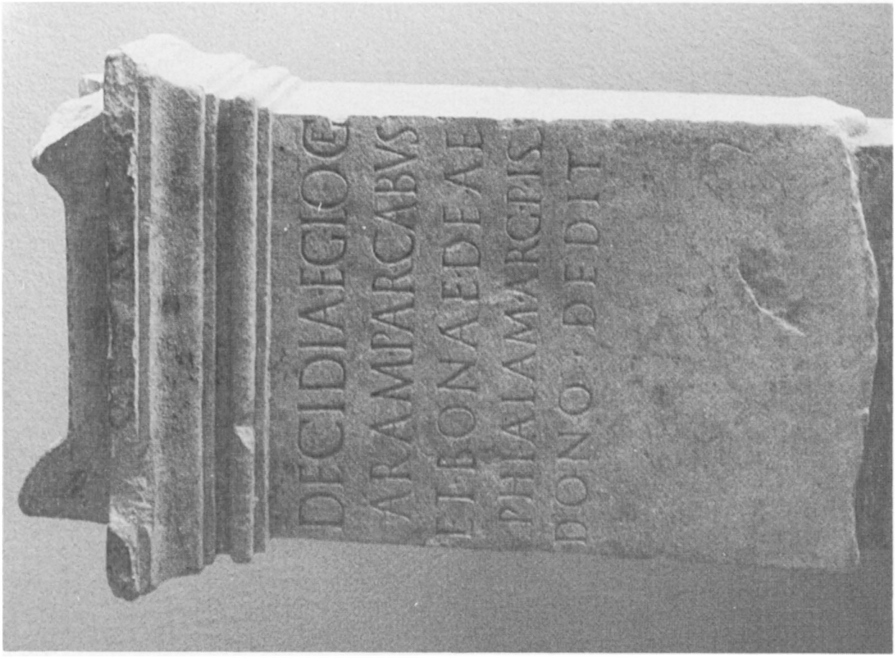
101


ANINIA M F MAGNA ET
SELAIONIS ET CORNELIAE PHYRE
MAGISTRAE B D
PORTICVM RESTITVERVNT ET
AEDICVLAM FONTIONIS

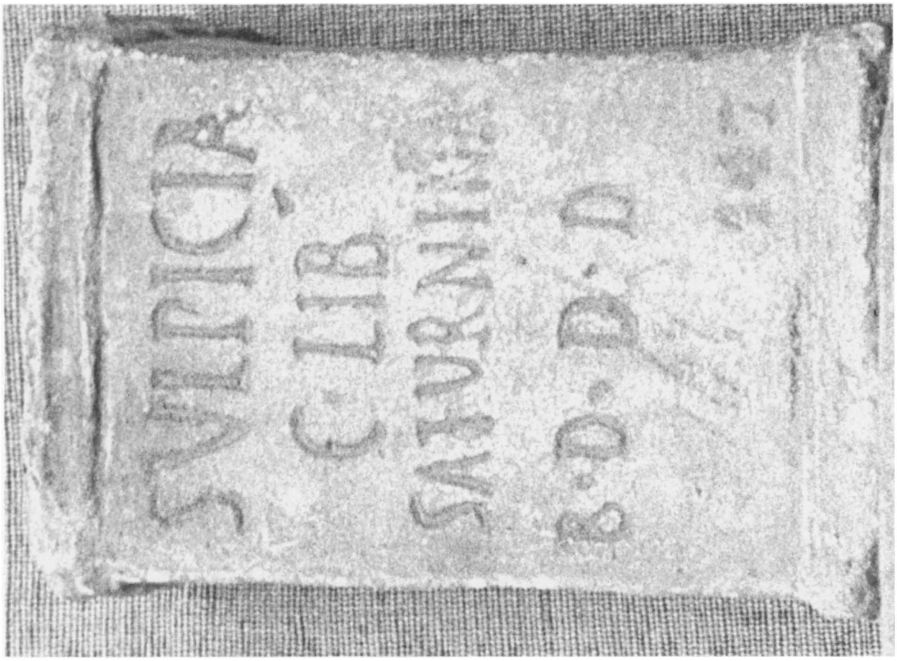
109

PLATE XXXV


AVGVS
CASTR
FERONIA
TI·CLAVDI

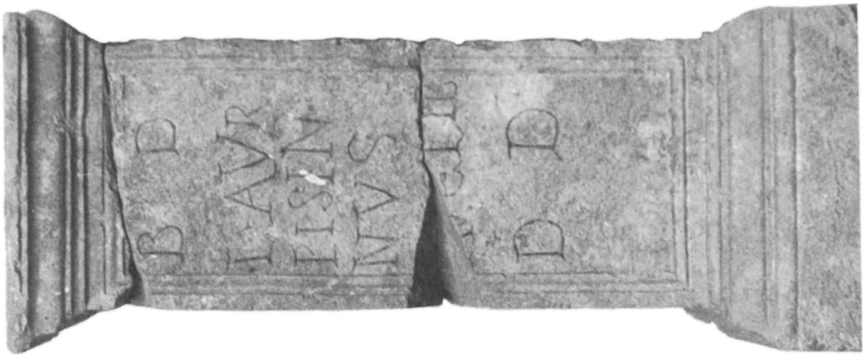

DECIDIA EGLOGE
ARAM PARCABVS
ET BONAE DEAE
PHIALAM ARG P IS
DONO DEDIT

115

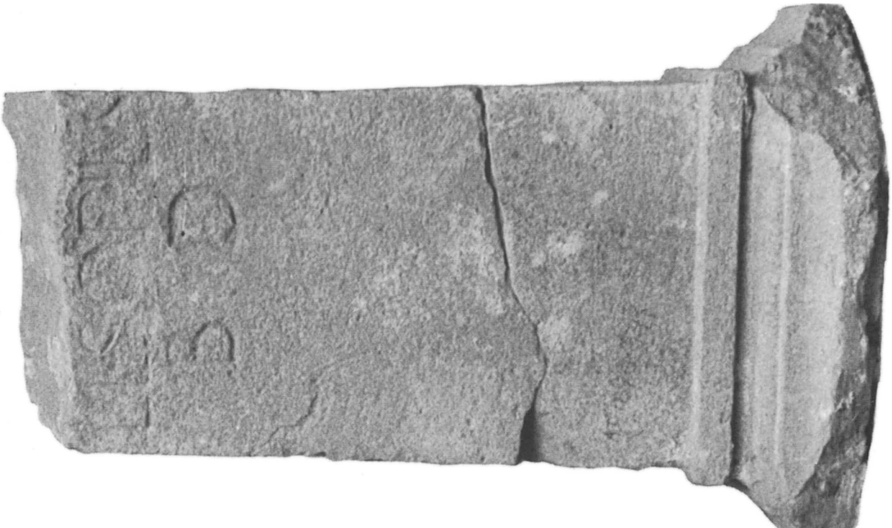

SVLPICIA
C·LIB
SATVRNINA
S·D·D·D

98

PLATE XXXVII

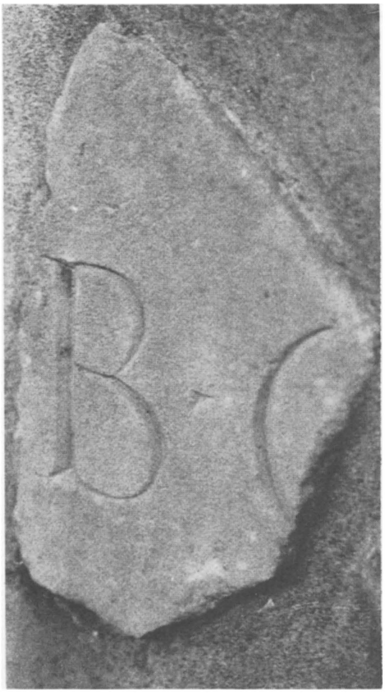


(119)

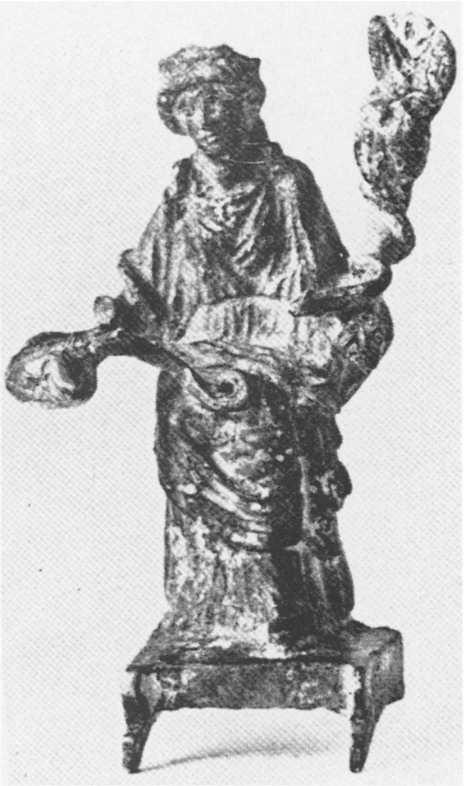


(118)

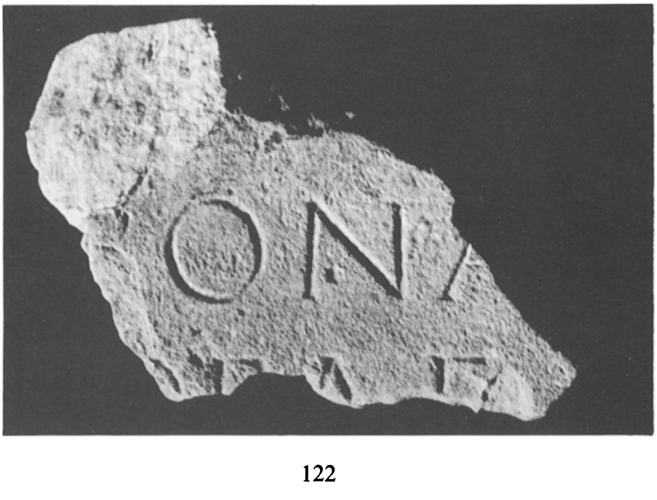
PLATE XXXVIII



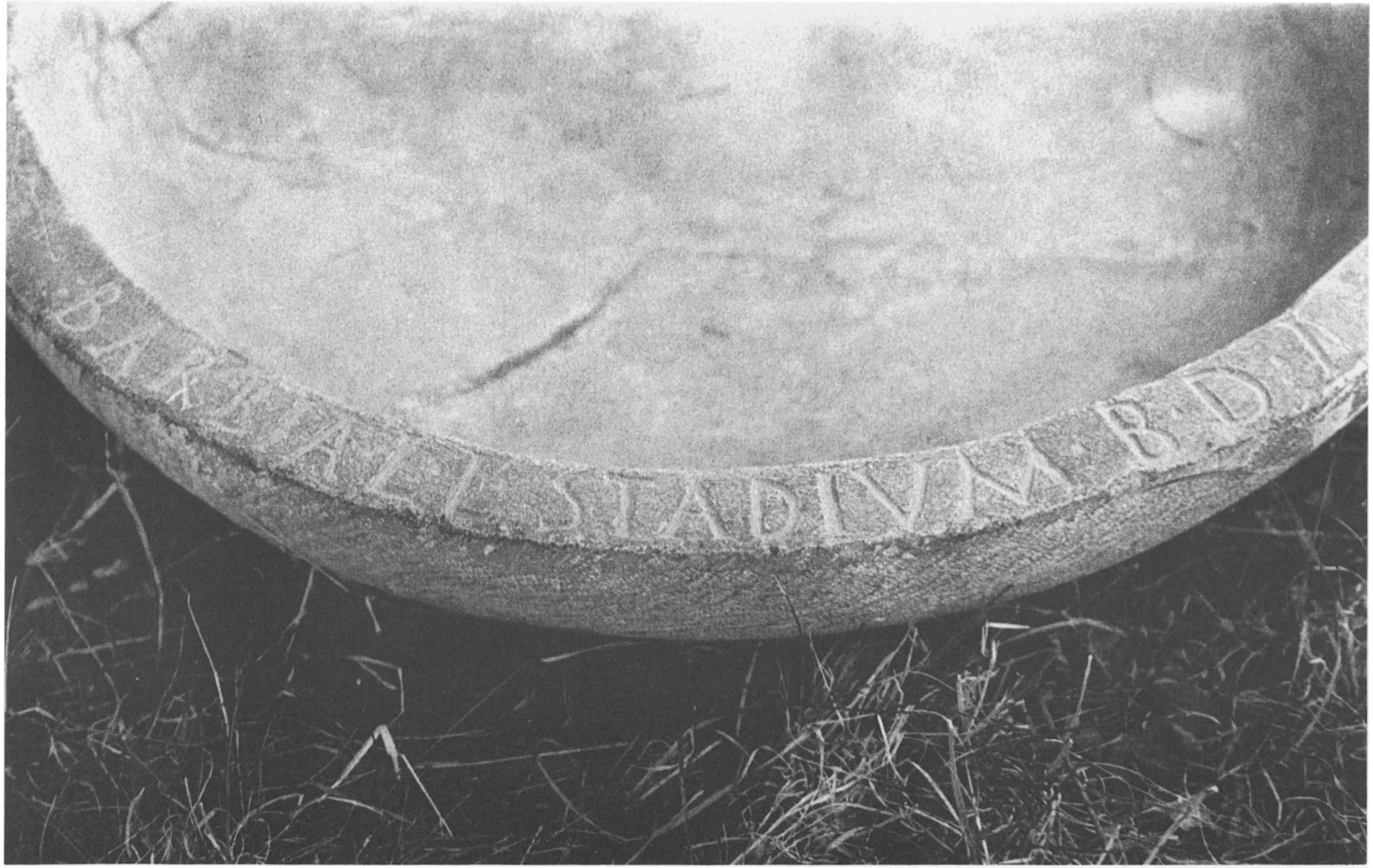
120

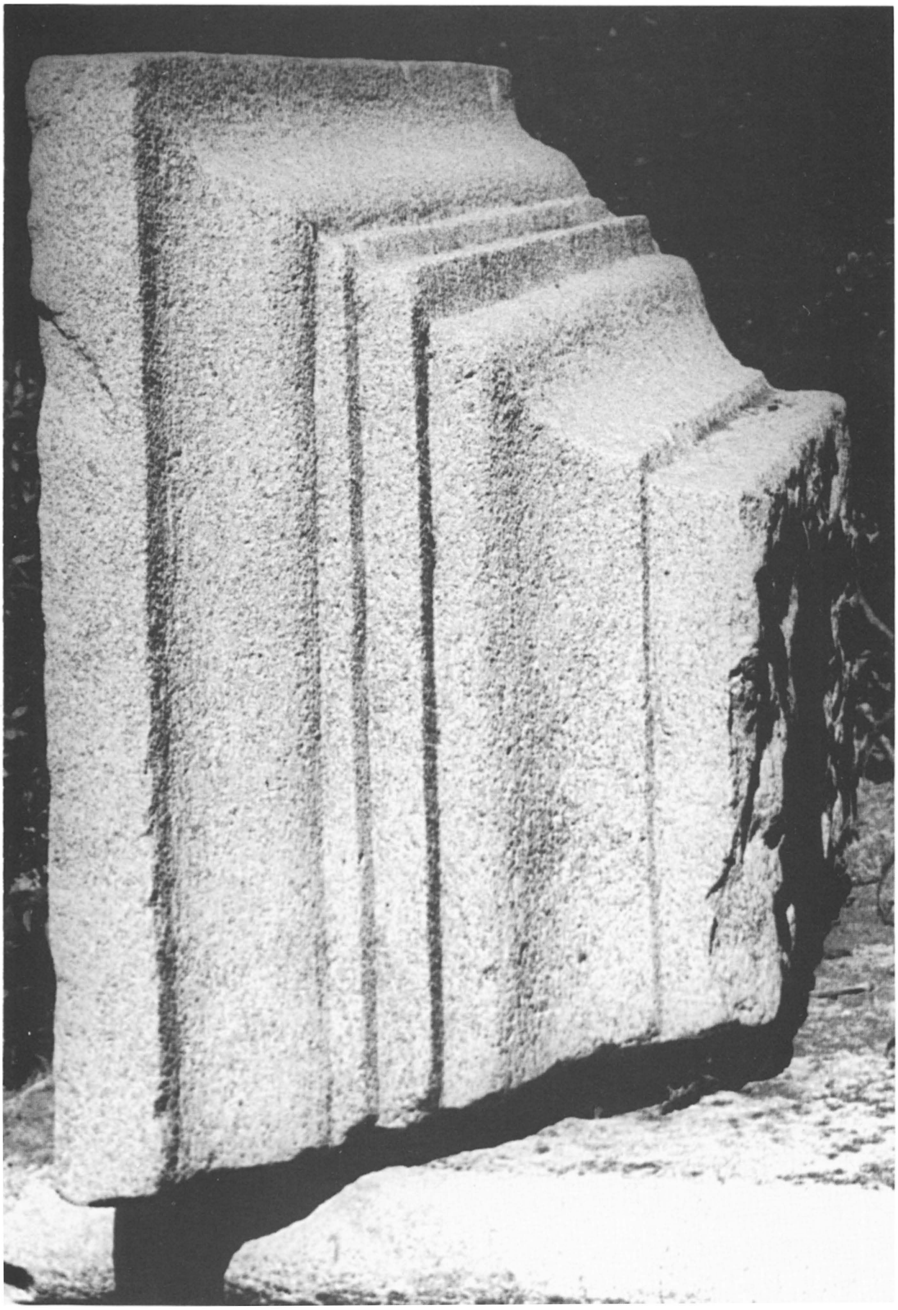


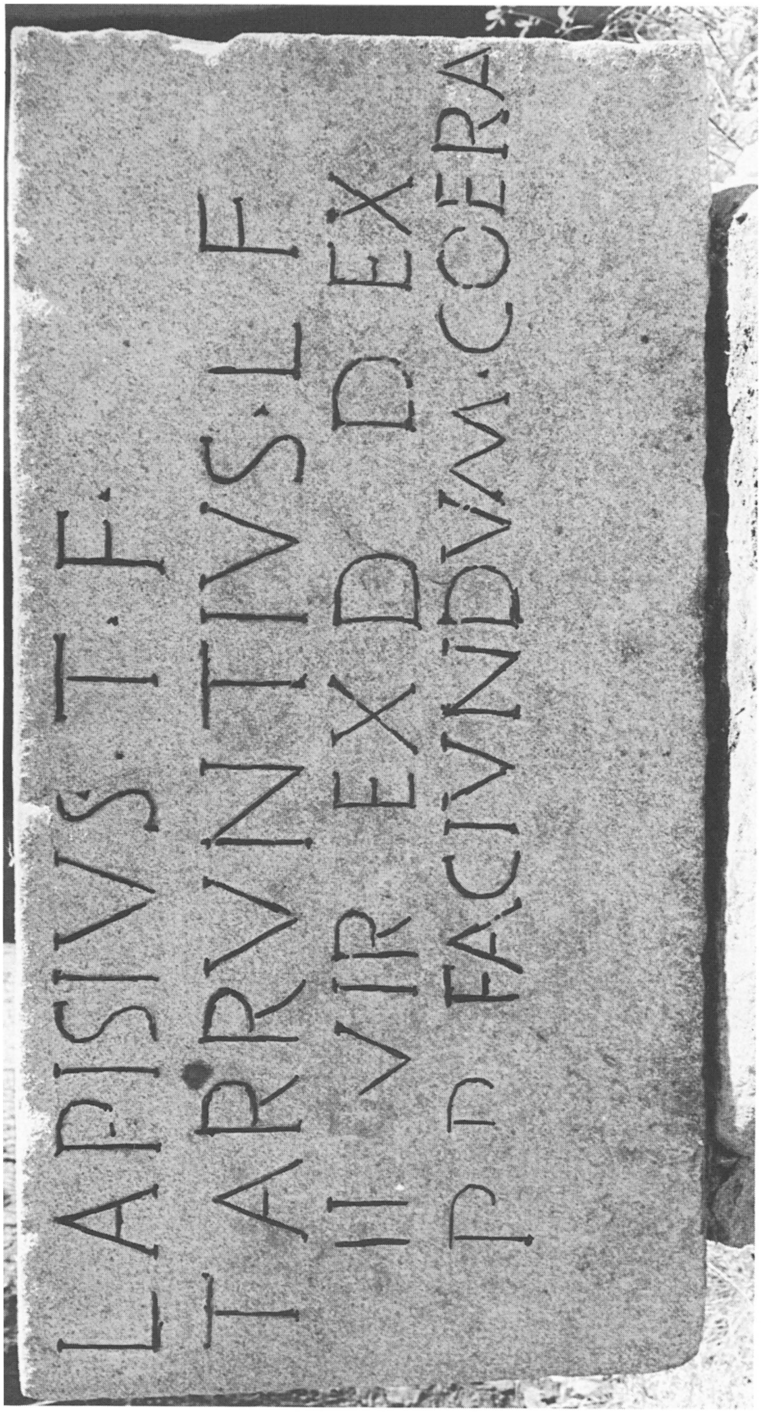
121



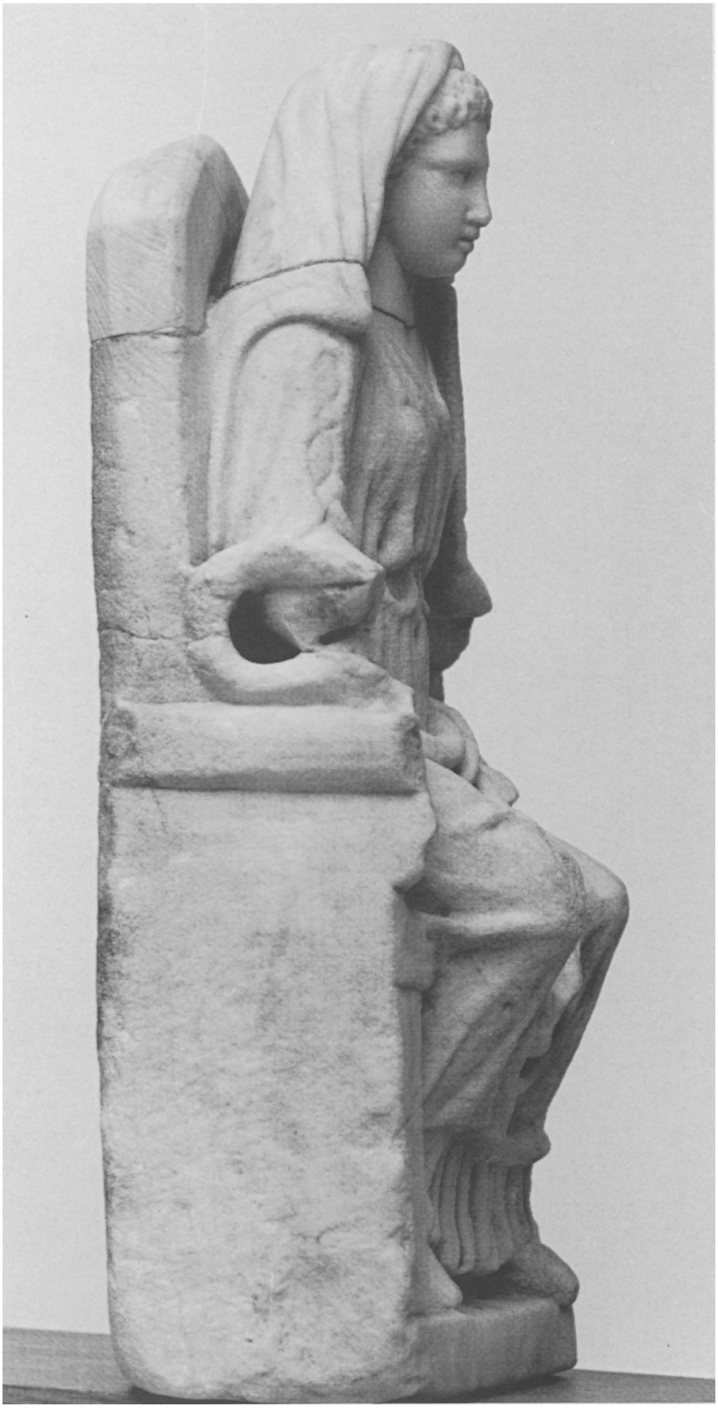
122

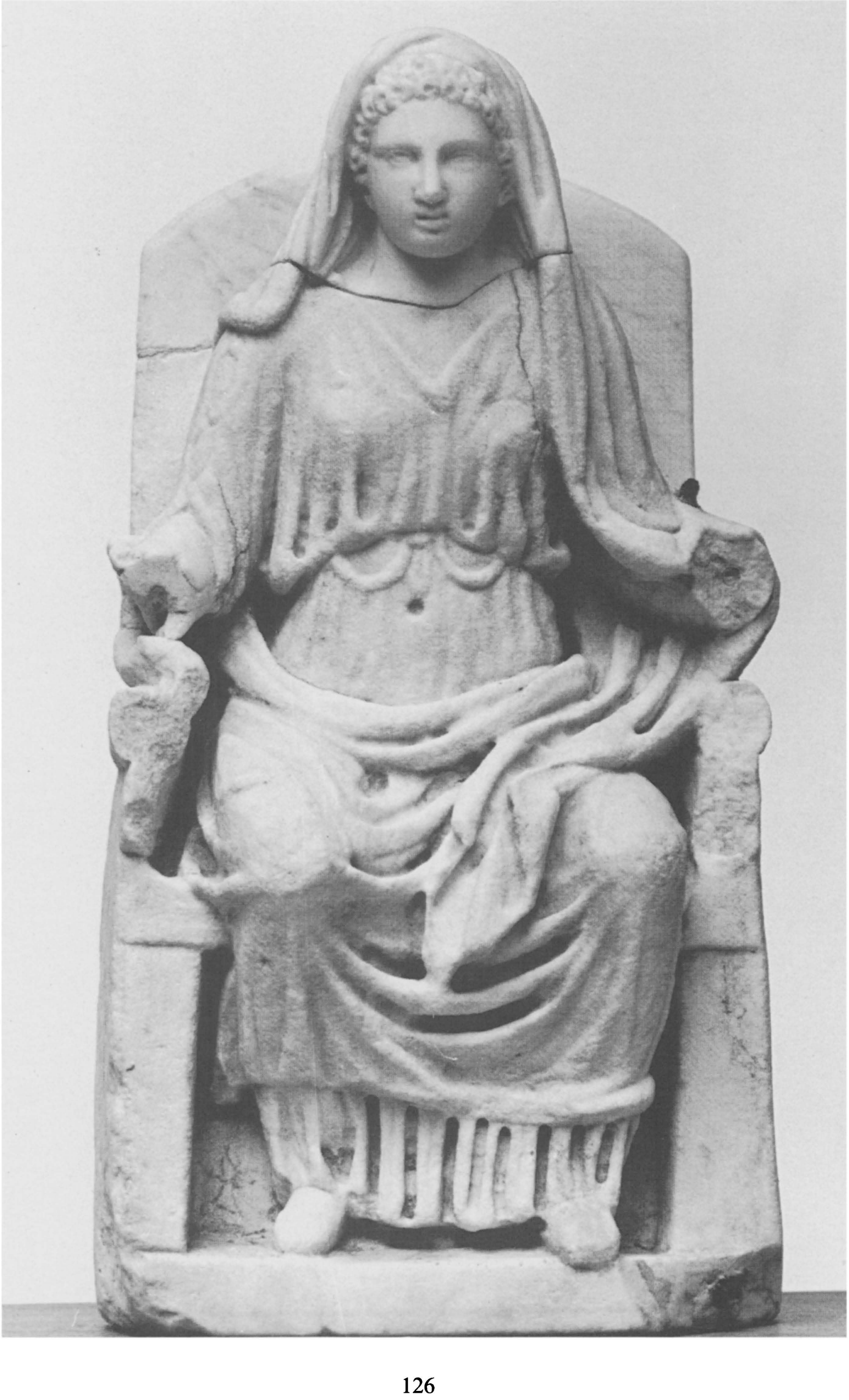

BARBALL STADIVM·B·D·

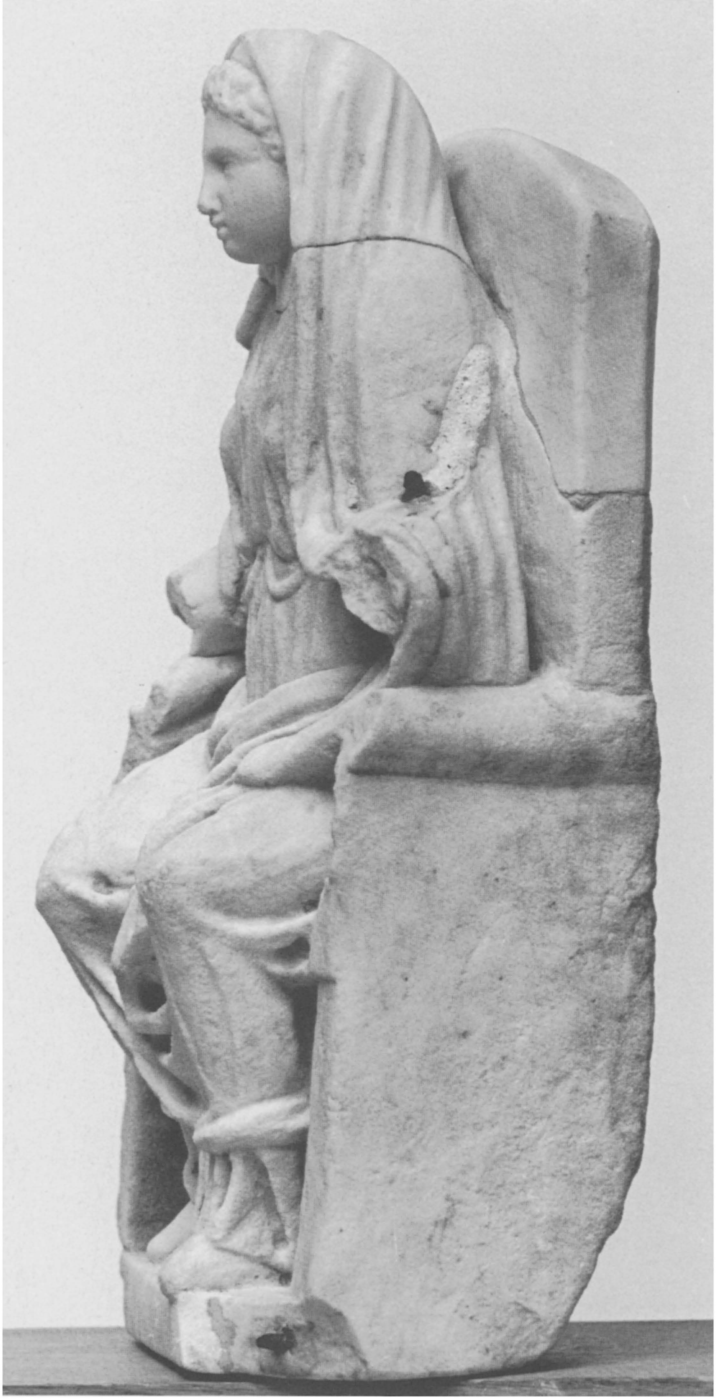




L·APISIVS·T·F
T·APRVNTIVS·L·F
II VIR·EX·D·D·EX
P·P·FACIVNDVM·COERA







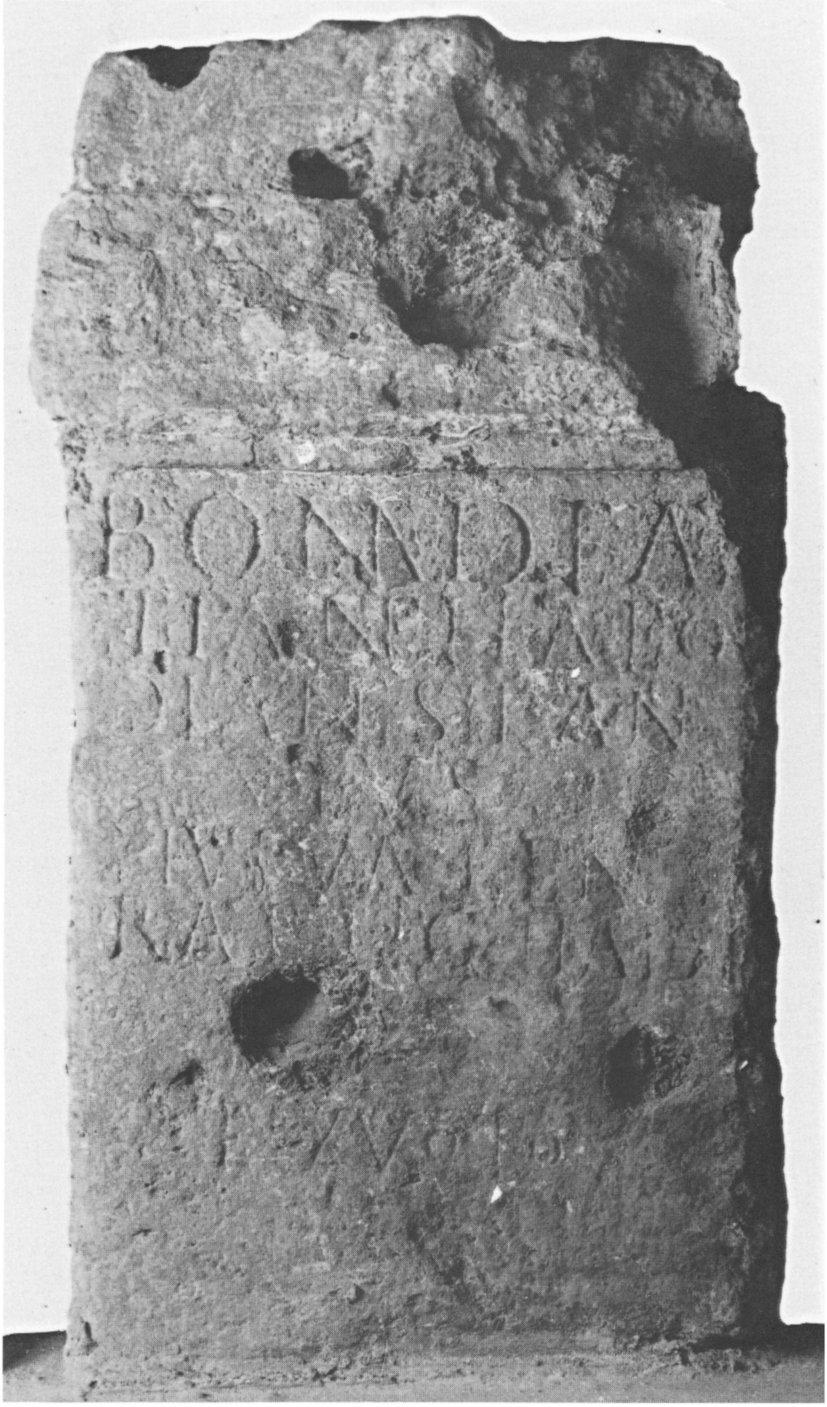


PLATE XLVI

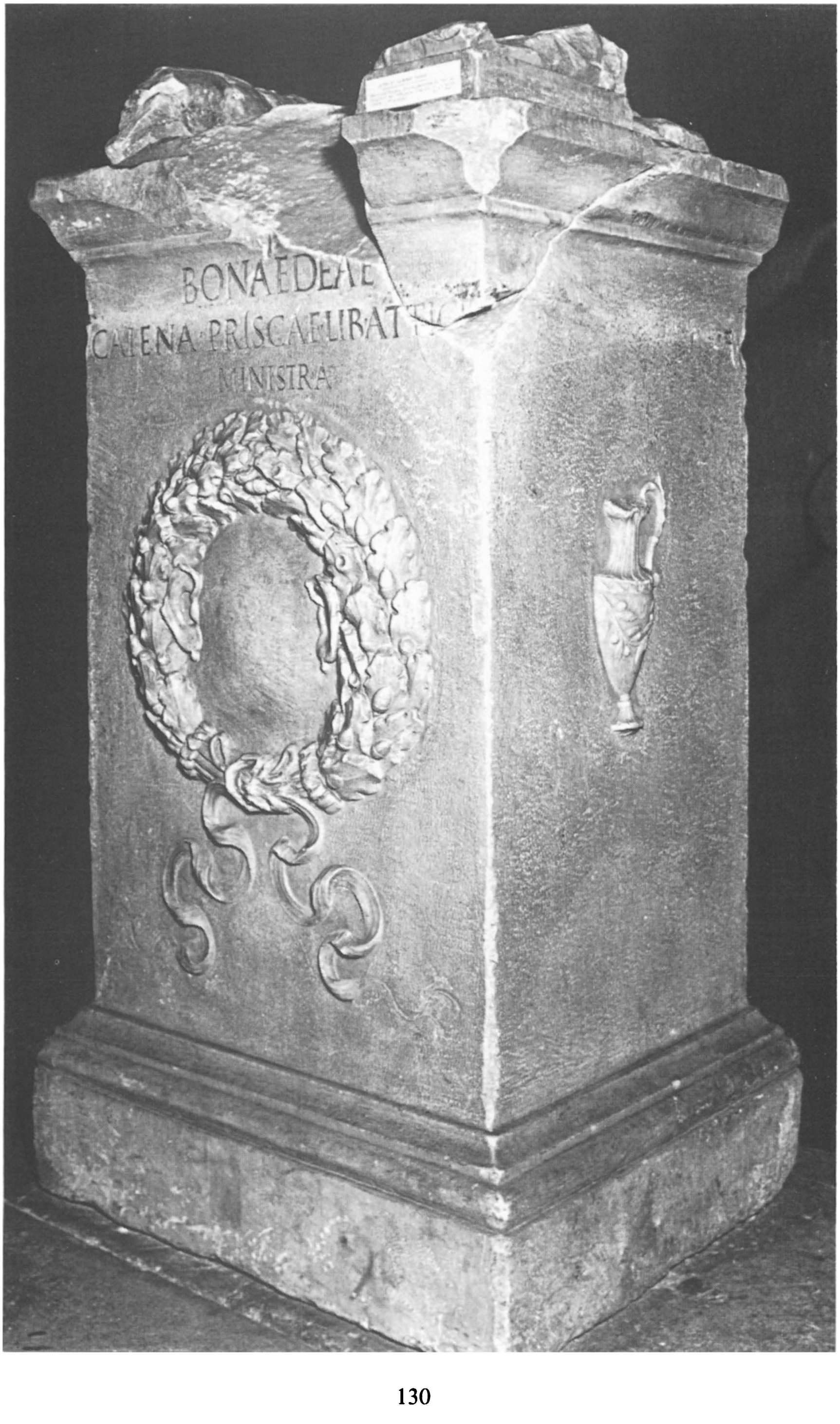
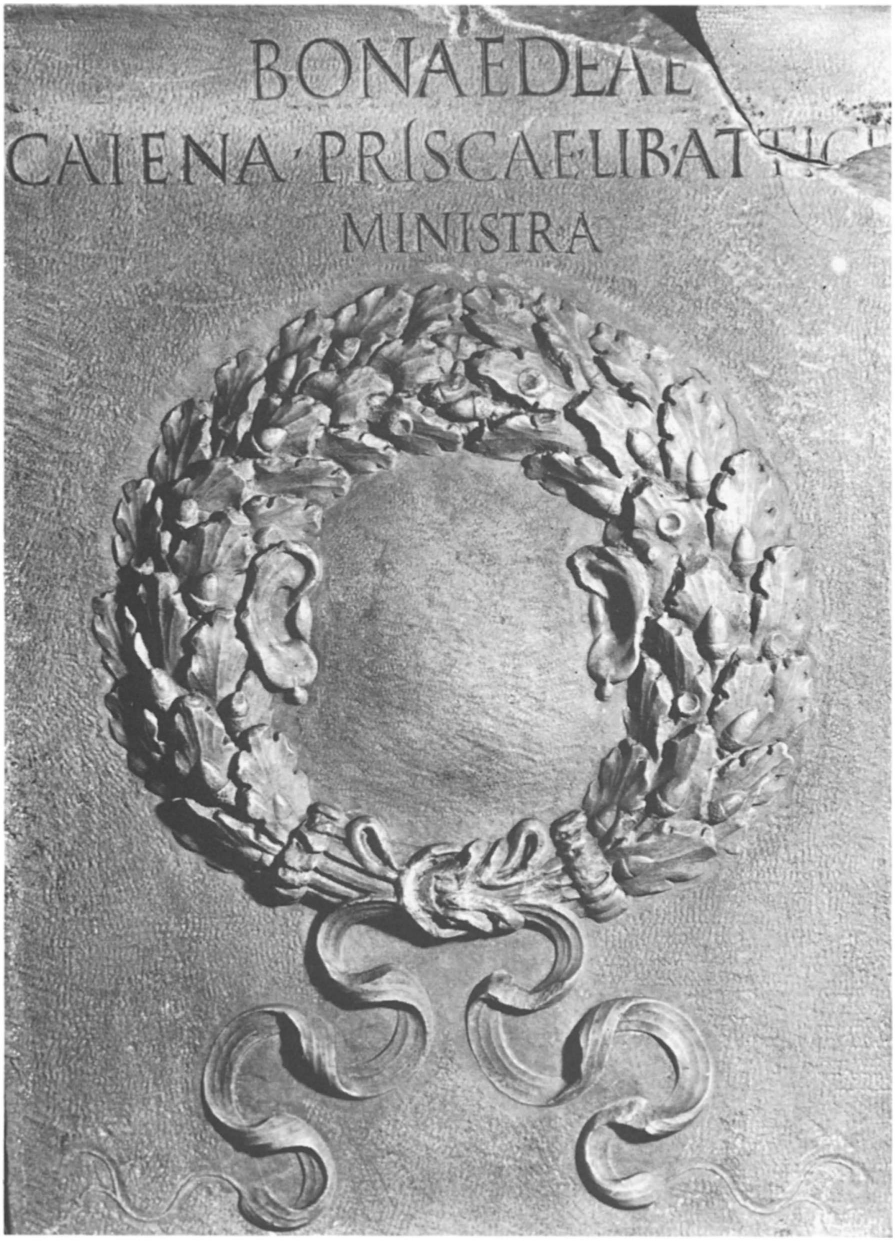
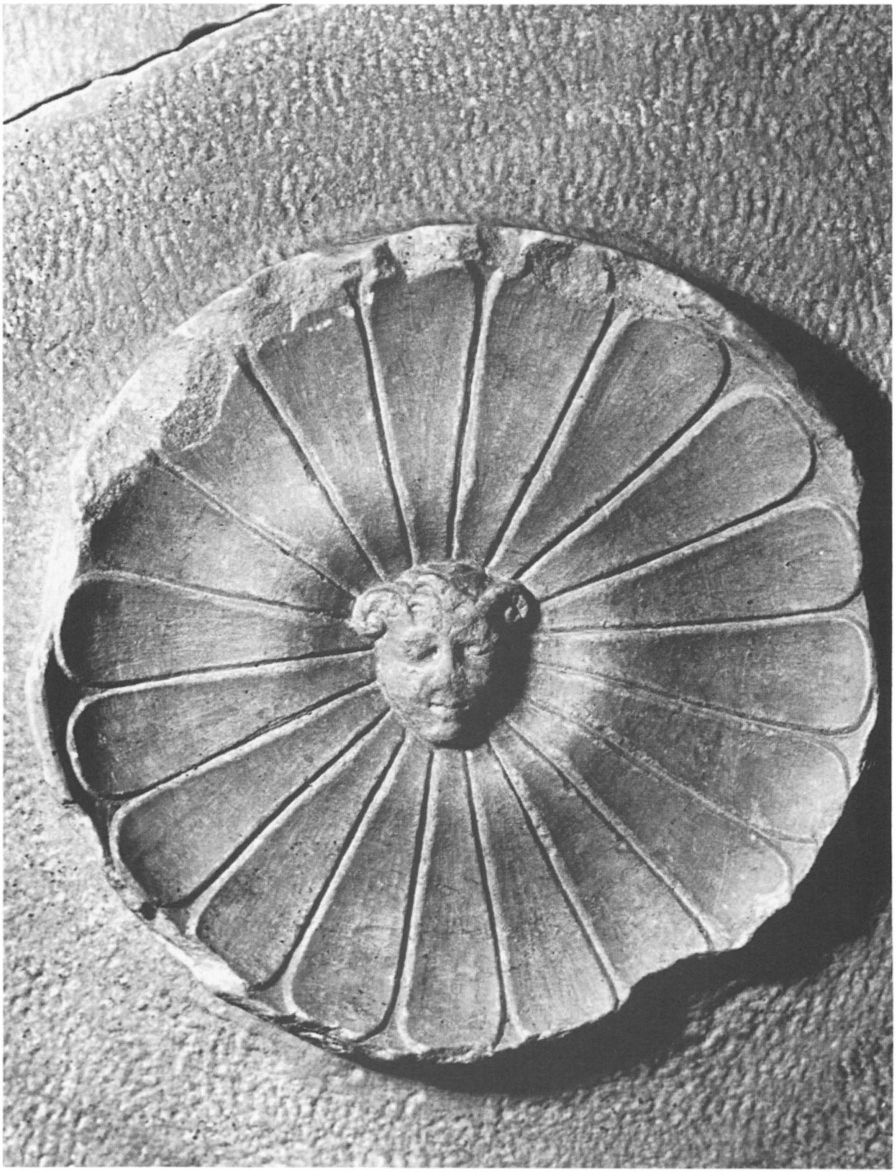

BONAE DEAE
CALENA PRISCAE LIB AT
MINISTRA

PLATE XLVII


BONAE DEAE
CAIENA·PRISCAE·LIBAT
MINISTRA



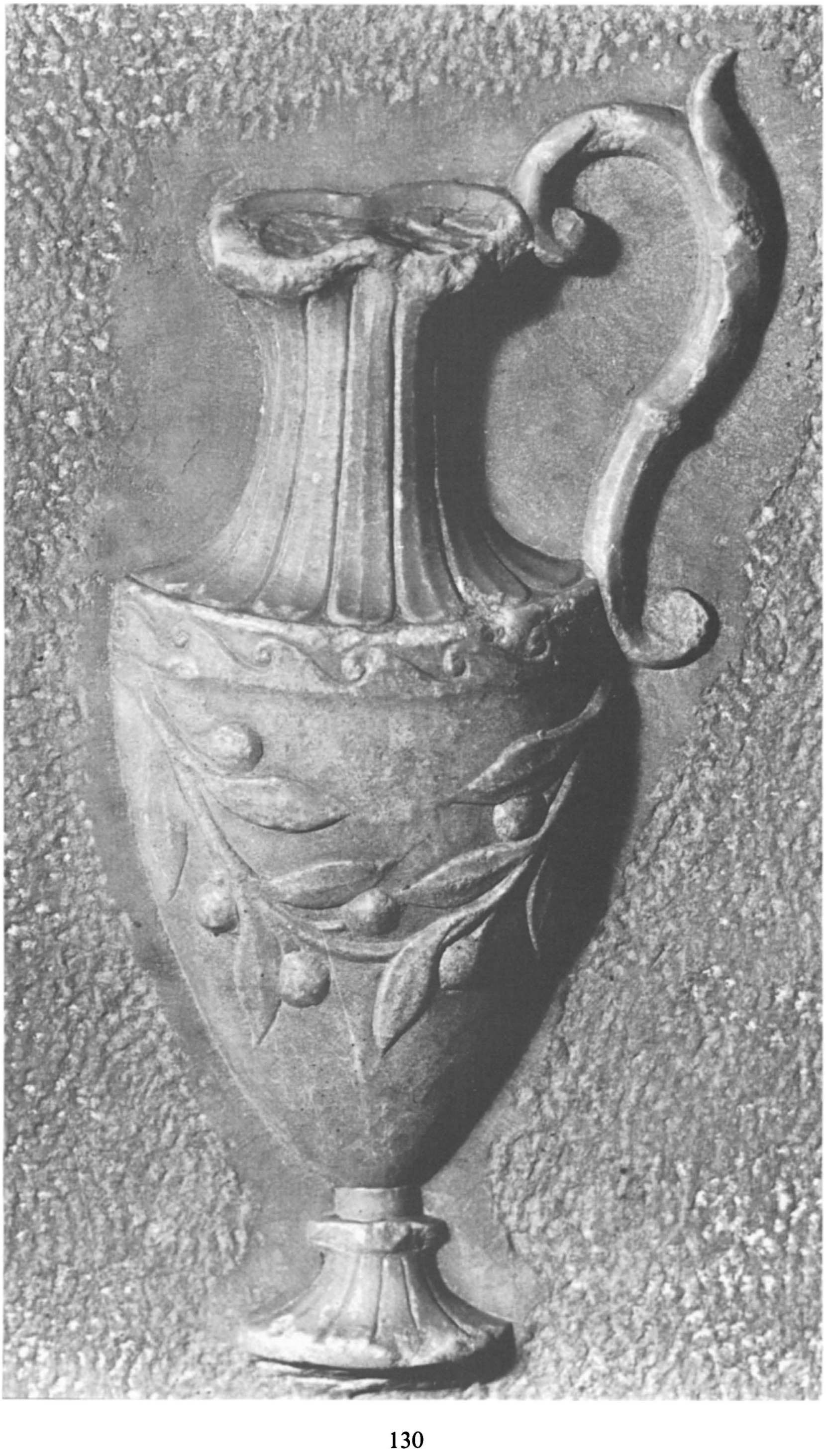
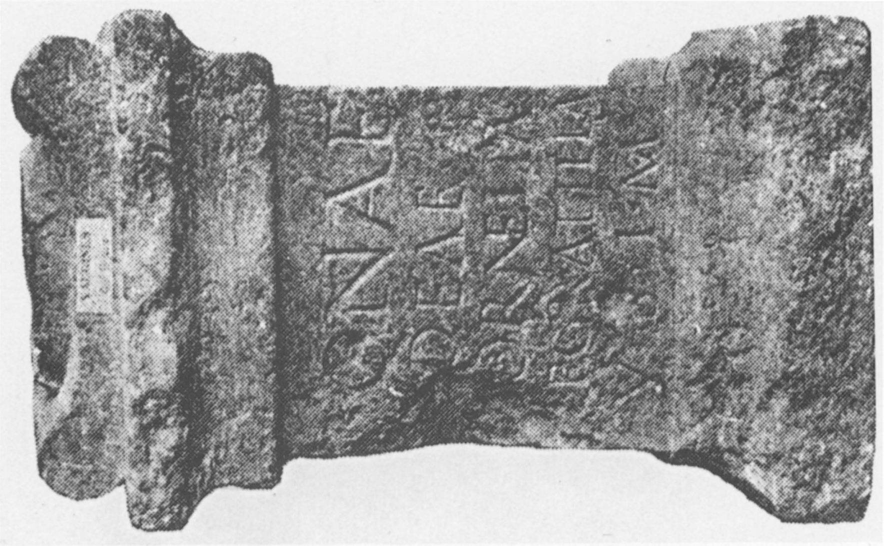
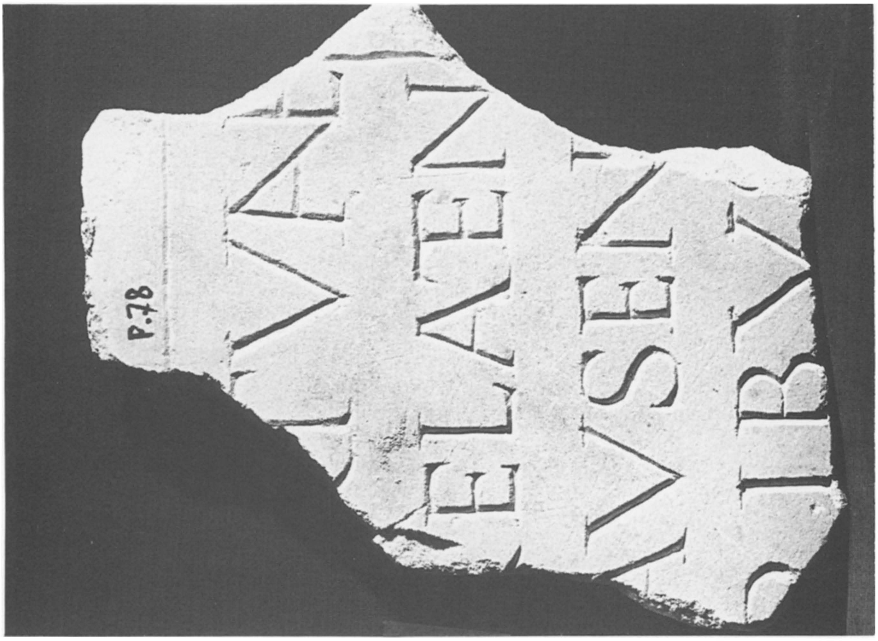


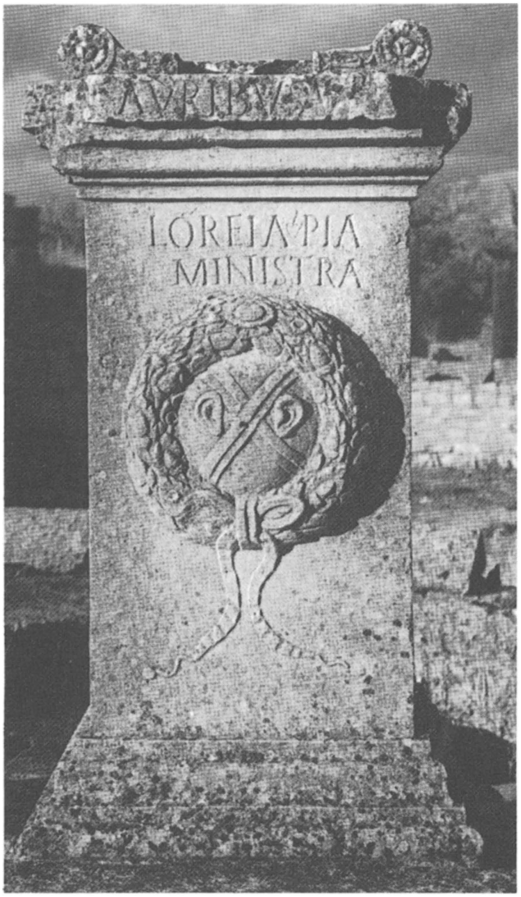
PLATE L



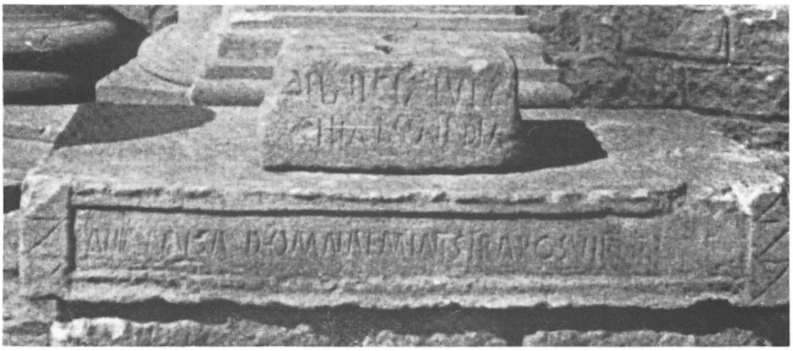
132



(131)

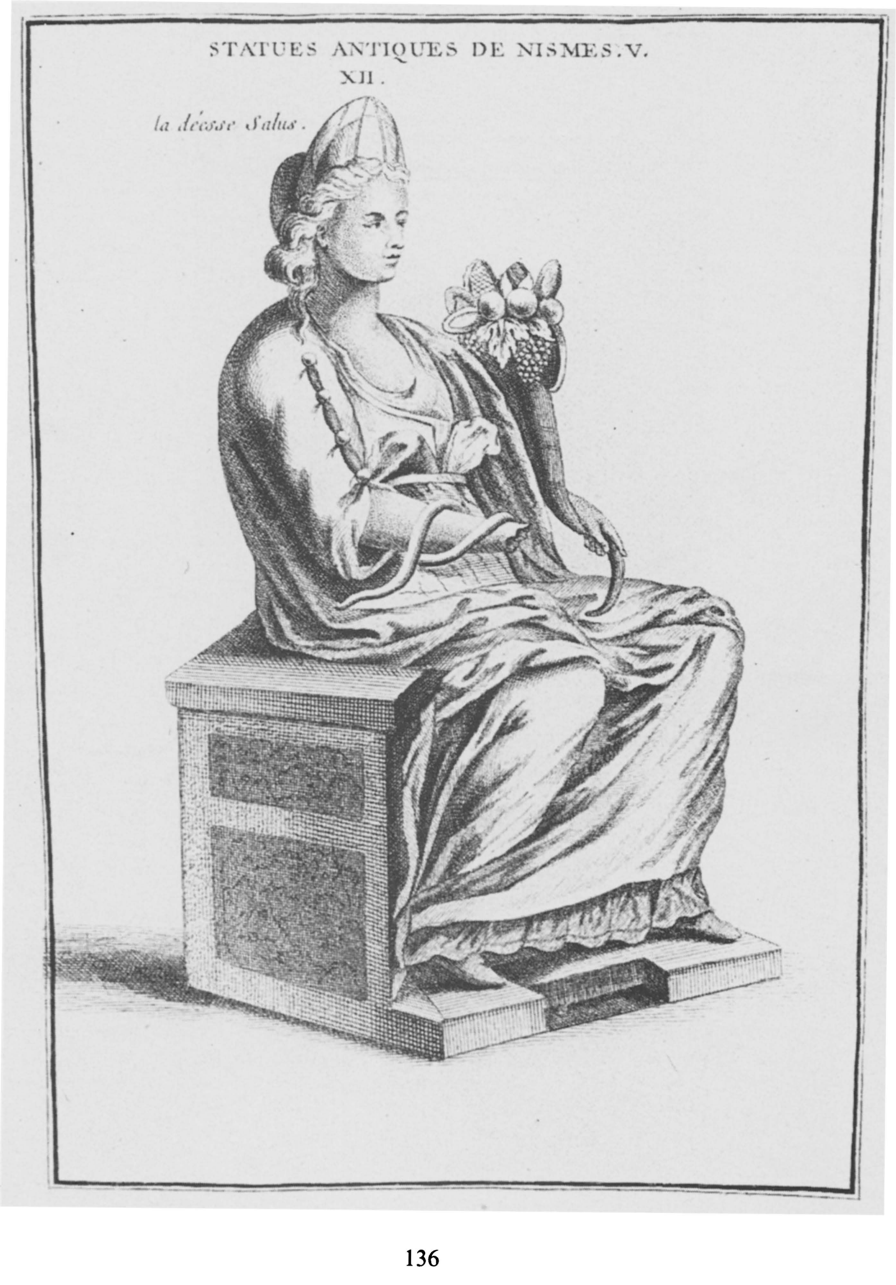

AVRIBVS
LOREIA PIA
MINISTRA

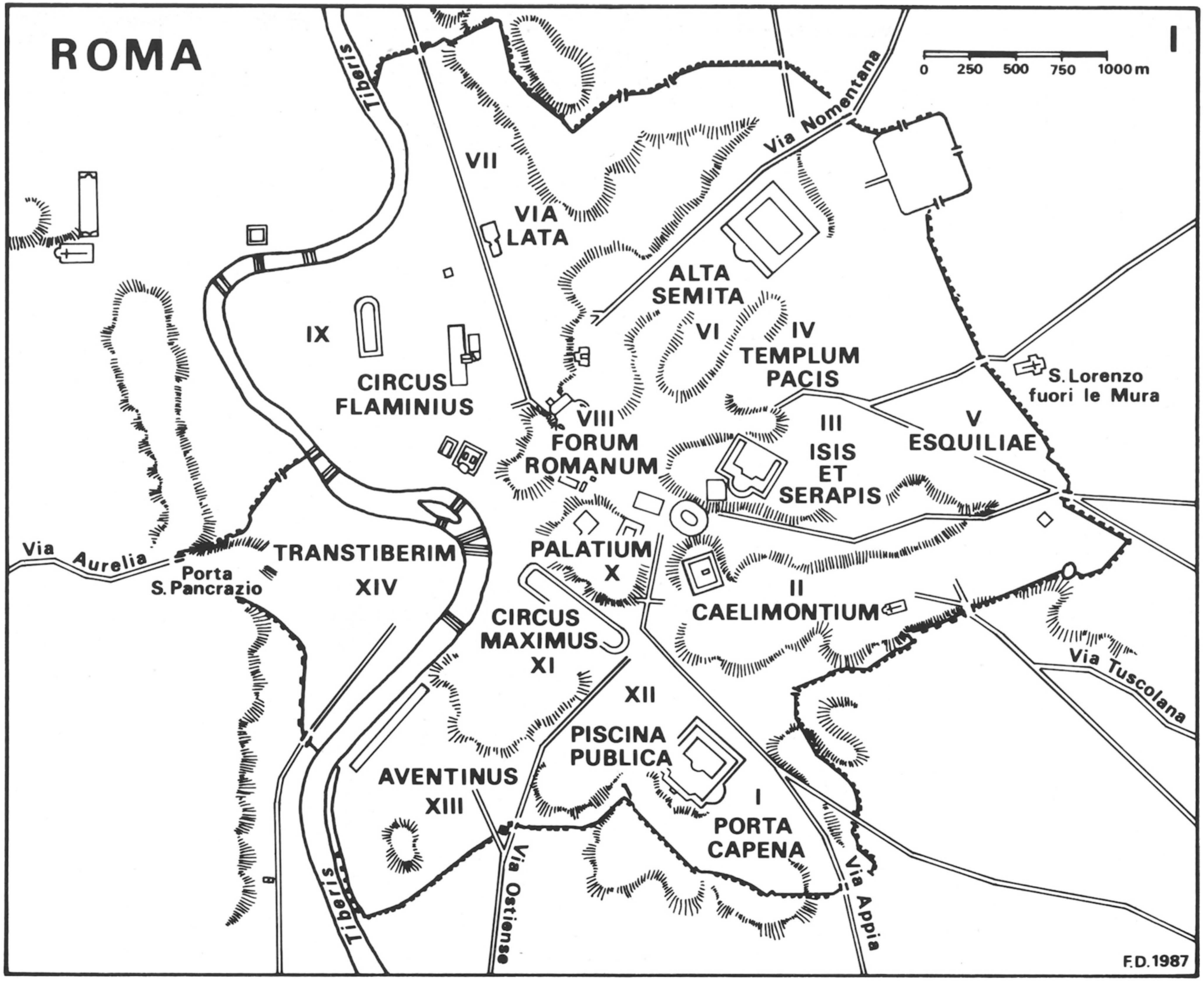
133

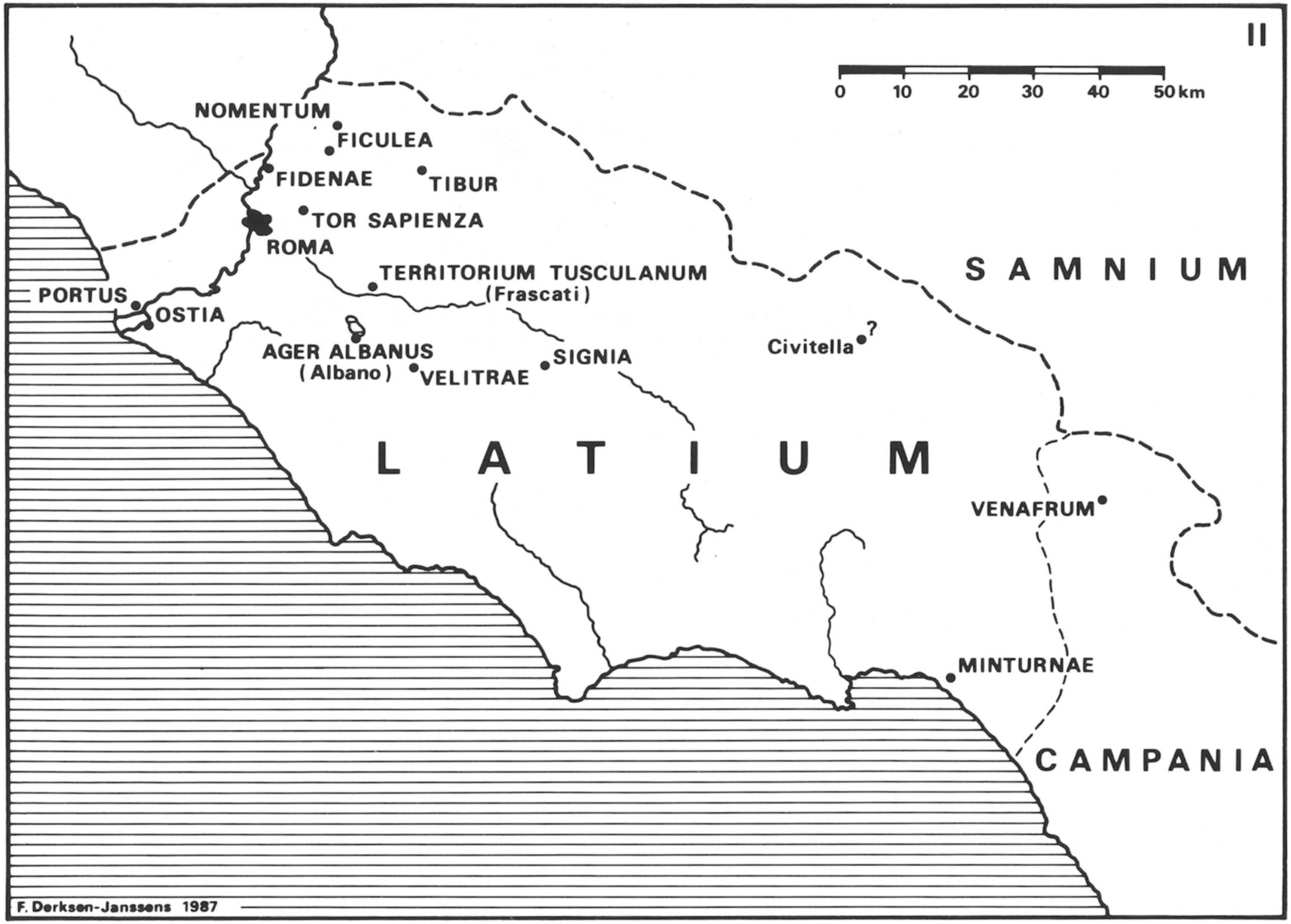


135
134

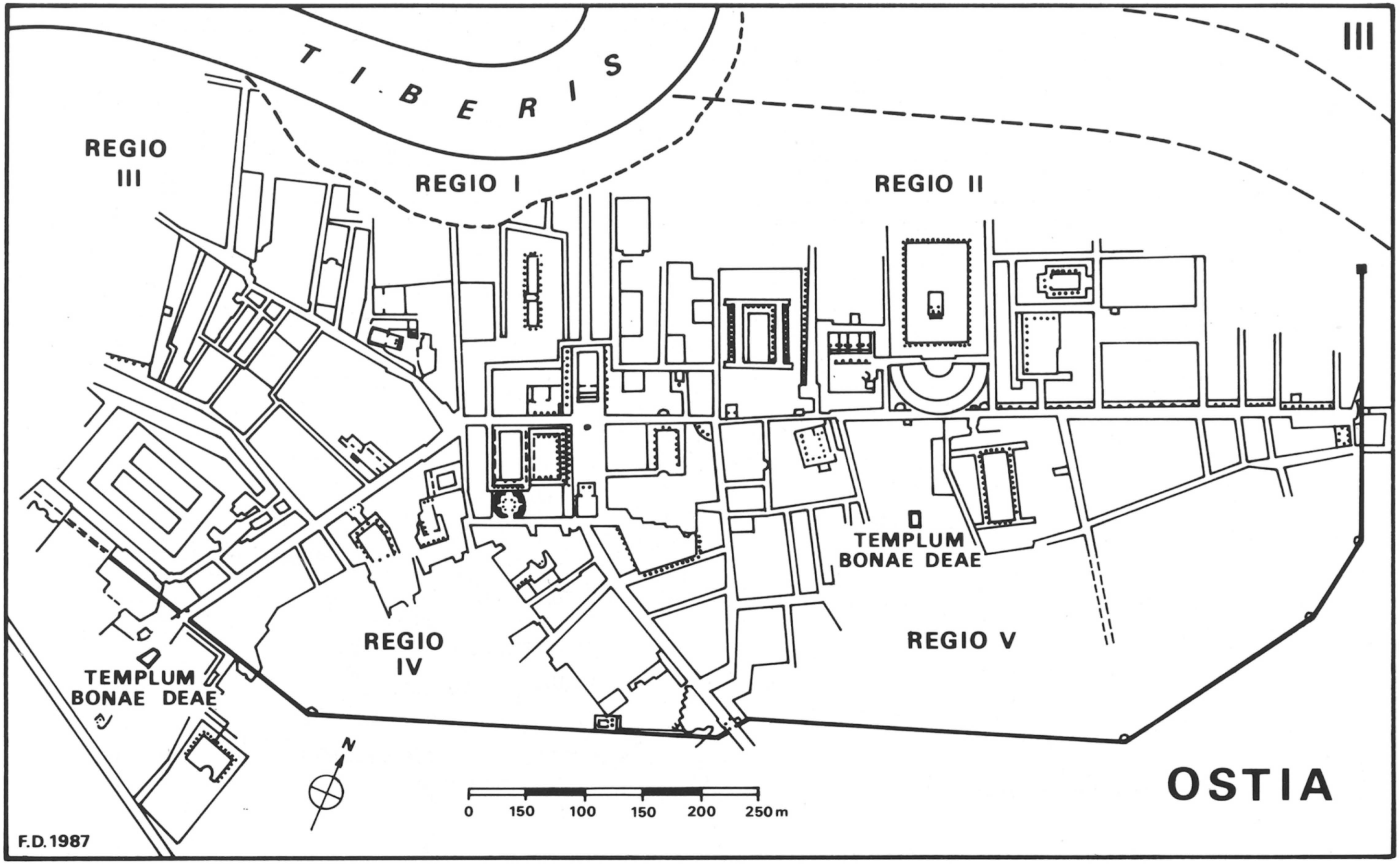
Plate LII

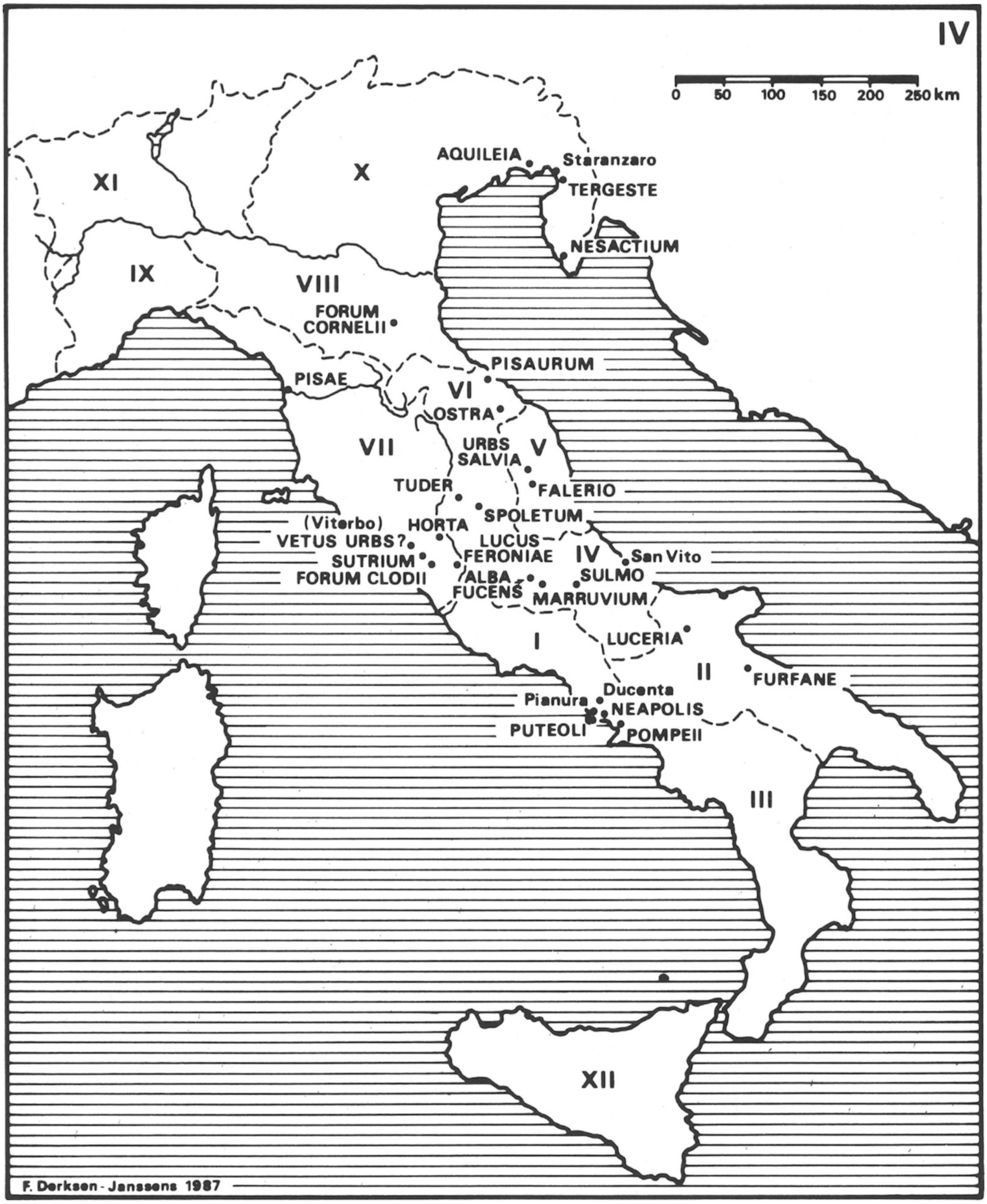

STATUES ANTIQUES DE NISMES. V.
XII.
la déesse Salus.


ROMA
I
0 250 500 750 1000 m
Tiberis
VII
VIA LATA
Via Nomentana
ALTA SEMITA
VI
IV TEMPLUM PACIS
S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura
IX
CIRCUS FLAMINIUS
VIII FORUM ROMANUM
III ISIS ET SERAPIS
V ESQUILIAE
Via Aurelia
Porta S. Pancrazio
TRANSTIBERIM
XIV
PALATIUM
X
II
CAELIMONTIUM
CIRCUS MAXIMUS
XI
XII
PISCINA PUBLICA
Via Tuscolana
AVENTINUS
XIII
I
PORTA CAPENA
Tiberis
Via Ostiense
Via Appia
F.D. 1987

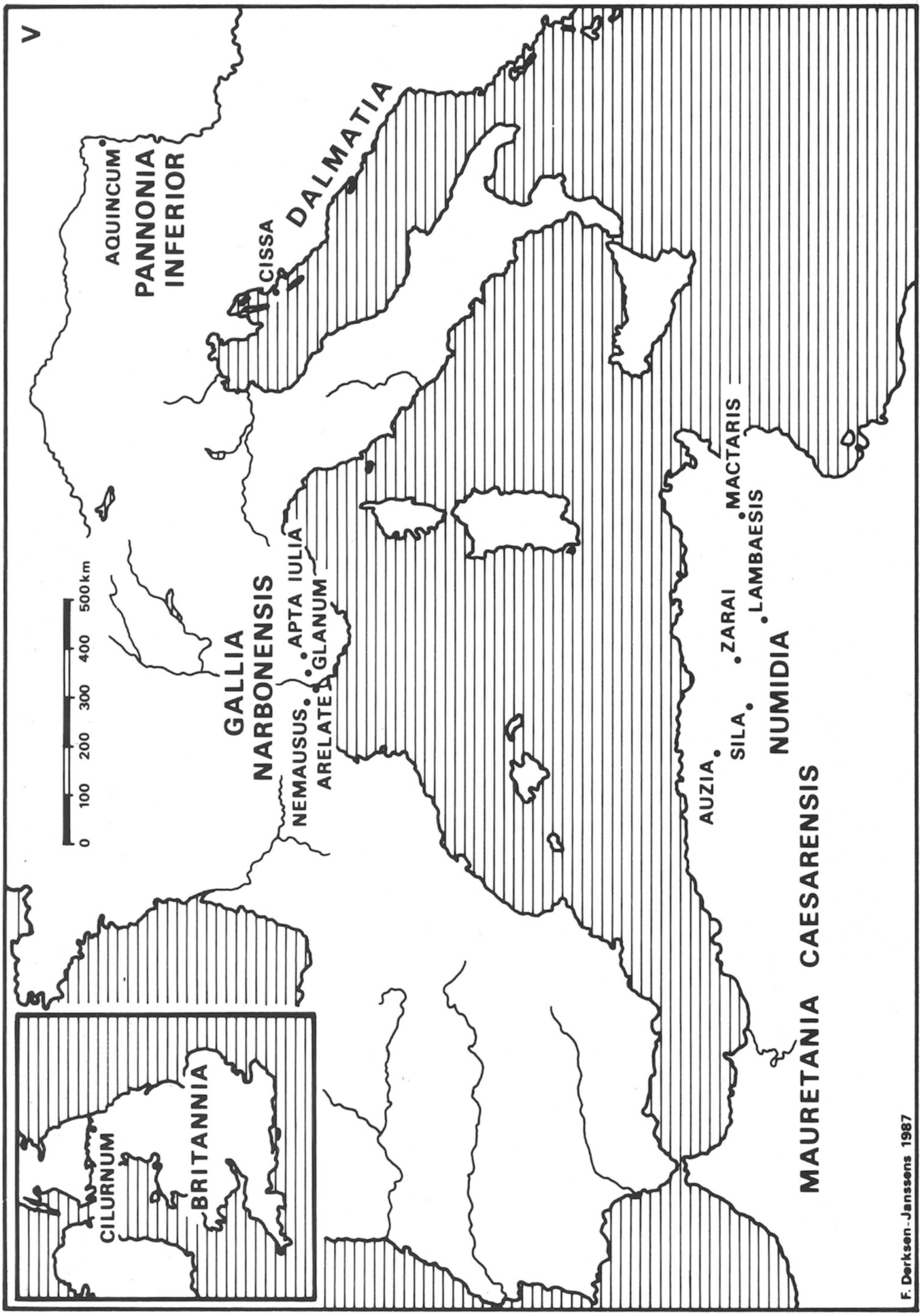

II
0
10
20
30
40
50 km
NOMENTUM
FICULEA
FIDENAE
TIBUR
TOR SAPIENZA
ROMA
TERRITORIUM TUSCULANUM
(Frascati)
PORTUS
OSTIA
AGER ALBANUS
(Albano)
VELITRAE
SIGNIA
Civitella ?
SAMNIUM
LATIUM
VENAFRUM
MINTURNAE
CAMPANIA

F. Derksen-Janssens 1987


III
TIBERIS
REGIO III
REGIO I
REGIO II
TEMPLUM BONAE DEAE
REGIO IV
REGIO V
TEMPLUM BONAE DEAE
N
0
150
100
150
200
250 m
OSTIA
F.D. 1987


IV
0 50 100 150 200 250 km
AQUILEIA
Staranzaro
TERGESTE
NESACTIUM
X
XI
IX
VIII
FORUM CORNELII
PISAURUM
PISAE
VI
OSTRA
VII
URBS SALVIA
V
FALERIO
TUDER
SPOLETUM
(Viterbo)
VETUS URBS?
HORTA
LUCUS FERONIAE
SUTRIUM
FORUM CLODII
IV
San Vito
SULMO
ALBA FUCENS
MARRUVIUM
I
LUCERIA
II
FURFANE
Pianura
Ducenta
NEAPOLIS
PUTEOLI
POMPEII
III
XII
F. Derksen-Janssens 1987

V


AQUINCUM
PANNONIA INFERIOR
CISSA
DALMATIA
GALLIA NARBONENSIS
NEMAUSUS
ARELATE
GLANUM
APTA IULIA
0
100
200
300
400
500 km
AUZIA
SILA
ZARAI
LAMBAESIS
MACTARIS
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA CAESARENSIS
BRITANNIA
CILURNUM

F. Derksen-Janssens 1987